


THE RECORDS OF
ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S
SMITHFIELD



E.A.WEBB

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
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THE RECORDS
OF
ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S
SMITHFIELD
VOL. II



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ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT, LOOKING EAST

THE RECORDS OF
St. Bartholomew's Priory
AND OF THE CHURCH AND PARISH OF
St. Bartholomew the Great
WEST SMITHFIELD

BY

E. A. WEBB, F.S.A.

CHURCHWARDEN, JOINT AUTHOR OF 'THE HISTORY OF CHISLEHURST', 1899

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GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS ¹

ABACUS. The uppermost division of a capital.

ALMUCE or AMESS. Fur cape with hood, and long tails in front.

APSE. The semicircular or polygonal end of a chancel or other part of a church.

ARCADE. A range of arches carried on piers or columns.

ARCHITRAVE. An ornamental moulding to the jambs and head of a doorway or window.

ARRIS. A sharp edge or corner.

ASHLAR. Masonry wrought to an even face and square edges.

AUMBRY. A locker or small cupboard cut or built in a wall.

BASE. The lower part of a pillar or wall.

BATTLEMENTED. With an indented parapet.

BAY. A principal compartment or division in the architectural arrangement of a building.

BEAD. A small round moulding.

BENCH. A low stone seat on the inside of a wall.

BILLET. A short roll inserted at intervals in a hollow moulding (Norman architecture).

BOSS. A projecting ornament at the intersection of the ribs of a vault or panelled ceiling.

CANOPY. A projection or hood over a door or window; the covering above a tomb or niche.

CAPITAL or CAP. The head of a column.

CHAMFER. The small plane when a sharp edge is cut away.

CHANTRY. An endowment to provide for the chanting of memorial masses.

CHEVRON. Inverted V-shaped moulding.

CLEARSTOREY or CLERESTORY. An open story or range of windows immediately below the roof.

CLOISTER. A covered way round a quadrangle.

COMPOUND or ENGAGED PIERS. When two or more are united together.

COPING. The covering course of a wall or parapet.

CORBEL. A projecting stone or piece of timber supporting a superincumbent weight.

CORNICE. The horizontal moulded projection encircling the top of a building.

CREDENCE. A shelf, niche, or table on which the vessels for Holy Communion are placed.

CREST, CRESTING. An ornamental finish on the top edge of a screen.

¹ Authorities: *Royal Commission on Hist. Monuments Inventory*, Herts., 1910, and *Parker's Glossary*.

CROCKETS. Projecting conventional leaves used to enrich the sloping sides of a building or arch.

CUSPS. The projecting points in Gothic window and other tracery.

DOGTOTH ORNAMENT. Consists of a series of pyramidal flowers of four petals in hollow mouldings (late twelfth and thirteenth century).

ESCUTCHEON. A shield charged with armorial bearings.

FERETORY. A place or chamber for the relics of saints.

FINIAL. A formal bunch of foliage or similar ornament at the top of a pinnacle, gable, canopy, &c.

FOIL (as trefoil, quatrefoil, &c.). A leaf-shaped curve caused by the cusping or feathering in an opening or panel.

FOLIATED (of a capital, corbel, &c.). Carved with leaf ornament.

FRIEZE. A band beneath a cornice.

GROINED VAULT. One vault crossed at an angle by another.

IMPOST. The horizontal moulding on the top of a pilaster or corbel from which an arch springs.

JAMBS. The sides of an archway, doorway, window, or other opening.

JOGGLE. Relating to the fitting of stones together.

KING POST. The central vertical post in a roof truss.

LABEL (hoodmold, dripstone). A projecting moulding on the face of a wall above an arch.

MORSE. A large clasp fastening a cope.

MULLION. A vertical post dividing a window into two or more lights.

NECK-MOULDING. The narrow moulding at the bottom of a capital.

NEWEL. The central post in a circular staircase.

OGEE. A compound curve of two parts, one convex, the other concave ; a double ogee or *Ressaunt* is formed by two ogees meeting at their convex ends.

ORIEL WINDOW. A projecting bay window carried on corbels.

PARCLOSE. An enclosure to protect a tomb or to separate a chapel from the main body of the church.

PARVISE. The area outside the west end of a church ; a chamber above a porch.

PENTHOUSE. A projection to form a protection against the weather ; a sloping roof to a main building.

PIER or PILLAR. A support of an arch, &c.

PILASTER. A square column or pillar generally attached to a wall.

PISCINA. A basin with a drain set in a niche south of an altar.

PLATE. Horizontal timbers laid upon walls to receive other timber work ; that under a roof is a wall plate.

PLINTH. A square member forming the lower division of the base of a column; also the plain projecting face of a wall immediately above the ground.

POLYCHROME. The colouring of walls and architectural ornaments.

POPPY-HEAD. The ornament at the heads of bench standards.

PRESBYTERY. The part of a church in which is placed the High Altar, east of the quire; usually raised several steps.

PRINCIPALS. Generally the larger rafters of a roof.

PURLIN. A horizontal timber resting on the principal rafters of a roof truss.

QUOIN. The dressed stones at the corners of a building.

REBATE (*rabbit*). A continuous rectangular notch cut on the edge of a solid.

RESPOND. The half pillar or pier at the end of an arcade or attached to a wall to support an arch.

RESSAUNT. *See* Ogee.

REVEAL. The side of an opening for a window, doorway, &c., between the framework and the outer surface of the wall.

SCALLOPED CAPITAL. A later development of the twelfth-century cushion capital.

SEDILE (*pl.* sedilia). Seats on the south side of the chancel near the altar.

SILL (*cill*). The horizontal timber or stone forming the bottom of a window or doorway.

SLYPE. Passage from cloister, usually between transept and chapter-house.

SOFFIT. The underside of an arch, &c.

SOLAR. An upper chamber; sometimes applied to a rood-loft in a church.

SPANDREL. The triangular spaces included between the arch of a doorway, &c., and a rectangle formed by the outer mouldings over it.

SPLAY. The expansion given to doorways, windows, &c., by slanting the sides.

SPRINGER. The bottom stone of an arch which lies immediately upon the impost.

SQUINT. An oblique opening through the wall of a church to allow a view of the altar.

STANCHION. The upright iron bars in a screen, window, &c.

STILTED ARCH. One which has the capital of the shaft or pier below the springing of the curve of the arch.

STRING or STRING COURSE. A projecting horizontal band of brick or stone in a wall; usually moulded.

TOFT. A homestead; a house with outbuildings.

TRIFORIUM (or blind storey). A gallery below the clerestory and between the sloping roof of the aisle and the vaulting beneath it.

VOUSSOIRS. The stones forming an arch.

PART I
FABRIC OF THE CHURCH

ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT
GROUND PLAN AS EXISTING IN THE YEAR 1913
From a drawing by Sir Aston Webb

CHAPTER I

ARCHITECTURE

THE GROUND PLAN

THE Augustinian order followed no special plan for their churches, but their monastic buildings followed the Benedictine arrangement (pls. XIV, XV, p. 7).

Rahere planned his church on a grand scale to extend into Smithfield. With the completion of the nave in the thirteenth century, the external length of the church, including the Lady Chapel, was about 310 ft., and after the rebuilding of the Lady Chapel in the fourteenth century about 349 ft. It was therefore at that period longer than the cathedrals of Chester (345 ft.), Bristol (325 ft.), or Rochester (320 ft.). The external width of the quire, with its aisles, was 66 ft., that of the nave with its aisles about the same, and that across the transepts, as far as can be ascertained, 149 ft.

The internal height to-day is 53 ft. to the under side of the ridge of the roof, but the church, at any rate in the twelfth century, was probably ceiled with a flat wooden ceiling, as at Peterborough and Waltham, and as it still is at the crossing at St. Bartholomew's. Corbel courses, which it is likely supported this ceiling, still exist on the walls above the east and west arches of the crossing, and there is a string on the quire side of its east arch. The apparent internal height of the church, therefore, was probably only 47 ft. from the floor of the quire.

The east end had an apsidal termination, as at St. John's Chapel in the Tower, and as at Norwich, Peterborough, Gloucester, and many other large churches of the time. It was encircled by a vaulted processional ambulatory, from which opened three radiating external chapels, as at Norwich and elsewhere, with this exception, that there were two bays between these chapels instead of one, as was the usual arrangement. St. Bartholomew's was one of the last great twelfth-century churches to be built on this ambulatory plan.¹

Excavations carried out in 1911 showed that Rahere's eastern or Lady Chapel was rectangular with indications of an apsidal end. The chapel was taken down in the fourteenth century to make way for the present and much larger building.

¹ Malmesbury had the same plan in 1142. See Brakespear in *Archaeologia*, lxiv, 399.

The south ambulatory chapel, and by assumption, therefore, that on the north side also, was planned with two apses, one at the side and one at the east end, on somewhat the same lines as at Norwich, a church which may have inspired the interesting ground plan of St. Bartholomew's.

The apse of the quire was divided into seven bays, as at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and as also, possibly, at Lewes Priory. The rest of the quire was built with four bays, as at St. Augustine's, Norwich and Peterborough. The compound piers between the third and fourth bays are an unusual feature and may mark the limit of the portion first built, or be a deviation from the original plan to give greater abutment to the arches of the crossing.

The presbytery occupied the three bays westward of the apse, the presbytery step (*gradus presbyterii*) coming between the third and fourth bays, but with the peculiarity that it was in the twelfth century a step down instead of a step up. (At Chester there is a step down, but it comes at the position of the rood screen west of the quire.)

The fourth bay was the commencement of the monastic or ritual quire, which extended westward beyond the crossing and occupied the easternmost bay of the nave, thus being conterminous with the parish church of to-day.

This ritual quire was enclosed, as usual, by screens on three sides against which the canons' stalls were placed. It would have been entered by the convent on ordinary days by the side doors in the east end of the screen, which doors were in the bay referred to above as the west bay. This bay was next to the transept. It differed from those of the presbytery in measuring, from column to column, only 8 ft. instead of 9 ft. It was a usual arrangement for the arch of this bay to be narrower than the others; it is very marked at Dore Abbey. These doors were known as the upper entries or *introitus superiores*. On the occasion of the Sunday procession and on the great festivals the quire was entered by the central door in the west screen or pulpitum, known as the lower entry or *introitus inferior*.¹

The church was planned for a central tower. The seal (pl. XIII, Vol. I, p. 318) struck by Rahere suggests that there might also have been flanking towers at the west and stair turrets at the east end of the church. There is some evidence in favour of the former, both documentary and otherwise; but not of any stair turrets, the angles formed by the junction of the Lady Chapel with the church, where the turrets would have been, having been taken down at the rebuilding and widening of the Lady Chapel in 1335.

¹ Thompson, *Engl. Mon.*, pp. 46-7.

The nave, which had north and south aisles, consisted of ten bays, as has been proved by excavations. Some of the bases of the vaulting shafts remain against a large fragment of the south wall of the south aisle. The fourth bay from the east measures on plan 17 ft., whilst the others only measure 15 ft. 6 in., the reason for which is not apparent.

It is fair to assume that the church presented a bold western façade to Smithfield, though there is not room, at any rate on the north side between the church and the ancient entrance to Cloth Fair, for western transepts. All that remains of the west front is the Smithfield gate with a portion of the wall to the south on which is a fragment of a mural arcade, like that on the north-west front of Dunstable Priory (pl. XXIV, p. 18).

The transepts were aisleless and projected north and south from the crossing, the length of the south transept being 40 ft. from the quire aisle wall. We may safely assume that the north transept extended about the same distance northward, for in 1843 glazed tiles were found on the site in Cloth Fair.¹ Malcolm and others (pl. XLIV, p. 53) show on the east wall of the south transept the arched opening for an eastern apsidal chapel, and we may assume that Rahere planned a similar chapel in the north transept, as was customary in monastic churches of the period. Such a chapel still remains in the north transept of Norwich, the south transept of Christchurch (Hants), and (the foundations only) at Lindisfarne.

It is probable that the parish altar stood in this eastern chapel in the north transept, and that the chapel was extended eastward in the fourteenth century to form Roger Walden's All Saints' Chapel, which was also called the parish chapel. The chapel in the south transept was also extended eastward in the fourteenth century, to form the sacristy. It is probable that the parish chapel was placed in the north transept so that it could be approached directly from Smithfield by way of Cloth Fair, similar to the arrangement at Tewkesbury.

The ambulatory of the quire, which gave access to the three external chapels, measures 12 ft. 6 in. to 12 ft. in width. It is vaulted, and the space between the pilasters (from centre to centre) which carry the vault arches is 15 ft. 6 in. wide on the inner face of the outer wall in the first bay, and 12 ft. 9 in. in the others. The eastern or Lady Chapel opened originally from the central bay, the entrance probably being the whole width between the pilasters. Internally it would, if apsidal, have measured, according to the recent excavations, 12 ft. 6 in. in width and 23 ft. 6 in. in length; or 17 ft. if rectangular.

¹ Pink, *Clerkenwell* (ed. 1881), p. 367.

The side chapel on the north side opened from the eleventh bay of the ambulatory, that on the south from the fifth bay.¹ The entrance to the chapels is not the full width of the bay, measuring only 6 ft. 9 in. This left in the twelfth century two bays between the side chapels and the Lady Chapel. The dimensions of the south chapel are 19 ft. 6 in. from east to west and 14 ft. from north to south, and we may assume that those of the north, or St. Bartholomew's Chapel, were similar. The plan of the eastern end of the church was remodelled at the commencement of the fifteenth century: the five eastern bays of the apse were cut off by a straight wall and a square end was formed, as more fully described later on.²

The only other alteration in the plan was made by Prior Bolton early in the sixteenth century. He pulled down the segmental east end of the south ambulatory and built a square end in its place, on the south side of which he placed a door for entrance to the new prior's house (pl. LXVIII, p. 131).

THE SUPERSTRUCTURE AND DATES.

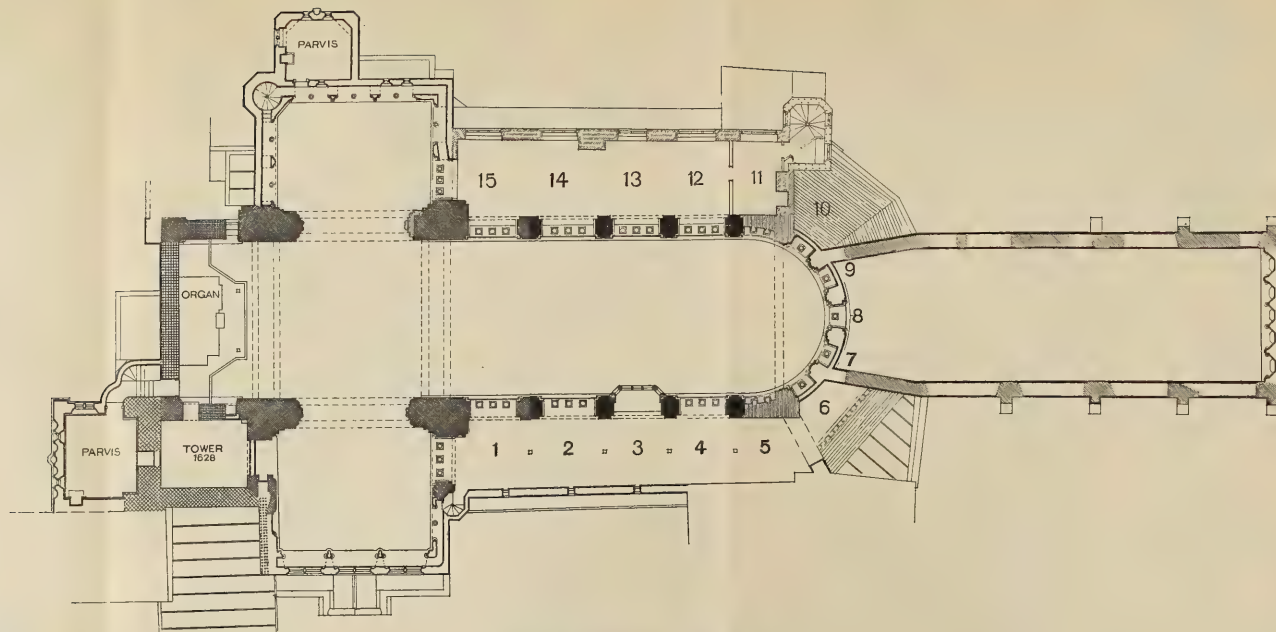
In the superstructure (pl. XV *b, c*, p. 7), as in the plan, St. Bartholomew's has marked features of its own, which secure for it an independent position among the greater churches of the country.

As regards dates, the church stands in London midway between St. John's Chapel in the Tower (1078) and the Temple Church (1185). The eastern portion was commenced by Rahere in 1123; the westernmost bay of the quire, the easternmost bay of the nave, the transepts and crossing were built by his successor Thomas (1144-1174) from about 1146 to 1160; the nave from about 1230 to 1240.

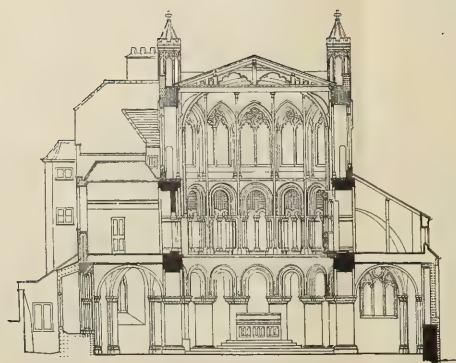
As regards style, the church is marked by having a ground arcade, triforium, and clerestory of about equal heights; in marked contrast with the great churches of Gloucester and Tewkesbury in the west, and of Durham in the north, with their lofty ground arcades and small triforia. It cannot be compared with many other London twelfth-century churches, as after the Great Fire of 1666 there were only left of that period St. John's Chapel in the Tower, the Temple Church, the crypt of Bow Church, and that of St. John's, Clerkenwell. St. Bartholomew's has much in common with the earlier church of St. John in the Tower, and it may be compared with the naves of Norwich, Peterborough, Rochester, and Southwell, which were being built about the same time as the quire of St. Bartholomew's, though the cathedral church of Kirkwall in the Orkneys has probably more points of resemblance to it than any other church in Britain.

¹ See Nos. on the plan, p. 3 above.

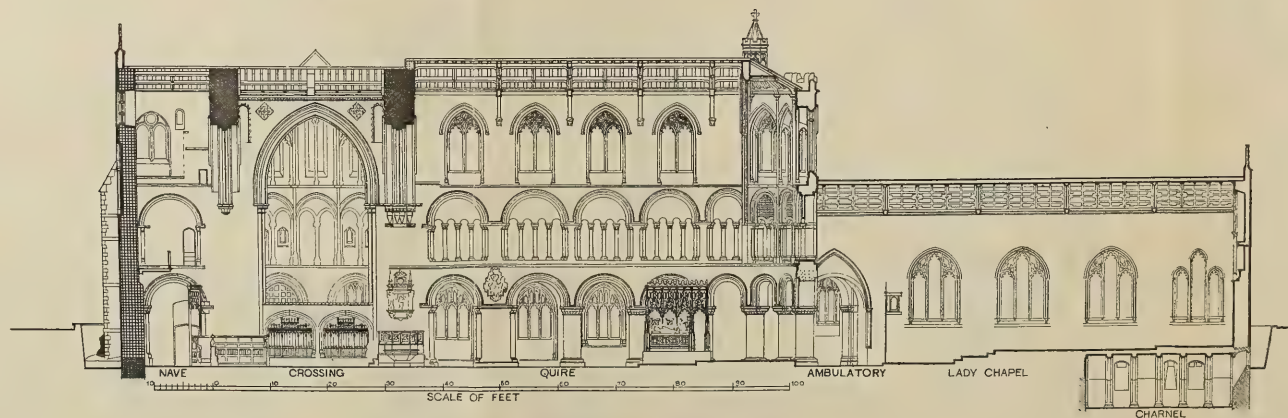
² Below, p. 17.



PLAN OF TRIFORIUM LEVEL, 1913



TRANSVERSE SECTION, 1913



LONGITUDINAL SECTION, 1913

These plans were made from exact measurements taken by Mr. F. Renton Barry under the direction of Sir Aston Webb, P.R.A.

St. John's in the Tower was built by Gundulph, the Norman, whom Rahere probably met at King Henry's court, for Gundulph did not die until 1108. Rahere followed Gundulph's eastern apse with its stilted arches and short massive piers, but he discarded the wide cushioned capitals and the Tau cross for the newer scalloped capitals of his time. He followed, which is rather surprising, the unmoulded soffits of the arches of the ground arcade (see pl. XXIII, p. 17), though moulded soffits had already been introduced at Durham, Christchurch, and Romsey, and were being used at Peterborough and Gloucester, then in process of building. Rahere even followed the simple groin of the aisle vault of the ambulatory of St. John's, with certain modifications, though ribbed vaulting had been adopted at Durham as early as 1093-1099, and at Tewkesbury (1102-1123 (see pl. XXXV, p. 29). But he introduced a second order and billet mould into his arches, not found at St. John's, both marked characteristics of the first quarter of the twelfth century in England.

A flat ceiling to the quire was probably used instead of a barrel vault as at St. John's, and a clerestory was added, though not necessarily in Rahere's time. A glance at Gundulph's chapel shows to how great an extent it inspired Rahere's church.

Rahere's triforium is, of course, quite different from the lighted vaulted gallery at St. John's, but even here there is every reason to believe, as will be seen later on,¹ that Rahere or his architectural advisers reverted to older types and adopted an open triforium arcade as at St. Albans, Norwich, St. Botolph's, Colchester, Lindisfarne, Carlisle, Southwell, the quire of St. John's, Chester, Wymondham, Binham, and Castle Acre, making no provision for a lesser arcade.

As regards dates, it is safe to assume that Rahere built the apse, three bays of the quire, the ambulatories, the three radiating chapels, the triforium (without the filling), and perhaps the clerestory. The work probably commenced immediately or soon after the ceremony of founding, which took place in the month of March 1123, and went on until 1133, when the first charter of privileges was granted by the king. Whether the work went on during the second ten years of Rahere's priorate until 1143, when he died, we have no evidence. But we have seen² that troubles arose in the convent, and that Rahere, after the grant of privileges, was too infirm to undertake the journey to Rome to obtain like protection from the pope. It is, therefore, more likely that Rahere stopped the work about the year 1133, and that he then built a temporary wall (or boarded up) at the western end. There is an indication of this on the south side of the

¹ Below, p. 32.

² Vol. I, p. 53.

quire, where there is a curious set-back of $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. on the face of the compound pier (see pl. XVII, p. 9; pl. XXII, p. 16). It extends from the floor level to above that of the triforium. This set-back may indicate the position of such a temporary wall, and be explained by an error in the setting out of the continuation of the work while the temporary wall was still in place, such as occurred in the ridge of the roof at Worcester and in the small triforium arcade on the north side of the nave at Exeter. There is a further indication of the work having been stopped at this point in the change of floor level, which occurs in the base of the compound piers both on the north and on the south side of the quire, the western half of the inner face in each case being at a higher level than the eastern. The fact that the Norman buttress outside the south aisle wall is placed in the position for a bay equal to those farther east, and not for a bay with a wide compound pier, points to there having been not only a stoppage of the work but also possibly a change in design at the same time.¹

There is abundant evidence that the crossing was not built in Rahere's time. In the 'Book of the Foundation' it is recorded, in connexion with his successor Thomas: 'In his time the plant of this apostolic vine grew in glory . . . and the curtains of our tabernacles were extended with more ample building.'² The fact that a settlement, which is still evident, occurred in the west bay on the north side of the quire, is an indication that it was not built at the same time as that to the east of it. There is evidence also in the work itself. Thus the east and west arches of the crossing, though round-headed, have ribbed soffits with the horizontal chevron ornament (see pl. XVI). The north and south arches are pointed and (as is shown later) were so from the first. The piers of the crossing are divided into slender shafts, the capitals of those at the south-west corner having the pellet ornament. The eastern arch is supported by similar slender shafts but treated as corbels, as in the aisles at Kirkstall Abbey (1152). An interrupted zigzag ornament is carried over the arch and down the sides of the mural arcades which occur in the angles of the spandrels of the arches of the crossing (see pl. XXXIX *a*, p. 44).

That the south transept was built at the same period is shown by a similar interrupted zigzag appearing on an arch of the triforium (pl. XX *b*, p. 12), and by the character of the work shown in old prints of the transept before its final destruction in 1830 (see pl. XLIV, p. 53). There is not sufficient old work in the north transept to indicate precisely its date, but there is a small base of a shaft in a recess in the east wall which was probably an entrance to a spiral stair to the triforium, and may

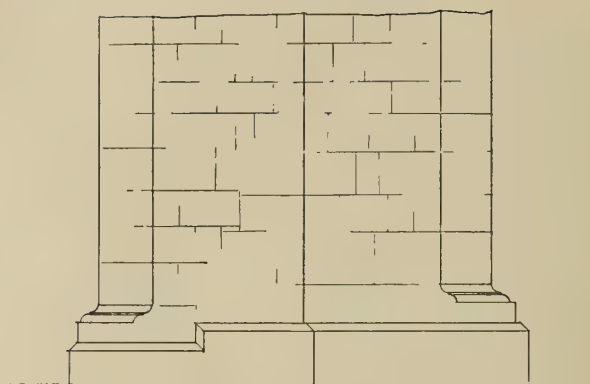
¹ Pointed out by Mr. F. H. Greenaway.

² See App. I, p. 408, for Mid. English.

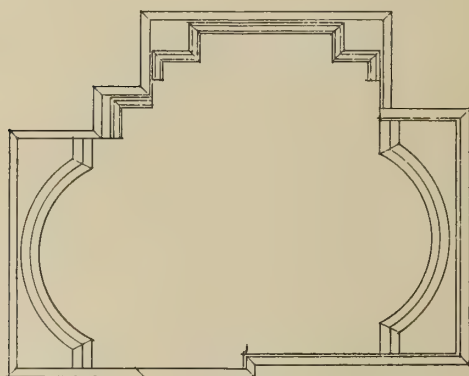


QUIRE, LOOKING WEST
(see pp. 8, 22, 49)

PLATE XVII



NORTH ELEVATION
SHOWING STEP DOWN IN THE PLINTH



PLAN
SHOWING RECESS ON NORTH FACE

INCHES 12 6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 FEET
SCALE

COMPOUND PIER, SOUTH SIDE OF QUIRE
(see pp. 8, 16)

date from about 1150; but the inference from the passage in the 'Book of the Foundation' already referred to is that it was built before 1148.¹

That the existing bay of the nave was also built at this time is shown by the billet round the triforium arch being pierced by a stone thread. The Corinthian-like capitals to the shafts supporting the arch are also highly characteristic of this period.

That there was a twelfth-century clerestory is shown by the strings left on the bay next the crossing which indicate triple-arched clerestory windows, as at Christ Church, Oxford, and as this Norman wall sets out on the south side above the recessed south-west bay of the quire, it suggests that all the twelfth-century clerestory may have been built by Prior Thomas, though it does not prove it.

If Rahere's work stopped with the third bay of the quire, it is possible that he did not contemplate a fourth bay and intended the portions of the compound piers built by him to be incorporated in the eastern piers of the crossing. But be that as it may, his successor, we assume, being faced with the responsibility of making provision for building the tower, decided to build the present fourth bay of a particularly massive character to act as an abutment for the north and south tower arches on the east side. That he adopted a similar expedient on the west is shown by the compound pier that remains on the north side built up in the present west wall.

Whether Prior Thomas himself undertook the building of a tower over the crossing there is no evidence to show.² At any rate, it seems established that, having completed the monastic quire by building the easternmost bay of the nave, he turned his attention to the monastic buildings, commencing with the cloister and the chapter-house; for the shaft on the jamb on the south side of the round-headed arch that leads from the church into the east walk of the cloister, whilst it has a capital with the scallop ornament, has a base of transition character suggesting a date of about 1160 (pl. LXIX, p. 132). There are also fragments from the chapter-house, now preserved in the cloister, of about the same date.

It is probable that this prior, after finishing the erection of such of the monastic buildings as he deemed necessary, commenced the nave by building one or possibly two bays, because a certain amount of late transition twelfth-century work has been found from time to time which cannot be assigned to any other position than to that of the nave. Thus there are three late twelfth-century capitals, now preserved in the north triforium, which were found in 1864, in the remains of the stone screen under the south arch of the crossing.³

¹ Vol. I, p. 66.

² Below, p. 110.

³ Withers, *Diary*, p. 26.

There is also preserved in a glass case in the cloister a portion of the springing of two arches of a lesser triforium arcade and some other fragments beautifully undercut, suggesting a date of about 1170 (pl. LXVI, p. 128; pl. LXVII, p. 129). There may also be seen embedded in the thirteenth-century shaft on the north side of the south aisle a portion of a twelfth-century capital, showing that, when the thirteenth-century nave was built, some twelfth-century work was taken down. In the triforium of the only remaining bay of the nave, there exists, both on the north and on the south sides of the church, the springing of another triforium arch westward, which, however, does not prove more than that there was an intention to continue the nave in the same style.

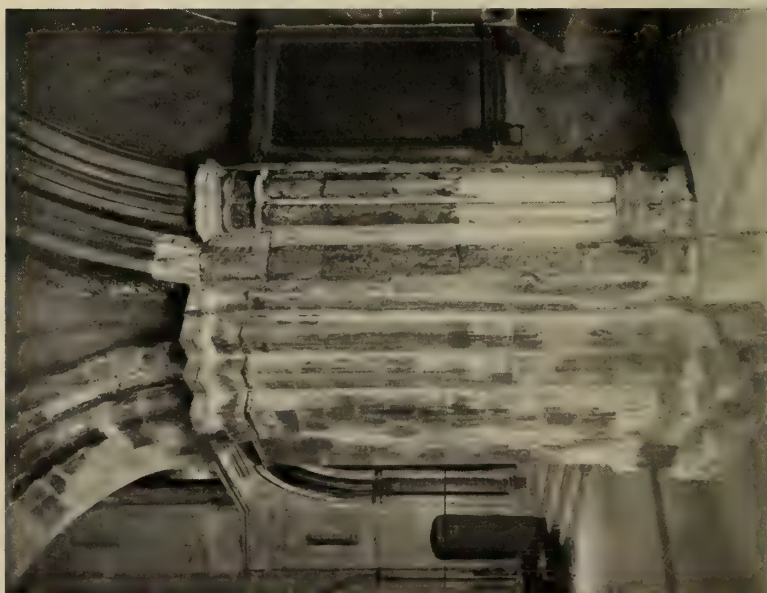
The nave was finally built between the years 1230 and 1240, from the western end of the conventual quire into Smithfield. This thirteenth-century work was, as it were, dovetailed into the twelfth-century bay of the nave which was within the conventual quire. For the new aisles with their high vaulting were carried into the old bay by taking down the old vaulting; and, whilst retaining the Norman piers of the main arcade, the slender Early English shafts were inserted and built against the piers and aisle walls to carry the new vaulting (pl. XVIII, pl. LIV, p. 106). The twelfth-century triforium arches were left, but, as the high vault of the new aisle penetrated the floor of the triforium and protruded into it to half its height, the lesser arcade of the triforium was taken down and a plain filling substituted to mask the intruding vault. In this plain filling was inserted apparently, at a later date, a narrow doorway leading on to the quire screen or pulpitum, and from this door stone steps led up to the higher level of the new aisle vault (pl. XIX *b*, p. 11). In the clerestory the dovetailing process was continued. Prior Thomas's windows were removed, leaving only the east jamb, and Early English windows were inserted in their place. By this means the nave was made, on the clerestory level, to appear uniform throughout from Smithfield to the crossing.

The clerestory windows, which still exist, both in the north and south walls, indicate the date of the building of the nave as about the year 1230. Their construction is that of very early bar tracery (pl. XXV *b*, p. 19). There are two lights separated by a plain chamfered mullion, the space between the heads of the lights being pierced with a simple circular chamfered opening, which is cut out of large slabs of stone and not built up of carved bars. The other remains of the nave harmonize with this date. Of the two Early English piers on either side of the south aisle, one consists of a plain triple clustered shaft with a foliated capital; the other is a similar mural



CLOISTER DOOR AND EARLY ENGLISH MURAL SHAFT
(see pp. 10, 64, 141)

a



NORMAN AND DECORATED WORK,
NORTH AMBULATORY

(see p. 11)

b



PULPITUM DOORWAY,
NORTH SIDE

(see pp. 10, 45)

shaft but with a plain moulded capital encircled midway by a band. The capital and base of a similar mural shaft remain on the south-east side of the Smithfield gate, and there are bases of three others on the remains of the south wall in the graveyard. The Smithfield gate, which was the south-west portal, is ornamented with the dog-tooth which was still in vogue at that time (pl. XXIV *b*, p. 18).

After the building of the nave alterations commenced. The eastern chapel of the south transept, as seen above, was rebuilt as a sacristy, but there are no remains to indicate its date other than the doorway from the first bay of the ambulatory (pl. XLVI *b*, p. 58); it dates from some time—probably early—in the thirteenth century. There were bequests made by will in the years 1307 and 1314, for the maintenance of the works of the church, which may refer to this building.¹ It was destroyed by fire in 1830.

The Lady Chapel, as is recorded in a will,² was rebuilt in 1335, which was the middle of the Decorated period. The bases of the responds at the entrance to the chapel (pl. LII, p. 85), the western arches with corbel heads (pl. XXXIV, p. 28), the bases of the shafts on the window jambs (a circular base over an octagonal plinth) (pl. LIII *a*, p. 86), are all in keeping with that date. The fragments of a large Decorated window, now laid out on the floor of the north triforium, are of the same period and may have been from the east window of the Lady Chapel.

The widening of the chapel necessitated the removal of the three centre bays of the ambulatory vault and the building of new transverse arches. There are indications that these three bays were revaulted at the same time, but whether that was so is not clear.³

The Walden chapel on the north side of the north ambulatory seems, on the testimony of various wills referred to later on,⁴ to have been built about 1396 (pl. XIX *a*). The arches and shafts on the jambs of the openings, which remain inserted in the twelfth-century work, are compatible with that date.

In the first few years of the fifteenth century the greatest of all the alterations made at St. Bartholomew's took place. This was the conversion of the apse of the quire into a square termination, a process which most of the greater twelfth-century churches had either gone through or were then undergoing. At Durham and Chichester the apse was simply pulled down; at Chester and Worcester the east end of the church gave place entirely to a later design; at Winchester and Gloucester a square end was substituted

¹ See Vol. I, p. 145.

² See below, p. 26.

³ See below, p. 75.

⁴ See below, p. 97.

for the central bays only of the apse ; but at St. Bartholomew's five of the seven bays were cut off, though only the two central piers were pulled down. The straight east wall of the new square end was built between the second and seventh piers of the apse, and a second wall, some 9 ft. 6 in. farther east, was built between the third and the sixth piers on the site of the demolished fourth and fifth piers (see pl. LXVIII, p. 131, and pl. LXXII, p. 136). The space enclosed between these walls may have been used as a feretory, as at Winchester, with possibly a passage over on the east side of the window connecting the north and south triforia ; that is similar to the whispering gallery at Gloucester.

The presbytery floor, which had previously been one step lower than the quire, was raised at this time some 2 ft. 3 in. above the twelfth-century floor level. The presbytery included the three bays west of the apse, thus extending to the compound piers. At its eastern end it was enclosed on the north side by Rahere's monument, which extended another bay farther east than at present, joining at right angles the new straight east wall. The south side was enclosed by a straight wall against which there is believed to have been a tomb facing Rahere's, which, in the sixteenth century, was replaced by that of Sir Walter Mildmay (pl. XXIX *a*, p. 23).

The new east wall was probably pierced by two large traceried windows of which the inner part of the jambs next the side walls, with the shafts which carried the rear arches, still remain *in situ*. Much of the tracery has been found and is laid out on the north triforium floor (pl. XXV *a*, p. 19).

The clerestory was taken down and rebuilt at the same time. That story, therefore, ran on in a straight line at right angles to the new east wall, whilst the triforium gallery below shows the commencement of the curve of the western bay of the apse (pl. XX *a*). The same curve in the main arcade was not seen owing to the straight sides enclosing the presbytery.

At the time that this great change was in progress an extensive settlement in the north-east pier of the crossing had to be dealt with, which involved rebuilding the north and west arches of the crossing. Evidence of this exists in the later capitals inserted over the shafts which carry the north transept arch of the crossing (pl. XXXIX *b*, p. 44), in the later corbels of the west arch, and in the later base of the great north-east pier. At the same time the bell tower was rebuilt, but there are reasons for thinking that it was not rebuilt over the crossing.

There is some difficulty in fixing an exact date to these extensive alterations, but they took place either at the end of the fourteenth

a



TRIFORIUM: JUNCTION OF NEW WITH OLD WORK
(see pp. 12, 32)

b



TRIFORIUM: SOUTH TRANSEPT AND SOUTH-WEST PIER OF CROSSING
(see pp. 8, 44, 54, 55, 56)

or beginning of the fifteenth century. Stow, in his second edition of 1603, says that the priory 'was again new built in the year 1410'. That date is too late, but he may be excused for saying that the church was 'new built' when we remember that at that time the apse, the roof, the clerestory, the tower and two arches of the crossing were all taken down and rebuilt simultaneously. In August 1409, Pope Alexander V, when granting indulgences to those who offered alms for the work, refers to the prior as having 'rebuilt the cloister, bell tower, high altar, and chapter-house'.¹ Now John Watford, the then prior, was installed in 1404, and if the pope intended to convey that it was the then prior who had done the rebuilding, the work must be referred to about the year 1405. On the other hand, if the pope did not intend to convey that the work was actually commenced and carried out by John Watford, then it is possible it was commenced earlier; because one John Royston, as early as 1387, left £20 (a considerable sum then) 'to be expended about the high altar';² and there are other indications that the work may have been commenced earlier.

The remains of the work of this period, from which the date may be estimated, are the Rahere monument, the fragments of a window preserved in the north triforium, and the shafts on the east window jambs which still remain *in situ*. The hood moulding and window jambs of the clerestory (the tracery is modern), the capitals of the Norman shafts on the north piers, the base of the north-east pier of the crossing, and the corbels of the west arch of the same are all of this period. There are also considerable remains from the cloister and chapter-house, which the pope says were rebuilt at the same time. These remains, though suggestive of an earlier date than 1405, are not sufficiently characteristic to warrant a definite departure from the written testimony of the pope. The design of Rahere's monument certainly is of a considerably earlier date, but the design was so much in favour at that time that it continued to be used long after it was first introduced: thus at Westminster it is found in the wooden canopy over the tomb of Edward III (1377) and in the monument of Sir Bernard Brocas (1396) (which is almost a replica of Rahere's tomb, or *vice versa*). It is therefore safer to ascribe the date of the conversion of the east end under consideration to about the year 1405.

No further alterations appear to have been made for 100 years, when, in 1505, William Bolton became prior.

Prior Bolton's window, which occupies the central bay of the south triforium (pl. XXXVIII, p. 32), and his door at the eastern end of the south aisle, are Perpendicular work of the first quarter of the sixteenth

¹ *Cal. Pap. Reg.* vi, 151.

² *App. I*, p. 531.

century, and probably date some time before the year 1517, as in that year Bolton was exempted from paying a subsidy owing to the 'expense of rebuilding the conventual church',¹ and in the year 1513 one Walter Martyn bequeathed '£10 to the reparacions of the church'.²

An opening, now built up, probably of a window, in the south aisle, has mouldings which appear to be of the same date. This was the last work done to the church before the suppression.

The brick tower built over the westernmost bay of the south aisle, when the old parochial steeple was demolished, was erected in 1628 (pl. XXI *a*). The external brickwork of the north triforium, and the stair turret of the old boys' school-house adjoining, are probably somewhat earlier.

There remains no work of the eighteenth century. The round-headed eastern windows of that time, which contained no worked stone or moulded brickwork, were removed in 1886 (pl. XXVIII, p. 22).

The two centre piers of the ground arcade of the apse, the two piers of the quire (one on either side of the sanctuary) next the apse, the half-column on the north side, the tracery of the clerestory windows and of those of the north aisle, are the work of Hayter Lewis and William Slater in 1864. The triforium and clerestory arcades of the apse and the sanctuary arch are the work of Sir Aston Webb in 1886. The style of the work in the two arcades is made to harmonize with that of the old work, but that there may be no doubt as to their being the work of one period only, slender shafts have been run from the base of the triforium to the springing of the roof. The mouldings of the centre arch of the triforium arcade are the original twelfth-century stones found during the demolition of the fifteenth-century straight east wall of the apse. The south bay and south end of the south transept were built in 1891. The entire north transept, with the exception of the arch of the north aisle, was built in 1893.

The crypt or charnel-house, beneath the Lady Chapel, was restored in 1895 (pl. LIII *b*, p. 86), and the Lady Chapel in 1897 (pl. LI, p. 84). The three bays of the cloister were restored in 1905 (pl. LXIX, p. 132), and the choir vestry was built on the walls of the south chapel in 1914 (pl. LXV, p. 126). All this work of the second period of the restoration is that of Sir Aston Webb.

The various parts of the church are described in detail in the following chapters, together with their vicissitudes after the suppression of the monastery.

¹ Vol. I, p. 227; below, p. 33.

² Wills, App. I, p. 539.

a



TOWER AND WEST FRONT, 1737
(see pp. 14, 65, 66, 108, 112, 333)

b



TOWER AND SOUTH TRANSEPT, 1912
(see pp. 106, 111, 127)

CHAPTER II

THE EASTERN LIMB

THE QUIRE, APSE, AND PRESBYTERY

THE quire (not the monastic quire which occupied also the crossing and one bay of the nave) was, as already stated, built with four bays terminated by an apse of seven bays, the western bay being the work of Prior Thomas. It comprised a main arcade, averaging 17 ft. 10 in. in height, a triforium of 13 ft. 8 in., and a clerestory of 16 ft. 6 in., or 48 ft. in all.¹

Though Rahere's work is shown by the measured drawings to have been set out with considerable exactness, there are certain peculiarities about the quire which want explanation.

The two eastern bays diminish in width westward by about 6 in., whilst the two western bays of the quire are parallel. The cause of this has been thus explained.²

The western bay of the apse is wider, both on the north and south sides, than the other bays, measuring 9 ft. from centre to centre against a measurement of 7 ft. of the other five bays. An examination of the setting out of these other bays shows that if the two western bays had been of the same width the apse would have been an exact and symmetrically divided semicircle; but with the two widened bays the apse is more than a semicircle. Owing to the eastern sides of the bases and capitals of the western piers of these bays having been set out also to radiate from a common centre like the sides of the other piers, there is a natural coming inwards which causes a slight horse-shoe shape to the apse, and, the sides of the quire being on tangential lines, the two eastern bays naturally approach each other. This may, or may not, have been intentional, but it is possible that, when setting out the apse, it was not borne in mind that the western bay on each side, being opposite to the entrance to a chapel, would require to be wider than the rest, and it was not noticed until it was too late to alter it.

The arches of the main arcade of the quire and its apse are round-

¹ These dimensions include the strings in the height of the lower story in each case.

² Mr. F. H. Greenaway offers this explanation.

headed, the narrower ones of the apse being stilted to range with the others (pl. XXIX *b*, p. 23). The heights of the piers average 10 ft. 6 in. from the floor to the top of the abacus. The arches are recessed with a second order. The soffits of the arches are flat, as at St. Albans, Malvern, Tewkesbury, and Norwich. The hood moulding has the plain round billet ornament finely worked, which, besides passing over the arch, is also carried immediately over the abacus of the capitals into the adjoining bay. The capitals of the pillars follow the recessing of the arch above and are ornamented with the scallop (pl. XXII, XXIII, p. 17). The bases have the small flat moulding characteristic of the period, measuring only $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high.

On both the north and the south sides of the quire the abacus of the capital is carried as a string across the face of the compound piers from one half column to the other, but it is only carried some 18 in. on the face of the eastern piers of the crossing, probably indicating the point to which the canons' stalls extended eastward (pl. XXII). The mouldings of the base of these great piers project only $1\frac{1}{4}$ in., to allow of the stalls being placed against the face of the wall.

On the north face of the compound pier, on the south side of the quire, is the $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. set-back already alluded to (pls. XVII, p. 9, XXII).¹ It extends up to the string below the clerestory but does not appear on the south face of the pier in the aisle, though it reappears in the triforium above.²

Twelve inches above the arches of the arcade, and immediately below the triforium, is a bold string which, on the north side, stops 2 ft. 2 in. short of the western angle of the crossing pier, but on the south side it is carried right up to the angle (pl. XXII), another indication of the rebuilding of the north-east pier.

Some of the piers were renewed and some largely repaired in 1864, as will be seen by reference to the plan above, p. 3.³ Coney's engraving made for Caley and Ellis's edition of Dugdale in 1818⁴ shows the arch of the north-west bay supported by a corbel with Perpendicular mouldings on the capital, instead of a half-column with twelfth-century mouldings as now, showing that the rebuilding of that side of the pier of the crossing, in 1405, affected this bay. Presuming that Caley's drawing is correct, it would have been well if that feature could have been retained.

On the south side of the quire, Malcolm's⁵ drawing made in 1803 shows that, after the suppression, the piers of the ground arcade

¹ See p. 8.

² See plan, p. 3.

³ Also builder's signed plan, roll 32, No. 11, in parish safe.

⁴ The compound pier is shown as a free circular pier in error!

⁵ Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* i, 293. (A very reliable author.)



GROUND ARCADE, SOUTH SIDE OF QUIRE
(see pp. 8, 16)



PART OF GROUND ARCADE, NORTH SIDE OF CHOIR
(see pp. 7, 16)

suffered very materially, the half-column on the western side of the compound pier on the south side of the quire having been hacked back. Other prints show the piers covered with wainscot with hat-pegs attached! (Pl. XXVI, p. 20.)

In the twelfth century the whole of the stone work in the quire was coloured, as was usual. The voussoirs were treated in bands of red, black, and yellow in succession, each being 5 in. to 6 in. wide. This arrangement on the face of the walls was also carried through the soffits of the arches of the arcade, as was found in the quire beneath the whitewash in the restoration of 1864,¹ and again, in 1892, in the recess in the east wall of the north transept. Fragments with the colour still adhering have been found of the thirteenth-century work of the nave, the roof of the Lady Chapel and portions of canopied work of the Decorated period, showing that the interior of the church was coloured throughout.

On the conversion of the apsidal end of the church to a square termination, about the year 1405, the five eastern bays of the apse were cut off (as explained above),² whilst the western bay on each side, with the adjoining three bays of the quire, went to form a square presbytery. The floor of this presbytery was raised about 2 ft. 3 in. above the twelfth-century floor level (as already mentioned)³ and was probably approached at this period by five or six steps.

The north side of the presbytery was occupied in its western bay by the founder's tomb,⁴ the mural arcading or panelling of which was carried across the eastern bay.⁵ In this latter bay was a priest's door to give access to the high altar (pl. VI *a*, Vol. I, p. 78). It has been suggested that the monument, as well as forming the north wall of the sanctuary, was also itself a southern 'parclose' to a chapel built by Roger Walden for his own chantry. This is quite possible, although there are now no remains of any walls, or signs of any walls having existed, on the north side of the monument. Withers, however, records in his diary (October 1864) that the excavation then going on 'in the north aisle near the east end had disclosed another block of masonry and the base of a tomb carried round on the west side of Rahere's in the north aisle, probably originally a portion of the same'; and again (February 1867), that 'a low piece of wall at the back of the monument had been taken up and some exquisite fragments of transition Norman work discovered therein'. It is

¹ This information was given by the late Mr. J. D. Crace, F.S.A., who saw the colouring from the scaffolding in 1864.

² See p. 11.

³ See p. 12 above.

⁴ For description of Rahere's monument see Vol. I, p. 70.

⁵ As mentioned in Vol. I, p. 73.

quite possible that this masonry was a portion of the walls of a chantry chapel on the north side of the tomb built by Roger Walden for his chantry, though his chantry was eventually founded at St. Paul's, as he was Bishop of London when he died.¹

The straight wall on the south side of the sanctuary filled both bays. We have no record concerning it before the suppression, but Sir John Deane, the first rector, desired, in 1563, to be buried in the western bay, Sir Walter Mildmay's monument being placed later in the eastern bay.² Hayter Lewis records that the latter cut very awkwardly into one of the main piers and arches.³ It is shown by Malcolm⁴ surrounded by iron rails (pl. XXIX *a*, p. 23), with the pier to the west of it cut square. Withers, in his diary,⁵ records (February 1865) that when the south wall was taken down 'numerous small fragments of beautifully carved stone work' were discovered, and in a cavity at the back, above the floor level, were the coffins of Sir Walter and Lady Mildmay, which, together with the monument, were at that time removed to the present position in the south aisle.

At the east end of the quire the straight wall was carried to a height of 23 ft. 6 in. to the level of the springing of the arches of the triforium. Remains of this wall, some 2 ft. wide, still project both on the north and the south sides at the triforium level. The wall was surmounted by two large four-light windows, the shafts on the jambs of which, together with the springers of the window arches, and a small portion of a stone string that ran below the sills, were found, at the restoration of 1865, concealed behind the plaster.⁶ The shafts, which have a plain moulded base and capital, measure 16 ft. 3 in. in height: the capitals range with the springing of the arches of the clerestory, the bases with that of the triforium. By means of the tracery of these windows, which was found in the year 1885 among the eighteenth-century brickwork, and by means of the window jambs and springers, it has been possible to reconstruct on paper these two windows (pl. XXV *a*, p. 19). They probably remained until the eighteenth century, because, in the year 1704, 'the east window' was ordered by the vestry to be repaired in stone,⁷ but later on, either in 1720 or 1791, they were taken out and replaced by two round-headed Georgian windows built in brick. The windows, we may assume, were filled with stained glass in the fifteenth century, from fragments that have been found from time to time.

¹ See Vol. I, p. 188.

² See later, p. 24.

³ H. Lewis, *Report*.

⁴ Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* i, 293.

⁵ Withers, *Diary*, p. 28.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 35.

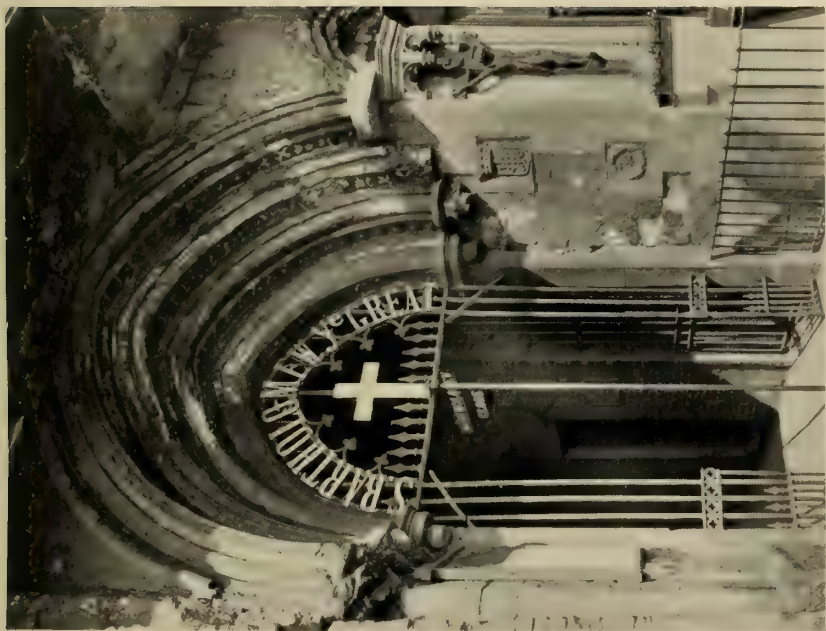
⁷ See later, p. 326; *Vest. Min. Bk.* i, 349.

a

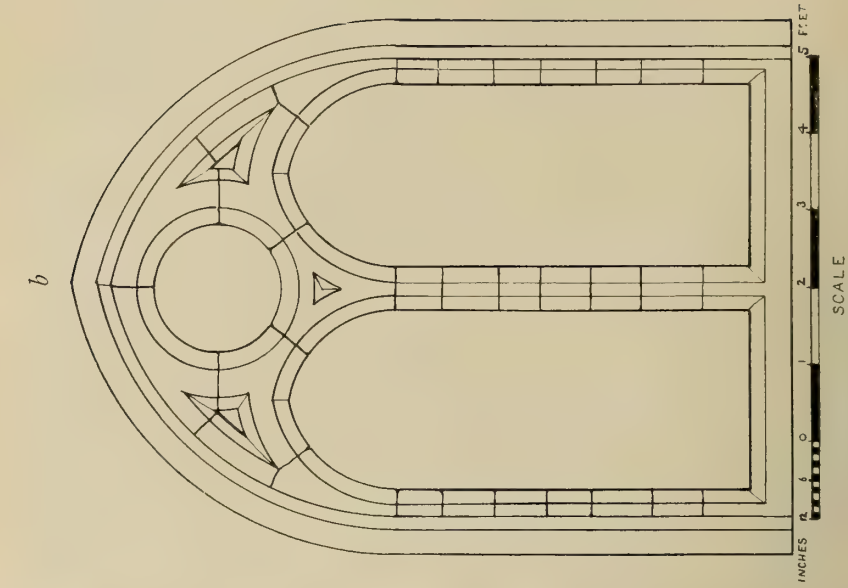


MONASTIC QUIRE ENTRANCE, SOUTH SIDE
(see p. 69)

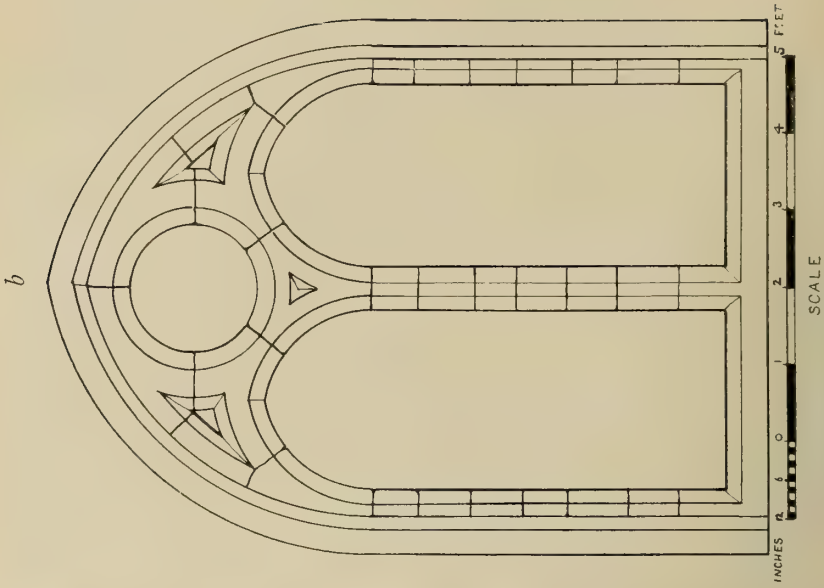
b



SOUTH-WEST PORTAL OF THE MONASTIC CHURCH
(see pp. 5, 11, 68, 106)



CONJECTURAL RESTORATION OF THE EAST WINDOWS
(see pp. 12, 18, 550)



CLERESTORY WINDOW OF THE NAVE
(see p. 10)

The high altar,¹ in 1405, was placed on the west side of this straight wall, which was built with an ashlar face. Early in the nineteenth century this wall was found to be painted red with black stars,² probably the original decoration.

Eastward of this wall was another wall enclosing a space about 7 ft. wide, known in later times as 'purgatory' (pl. XXXIII, p. 27). This may have been a corruption of the word 'presbytery', or the place may have been so called because the chamber was, in the early nineteenth century, filled with human bones.³ It was entered by a door in its north end, close to the priest's door, east of Rahere's tomb. The floor was lower than that of the ambulatory, for we read of steps leading down to it.⁴ It was lighted by a small window above the door. (The arches, shown in some of the drawings⁵ on the east face of this wall, were made of Roman cement and merely placed there for ornament by John Blyth, the architect, early in the nineteenth century.) This eastern wall, in 1405, was carried up parallel with the wall of the high altar to the height of the walls of the Lady Chapel. A floor was thrown across the space between these two walls at approximately the same level as the triforium floor, thus forming a covered passage-way⁶ from one triforium to the other behind the high altar (p. 7).⁷ This arrangement continued up to the time of the suppression. Afterwards the Lady Chapel, as will be seen, was converted into a private dwelling-house and then this passage gave access from it to an eastern bay of the north triforium, for use as 'a chapel chamber'; and later, when the Lady Chapel was used successively by printers and fringe-makers, the passage gave access to rooms in the south triforium.

The old engravings by Malcolm in 1803 and Wilkinson in 1822 (pl. XXIX, p. 23, and pl. XXVI, p. 20) give an idea of the appearance of the straight east wall early in the nineteenth century. They show a large altar-piece reaching in the centre to nearly a third of the height of the two round-headed windows. It consisted of a painting of a Tuscan temple with columns, arches, and obelisks surmounted by the royal arms, and is thus described in a parish document of the year 1821:⁸

¹ See p. 101.

² Godwin, *Churches of London* (1838), i, 13; Withers, *Diary*, pp. 19, 21. Plan in safe, No. 32 (1).

³ *Churchwardens' Accounts* for 1663 have an entry 'To digging a hole under the stairs for a bone house 6/6d.', so apparently there were two bone houses.

⁴ The floor having been lowered may account for the foundations of the two central piers not being found. See Parker in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1863, ii, 157, and Withers, *Diary*, 1864, pp. 10, 11.

⁶ See longitudinal section of church, p. 3.

⁵ Parker, *Lecture*, 1863, p. 10.

⁷ See above, p. 12.

⁸ *Counsel's Opinion*, 1821, belfry cupboard drawer 18, bundle 1.

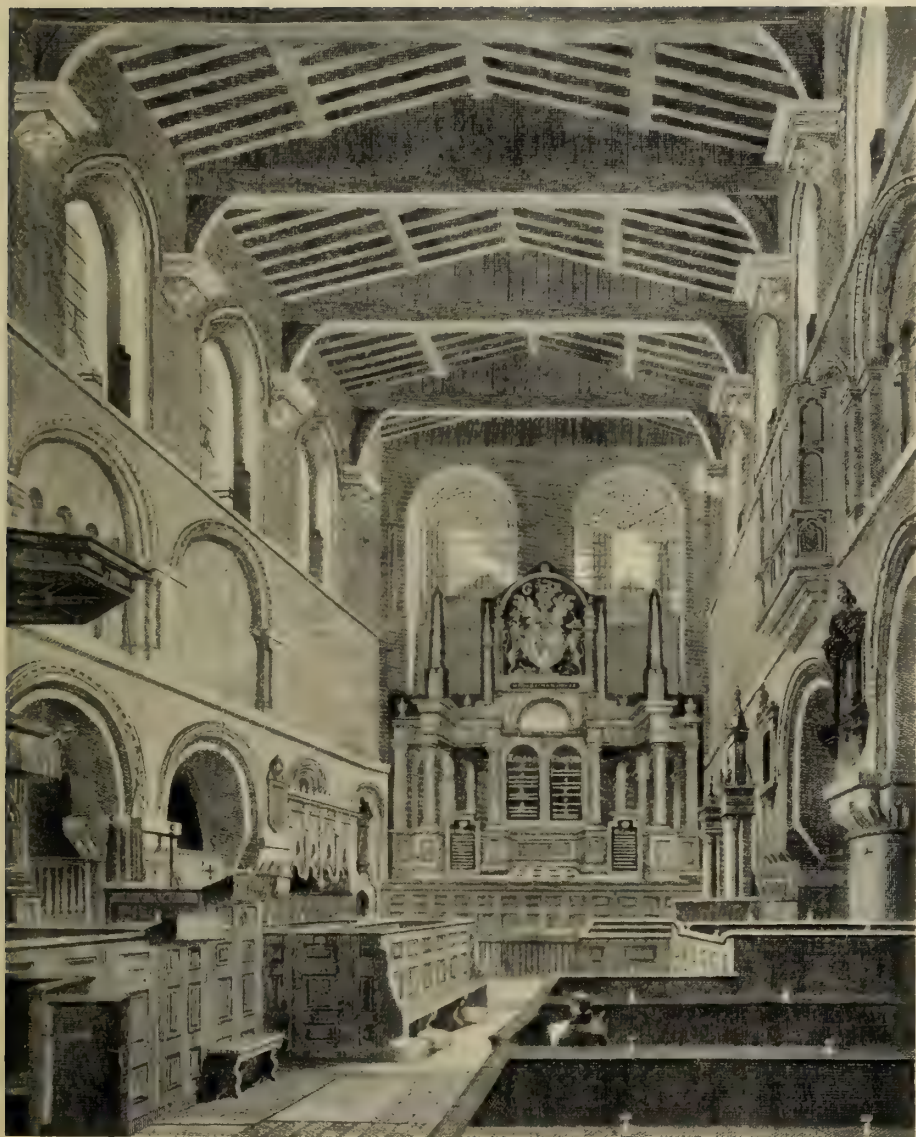
'An altar piece 32 ft. high consisting of a very spacious piece of architecture painted on canvas; between the columns are painted the Commandments, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. On the upper part are the arms of King Charles I with the initials C.R.' The altar itself is the most insignificant thing in the picture, being much lower than the pews. It is closely surrounded by railings the same height as the table and entirely without ornament of any kind. In the year 1828, when some £800 was spent in alteration and repairs to the church, this altar-piece was taken down and replaced, by Blyth, with an arcade of small arches in Norman style of the same height as the arches of the ground arcade rendered in Roman cement, with a plain wooden panelled screen behind the altar (pl. XXVII, p. 21).¹

In the year 1863 Hayter Lewis and William Slater advised that the fifteenth-century square termination should be altered back to the apsidal one of Rahere's time. The grounds for this recommendation were that the square end contained no Perpendicular work of such importance as the Norman work which still remained hidden by the walls of 'purgatory'. Of moulded stone work of the former period there were only the shafts of the jambs of the east windows; whilst of the latter there remained two bays of the ground arcade, one on each side, with their four piers and two arches embedded in the straight east wall and the wall of 'purgatory', neither of which had any architectural feature. The architects' advice was carried out with the entire approval of the leading architects of the day.² The square presbytery was altered by removing the straight east wall and the Mildmay tomb on the south side; and, whilst retaining the Rahere monument on the north side, the continuation of the monument with the priest's door in the adjoining bay was removed.³ This last is a matter of regret, for the removal was not necessary. The east wall and the walls of 'purgatory' were removed in March of 1865 to the height of the abacus of the capitals of the piers. The two centre piers were rebuilt and the sanctuary enclosed by means of wooden panels placed between the piers. The east ambulatory still remained part of the church, but on the first floor everything on the east side of the straight east wall was in possession of the fringe-maker, whose premises therefore extended some 17 ft. into the church; and, as all efforts to induce him to relinquish possession failed, his factory had to be supported by an iron girder upon iron columns placed within the sanctuary (pl. XXVIII, p. 22).

¹ See engraving in Godwin, *Churches*; Archer, *Vestiges*.

² For fuller particulars see later, p. 380.

³ Withers, *Diary*, p. 89.



EAST END OF QUIRE, 1822
(see pp. 17, 19, 20)



EAST END OF QUIRE, 1838
(see pp. 20, 46)

This disreputable state of things continued for twenty years, until, in 1885, a second effort at restoration was commenced, under the direction of Sir Aston Webb, when the fringe-maker's property was purchased. The question of the retention of the square end, or of a return to the apsidal end, had been settled twenty years before by the completion of the ground arcade: the apse, therefore, had to be completed, as it now exists, the patron, the Rev. F. P. Phillips, bearing the whole of the cost (*Frontispiece*, Vol. II).

The round-headed windows with the brick wall were removed, but the shafts of the fifteenth-century window jambs and the portion of the wall supporting them were retained. The five bays of the triforium were rebuilt in Norman style, to correspond with the existing triforium, with a subsidiary arcade of two arches and a central shaft. To make a difference from the old work the shafts were¹ fluted and the tympana were hatched. The mouldings of the arches follow the old ones, those of the centre arch being—as already stated¹—the original stones. Mouldings of the arches of the ground arcade below were found during the demolition of the windows, but, as the arches had been rebuilt twenty years earlier, these stones could not be re-used, so they have been set up in the north triforium. The clerestory bays of the apse were rebuilt to harmonize with those of the quire in early Perpendicular style, but, as already stated, a slender shaft² has been carried between each bay from the base of the triforium to the cornice above the clerestory to show that these two stories were built at one and the same time.

To incorporate the jamb shafts and springers of the fifteenth-century windows into a harmonious whole with the new work, Sir Aston turned an arch across the apse springing from these jambs, thus preserving all the indications of the square east end³ and forming a sanctuary arch with a straight wall over. This arrangement had also other advantages; the fifteenth-century clerestory, built when the eastern termination was square, ran in a straight line unlike the triforium below, which, being built when there was an apsidal termination, had begun to curve (as already stated) before the fifteenth-century wall was reached. The retention of these jambs, with an arch above, enabled the junction of the straight clerestory with the curve of the apse to be masked and the new work to be carried out without any interference with the twelfth- or fifteenth-century work. On the other hand, it fixed the cord of the apse at the position of the

¹ See above, p. 14.

² *Ib.*, p. 14.

³ Sir Aston Webb, *Report to Restoration Executive Committee*, 1886, see App. II p. 549.

fifteenth-century straight wall instead of at its original position one bay farther west, thus practically reducing the apse to one of five bays instead of seven bays, as in the twelfth century. The altar now stands on the cord of the new apse.

The pulpit formerly stood against the compound piers on the north side of the quire. The pre-suppression structure remained until 1828, when Allen says it was destroyed by the clumsiness of a workman in an attempt at its removal during repairs then going on.¹ It was a wooden pulpit with five sides and Gothic traceried panels of the late Decorated period,² painted red,³ and a wood panelled back carrying a large sounding-board (pl. XXIX *a*, p. 23, and pl. XXX, p. 24). In place of this pulpit there were erected, in 1828, two polygonal massive wood panelled pulpits on pillars (pl. XXVIII).⁴ The present stone pulpit is the work of Sir Aston Webb in 1893. Like an ancient ambo⁵ it has two flights of stairs, one on the western side for ascending and one on the eastern side for descending. The centre projects, forming a three-sided bay supported by a moulded corbel. The front has six panels, four of which are pierced and cusped (pl. XVI, p. 8).

THE AMBULATORY OF THE QUIRE.

The ambulatory of the quire formed a spacious processional way which, as was said when describing the plan, encircled the apse and gave access to the chapels.⁶ It contained in all fifteen bays divided by heavy transverse arches, and these, for easier reference, are here designated numerically, commencing with that on the east side of the south transept (see plan, p. 3).

As already mentioned,⁷ the ambulatory was originally vaulted throughout with simple groined vaults, as at the chapel of St. John in the Tower, but with certain important differences. These differences are admirably described in the late Sir Gilbert Scott's *Lectures*⁸ thus: 'At first sight the two may appear to be similarly treated, but on closer examination there will be found to be much difference between them. In the Tower chapel the transverse ribs are made to increase prodigiously in width towards the outer wall, so as to reduce the want of parallelism of the groined compartments, a very unsightly expedient, and the capitals of the columns are square,

¹ Allen, *London*, iii, 637. See also below, p. 376.

² Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* i, 293.

³ *Vetust. Mon.* ii, 8. There is an engraving by J. Coney, etched by J. Skelton for J. Booth's Architectural Series of London Churches, in the Gardner Collection.

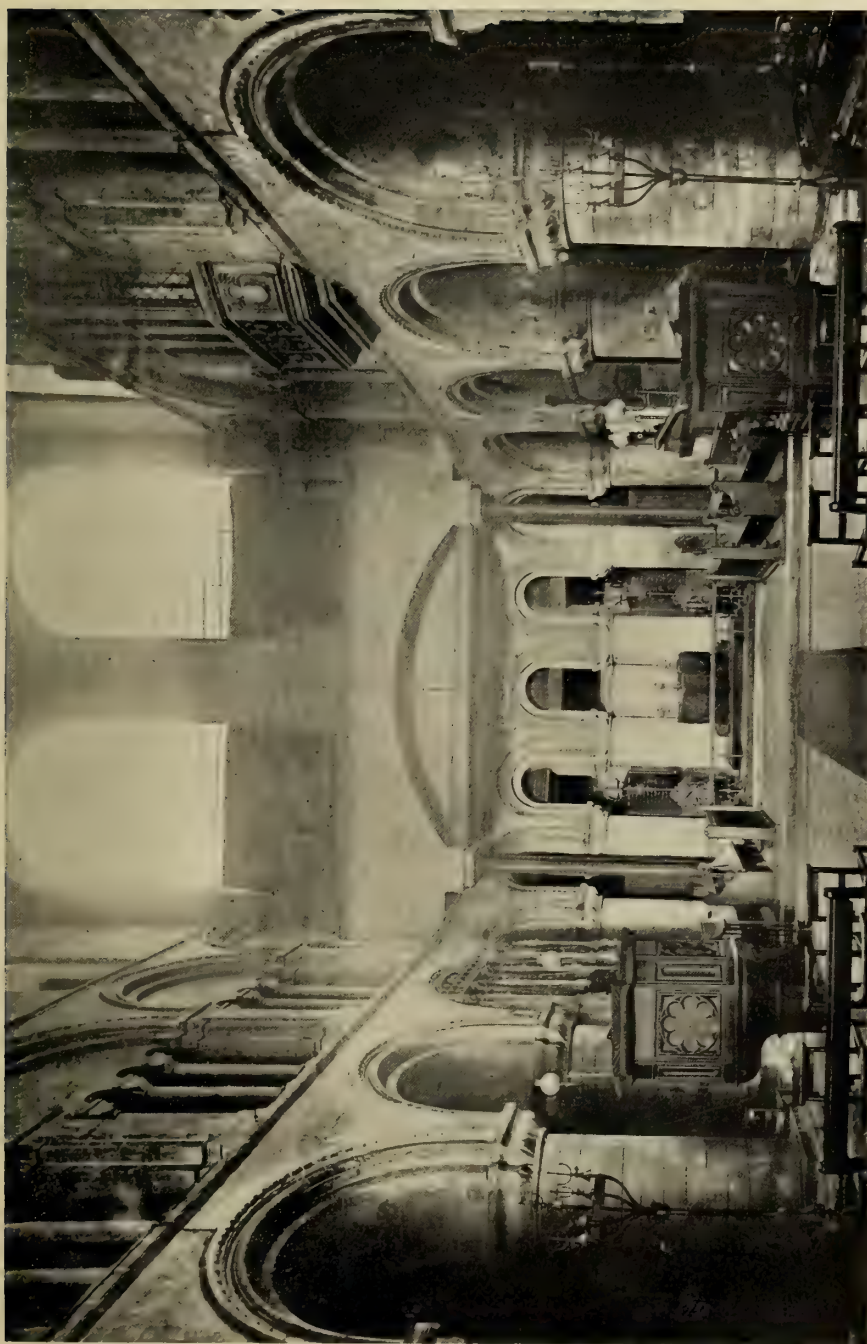
⁴ See Godwin, *Churches of London*.

⁵ A kind of pulpit.

⁶ See above, p. 3.

⁷ *Ib.*, pp. 5, 7.

⁸ Scott, *Lectures*, ii, 165-6.



EAST END OF QUIRE, 1885
(see pp. 14, 20, 22, 376)

PLATE XXIX

a



THE QUIRE, 1803
(see pp. 12, 18, 19, 22)

b



GROUND ARCADE OF APSE, 1912
(see p. 16)

which makes the backs of the arches they support nearly double the width they present in front: while at St. Bartholomew's the ribs are of uniform width, and the capitals, instead of being square, have their sides radiating from the centre of the apse, so as to share with their arches the spreading of their outer sides' (Fig. 2, p. 42).

Only two bays of the vaulting at St. Bartholomew's—those at the east end of the north ambulatory—may be original work, the others having all been renewed at different times.

After the fire of 1830 we have a record¹ that, the south wall having to be shored, the damaged vaulting was seen to be rubble, and that 'lathing' and 'tiling' was carried out over the aisle, referring apparently to the first three bays on the south side. In November of the same year, Mr. Blyth, the Surveyor, was instructed by the vestry 'immediately to take down the two faulty groins adjoining the vestry-room' (the fourth and fifth bays) and 'reinststate them like the others'.² These latter vaults of laths, tiles, and plaster were taken down in 1891 and replaced in concrete.

The vaulting of the three western bays on the north side (the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth) probably gave way after the abutment of the chapels on that side was removed in the sixteenth century. In September 1866 the transverse arches of these bays were rebuilt,³ but from lack of funds the vaulting was not renewed until 1893. In the interval the floor boards of the school above alone separated that noisy assembly from the church.

The transverse arches of the vaults have flat soffits and square arrises. The responds or pilasters on the walls which carry the arches have capitals which are variations of the scalloped capitals of the columns of the quire (pl. XXXI*a*, p. 25). The first and third pilasters in the south walk were renewed in 1865; the rest, including those in the north walk—with the exception of that of the arch opening into the transept—seem to be original.

In the first bay of the south walk of the ambulatory of the quire is an arched doorway which led to the sacristy. It probably dates from the fourteenth century. It was at some time after the suppression closed and hidden under plaster; it was only uncovered in 1865. The stone sill, which is much worn, is 1 ft. 8 in. above the present floor level;⁴ but there is evidence of there having been either one or two steps up to it. The present door was made in 1867⁵ and remodelled in 1914. The transverse arch, and the responds which

¹ *Receipted Accounts*, belfry cupboard.

² *Vest. Min. Bk.* vii, 58.

⁴ See below, p. 73, and pl. XLVI*b*, p. 58.

³ Withers, *Diary*, p. 70.

⁵ Withers, *Diary*, p. 92.

carry it, between the first and second bays are thicker and stronger than the others in the ambulatory and are of two orders (pl. XXXV, p. 29). The second order on the west side of the arch and on the east side of the arch on the opposite side of the bay westward are either concealed by the plaster vault erected after the fire of 1830, or were never built.

In the second bay is the Mildmay monument, removed here in 1865 from the south side of the sanctuary (pl. XCIX *b*, p. 451).¹ This and the other monuments are described in a later chapter.

The wall of the third bay is occupied entirely by one large arched opening. The arch is four-centred, is slightly pointed, and has a shallow moulding carried round and brought down to within about 5 ft. of the present floor level. It would seem to date from Prior Bolton's time. It opened into a space paved with large red tiles, between the sacristy and the south apsidal chapel. This opening was finally built up in 1914 and the Roycroft monument fixed to the filling.

In the fourth bay is a memorial with the half-length figure of Edward Cooke, moved here in 1864 from the south wall of 'purgatory' (pl. XXXI *b*, p. 25).² On the opposite side of this bay, between the columns of the arcade, the organ was placed in 1867-1868, and there remained until 1886. Since then, the inlaid brass memorial to the first rector, Sir John Deane, has been placed on the floor where the organ stood.³

We now enter the apsidal portion of the ambulatory.

In the fifth bay is the twelfth-century opening to what was originally the south chapel, believed to be that of St. Stephen (pl. XXXI *b*, p. 25). In 1914 a choir vestry was built on what remained of its walls. The opening at its entrance from the ambulatory is 6 ft. 9 in. wide—as already seen⁴—and 13 ft. 9 in. high to the soffit of the crown of its round-headed arch.

The vaulting and original walls of the sixth and seventh bays have been taken down, excepting a small section, about 2 ft. in width, of the wall of the seventh bay, which remains in the south-west pier of the Lady Chapel. The demolition to the south of this pier must have been the work of Prior Bolton when he formed the present rectangular end, as already described.⁵ The vaulting here has been replaced by a flat ceiling which was renewed in wood in 1886. In the south wall of the rectangular end is the doorway which was formed by Bolton as an entrance to the church from the new Prior's House that he built (pl. XXXVI *b*, p. 30). It bears the 'Bolt-in-tun' rebus of the prior⁶ in the spandrels of the arch on the church side. The walls are of brick,

¹ See later, p. 451.

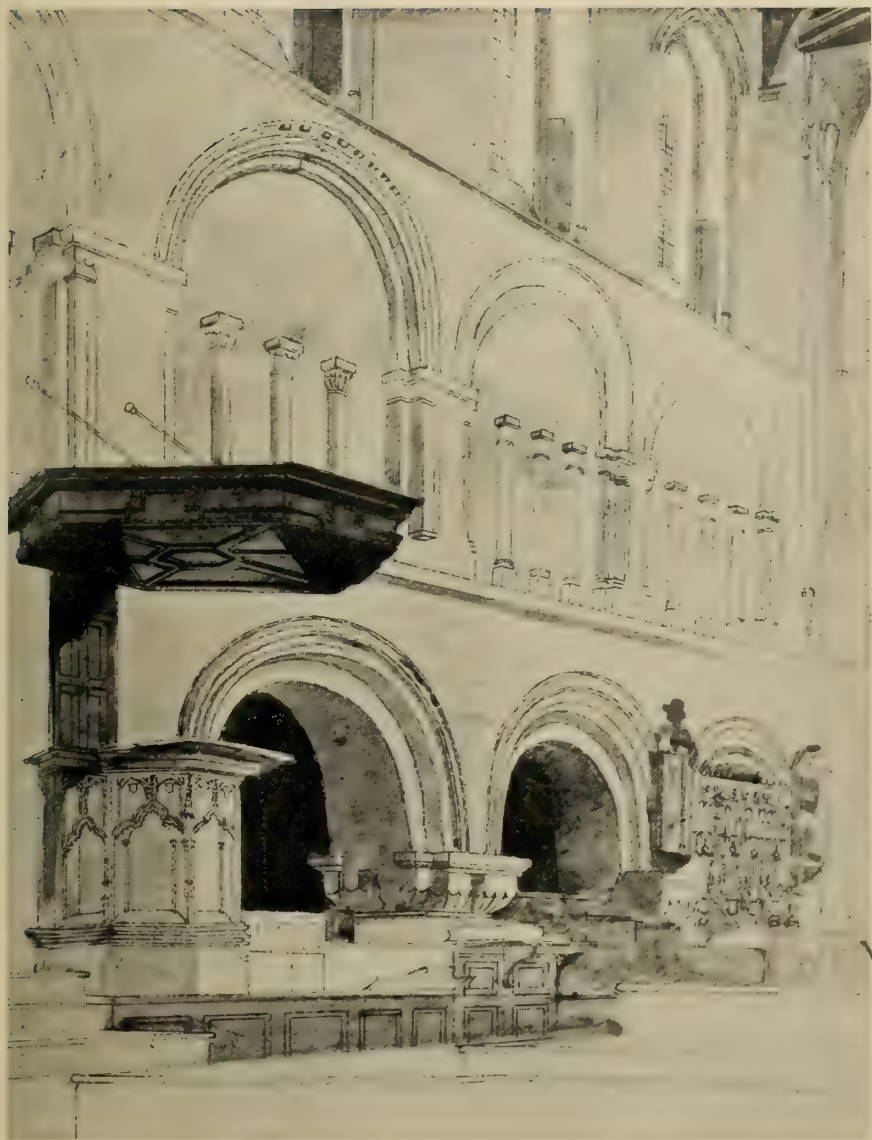
⁴ Above, p. 6.

² *Ib.*, p. 463.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 6.

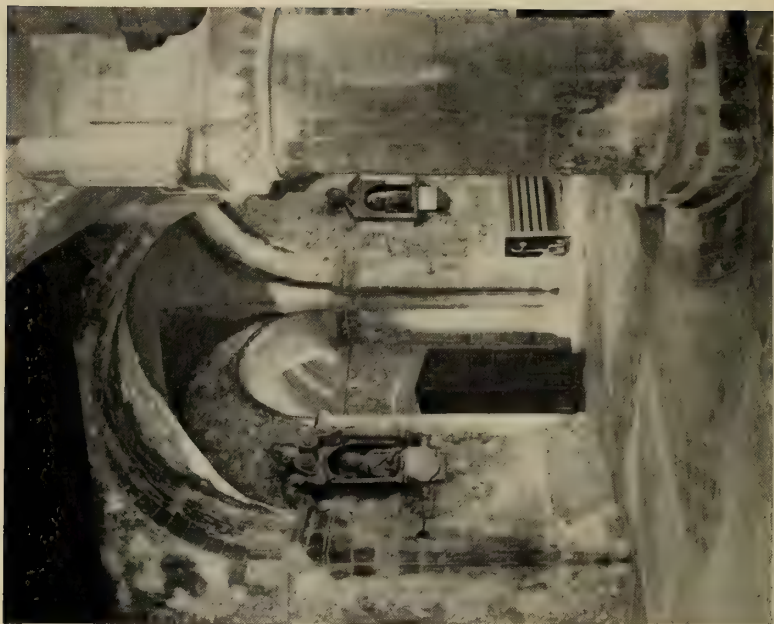
³ *Ib.*, pp. 301, 449.

⁶ Vol. I, p. 228.



MEDIAEVAL PULPIT
(see p. 22)

b



ENTRANCE TO SOUTH CHAPEL
(see p. 24)

a



SOUTH AMBULATORY, LOOKING WEST
(see pp. 23, 24)

a material in vogue in the time of Henry VIII. They are thickly covered with plaster and thus would have corresponded with the walls of the ambulatory, which, being built of rubble, were no doubt similarly treated.

Bolton's doorway is 1 ft. 11 in. above the present church floor level, and the present top step is 7 in. higher still.

In the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century this doorway was used as an entrance to the church. It was approached by a flight of steps descending from east to west on the outer side of the wall. At that time there was, as now, a window in the east wall of the rectangular end; but in 1849 the then rector, John Abbiss, who had built a school-house which obstructed Bolton's doorway, made a new entrance with a flight of seven steps by removing the window in the east wall. So it remained until 1864, when an eastern entrance was given up, and the window again inserted, as now. Bolton's doorway, after 1849, formed an entrance from the Infants' room of Rector Abbiss's school to the church. Owing to the lowering of the church floor in 1864 a flight of wooden steps was made for this doorway, but these were replaced by the present stone ones on the occasion of the royal visit in 1893, when the north transept was re-opened after restoration.

The small stone balcony outside the door was built for safety when Rector Abbiss's school-house was removed in 1914. The present doors were made in 1866.¹

Until the latter year the south walk of the ambulatory was shut off by two sets of double doors erected in the year 1720,² one being placed under the vaulting arch east of the entrance to the south chapel, the other under the arch on the west side of the south transept (pl. XXXII *b*, p. 26). The east end of the north walk was enclosed in the same way (pl. XXXIII, p. 27).³ These doors were probably erected to keep out the draughts from the various entrances; but also perhaps to exclude what Malcolm describes as 'the humid exhalations from a number of bones in a semicircular dungeon (purgatory) at the back of the altar', which, he remarks, 'made the air unpleasant'.⁴

In the east end of this south walk some tiles, found during the restoration of 1864, have been fixed to the small piece of the north wall for preservation. They are considered to be not earlier than the fourteenth century.

¹ Withers, *Diary*, p. 68.

² *Vest. Min. Bk.* ii, 214.

³ These doors are shown in Tavenor Perry's washed drawing of the south aisle and in J. T. Smith's engraving of the north aisle (as above).

⁴ Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* i, 292.

Here also stands the church chest. It is of oak and has three locks, but it is perfectly plain and there is nothing to indicate its date. It measures 5 ft. 3 in. long, 2 ft. wide, and 2 ft. 4 in. high.

We now enter the eastern part of the ambulatory. The vaulting of the three centre bays (the seventh, eighth, and ninth) must have been first taken down when the Lady Chapel was rebuilt about 1335¹ because the increased width of the opening into the chapel necessitated the removal of the responds which carried the transverse arches between these vaults. The small triangular portion left of bays seven and nine was then revaulted by turning a new transverse arch, of similar design to that removed, across the ambulatory and by filling in the triangular space with a section of a simple barrel vault. The new transverse arch was kept a little back from the face of the extension of the chapel wall above, and a second or mural arch, in the style of the period, was formed at a higher level to carry the wall, the space between it and the arch below being filled in (pl. XXXIV, p. 28).

These mural arches, both on the north and on the south sides of the entrance to the chapel, and the section of the barrel vault on the north side still remain, but the vault on the south side was again removed when Bolton formed his square end to the aisle, as previously described.²

It may be that the portion of the ambulatory enclosed between the extensions of the chapel walls was also revaulted at this time, but in the style of the period, for there remain above the capitals of the columns of the apse, which carry the fourteenth-century arches, two pieces of decorated moulding brought down to small corbels (broken away from that on the north column) which may have been portions of stilted springers of such a vault (pl. XXXIV, p. 28), and provision to carry a vault on the east side of the space could have been made by means of an open arcade across the entrance to the chapel proper. There are, however, it must be admitted, no signs of vaulting above the mural arches of the chapel which span the ambulatory, nor is there any trace of such an arcade, and the existence of hood moulds to the mural arches is against the probability that a vault was ever carried out. It would seem most likely, therefore, that such a vault—if ever intended—was abandoned before the rebuilding of the chapel had proceeded far. In any case, if new vaulting was built, it must of necessity have been taken down again when the high altar was rebuilt about the year 1405, and a straight east-end wall substituted for the apse, because the two centre columns of the apse were then removed, which would have involved the destruction of the vaulting.

¹ Above, p. 11.

² *Ib.*, p. 6.

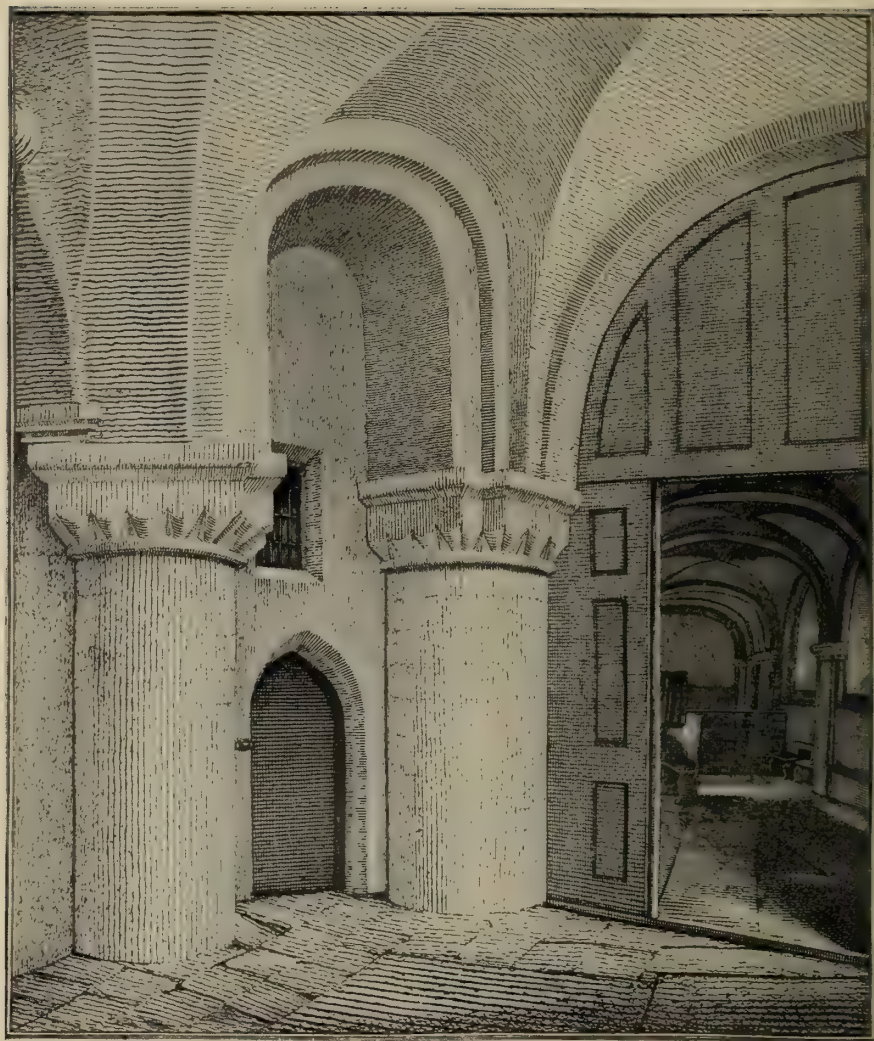


EAST AMBULATORY
(see pp. 27, 339)

b

WEST END OF SOUTH AMBULATORY
(see pp. 25, 142, 339, 348)

PLATE XXXIII



EAST AND NORTH AMBULATORY, 1810
(Entrance to 'Purgatory' on left)
(see pp. 19, 25, 348)

The extension of the Lady Chapel walls that span the ambulatory converge about 1 ft. 2 in. each, because the columns of the apse which carry them at the one end are only 19 ft. 8 in. apart, while the width of the chapel is 22 ft. The mural arches of these converging walls spring at their east ends from the capitals of decorated wall shafts, of which capitals that on the south side has much perished and that on the north is also damaged.

The arch on the south side is original as to its eastern half only and has a hood moulding (as mentioned above), which at its eastern end terminates in a carved head. The arch on the north side is original throughout, though patched in places in 1886. The hood moulding of this arch has perished, but the head at its east termination remains well preserved.

When Sir Richard Rich came into possession of the monastery in 1544 and converted the Lady Chapel into a dwelling-house he formed in it a first floor which he carried westward across the ambulatory, 13 ft. 6 in. above the present floor, or 11 ft. above the then existing floor, resting on the walls of the 'purgatory' chamber behind the altar and entirely covering the western mural arches of the Lady Chapel (pl. XXXII *a*, p. 26). He also incorporated the gallery above 'purgatory' into his house, but for some reason he did not absorb either 'purgatory' or the eastern portion of the ambulatory.¹ The whole encroachment was swept away in 1886.

Of the original walls of these three bays of the east ambulatory there remains that portion which forms part of the south-west pier of the Lady Chapel and a corresponding portion of the north-west pier. In this latter pier the twelfth-century work has been brought forward or 'made out' on its western face by the fourteenth-century builders to provide a better springing for their arch across the ambulatory, and on this 'making out' the Decorated shafts have been worked. On the south-west pier the fourteenth-century builders satisfied themselves with merely plastering wedge-shaped stones on to the Norman walling, some of which stones have now come away, revealing the Norman splayed face of the apse behind.

This is not only of interest as showing, as it does, that part of these piers is Norman masonry, and establishing with exactness the line of the original apsidal walls in these bays, but also because it shows by the twelfth-century tooling on the return faces that these Norman stones were originally quoins and that therefore there must have been an opening, or at least a recess, to the immediate south of this

¹ Strype, *Stow*, i, Bk. iii, 238 b, records in 1720 that in the year 1628 the east aisle was very defective and was repaired and beautified at the cost of the parishioners.

pier. Such an opening still exists in a corresponding position by the north-west pier of the chapel. In this latter case the inner part of the north reveal appears to be twelfth-century, and the inner arch and south reveal fourteenth-century work. The line of the latter is at a different angle to and in front of a line corresponding to the Norman face of the south-west pier.

The original purpose of these openings is somewhat obscure, as is also the reason for their having been placed out of the centre of their respective bays. The opening that remains on the north side measures in width 3 ft. 6 in., and in height from the present church floor to the crown of the arch 9 ft. 2 in.; whilst outside the church there is a covering brick arch which measures a further 1 ft. 8 in. to the crown, suggesting an outside stair: on the other hand, when the arch was opened there was found what may have been an original filling of chalk and stone 4 ft. 4 in. in height. It is therefore possible that these openings were originally Norman windows, and that there were turrets at the junction of the original Lady Chapel with the apse, which made it necessary to place the windows as far to the north and south respectively as possible: had these openings themselves led to such turrets we should assume that they would have been placed nearer to them. At Tewkesbury there are turrets in this position, but they were not apparently carried down below the Lady Chapel roof. At Peterborough such turrets are approached from the clerestory passage.

We now pass to the tenth bay, which is one of those which apparently retains the original vaulting, though now cemented over. The whole of the outer face of this bay is occupied by a round-headed and probably original Norman opening, the upper part of which was filled in as a mullioned window in 1864-1865 (pl. XXXIV).¹ The filling below the window is probably post-suppression. It is thought that when—as is described later²—the chapel of St. Bartholomew was rebuilt about the end of the fourteenth century, it was placed outside this bay and was entered through the arched opening, and that when the chapel was destroyed after the suppression the opening was roughly filled up, as we see the lower part to-day.

The next bay (the eleventh), which also seems to have its original vaulting, contains the entrance to the twelfth-century north external chapel (pl. XXXIV), corresponding to that on the south side (the fifth bay). This Norman arch was at first—as is shown later³—the entrance to St. Bartholomew's chapel, but now leads to a modern building used

¹ Parish Safe, *Plans*, 32 (14).

² Below, p. 92.

³ *Ib.*, p. 91.



EAST END OF NORTH AMBULATORY
(see pp. 11, 26, 28, 121)

PLATE XXXV



NORTH AMBULATORY, LOOKING EAST
(see pp. 7, 24, 29)



NORTH AMBULATORY, LOOKING WEST
(see p. 7)

as a robing room, and to a turret stair to the old school-house, now used as a sacristy.

The twelfth-century chapel has been completely destroyed, probably when the Walden chapel was built and when the St. Bartholomew's chapel was 'newly founded' at the end of the fourteenth century. This twelfth-century arched entrance may later have been used as an entrance to St. Anne's chapel as suggested presently.¹ The opening has been partly filled and a doorway formed in the filling. The door is modern, but the frame is Tudor and was brought from the school-room above when the west approach to the school was removed in 1866.²

On the south side of this bay was the fifteenth-century priest's door to the sanctuary already referred to.³

With the next bay (the twelfth) we enter the north ambulatory of the quire (pl. XXXV). The vaulting of this and the next three bays is a restoration of 1891.⁴ The original vaulting was removed in 1791, for there is a copy of an agreement among the parish papers of that year 'to take down the stone groin in the north aisle and to replace with good sound lath and plaster' and to relay the school floor above.⁵ The object may have been to lessen the weight of the thrust against the north wall, then getting into a precarious condition for want of abutment. To the south of the twelfth bay is the back of Rahere's monument. The tiles which covered the open tracery were removed in 1867. The rubble wall, in part covered with plaster, shows where the monument, without authority, was opened in 1866. On the opposite side of the bay and about 8 ft. from the floor is a square deeply-splayed mullioned window, of the date of which we have no record. It was probably inserted after the demolition of the old parish church some time in the reign of Elizabeth,⁶ and it is likely that the filling in below dates from the same time.

Below this window, outside the church, a wall was built in 1866, parallel to the church wall, forming a long narrow cupboard.

The last three bays (the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth) form an arcade on the north side consisting of three Decorated arches inserted within the Norman arches of Rahere's work. They opened into a long chapel built by Roger Walden about the year 1395,⁷ called the All Saints or parish chapel—the latter because it was an extension of the parish chapel in the north transept.⁸ The floors of

¹ *Ib.*, p. 99.

² Vol. I, p. 73.

³ Belfry drawer 18, bundle 2.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 97.

⁵ Withers, *Diary*, p. 72.

⁶ See below, p. 418.

⁷ See later, p. 96.

⁸ See below, p. 99.

the fourteenth and fifteenth bays were always, as now, 1 ft. 3 in. to 1 ft. 4 in. above the present church floor level.¹ The level of the thirteenth bay, however, is 3 ft. 8 in. above the church floor, but that it was not so originally is shown by the evident 'make up' character of the bases of the shafts which are upon it.

The arches are good examples of the late Decorated period; their outer order is continued down without capital or base, but the inner order, which consists of shafts, has both. At the junction of the two orders is a deep hollow.

In 1864 the work was found to be much decayed, so that only the thirteenth bay consists entirely of original work, but the bases and the lower part of the shafts and jambs of the other two bays are original and the remainder was at that time carefully restored.²

The capitals have an octagonal abacus with circular bell and necking; the bases have the upper members circular overhanging the octagonal plinth.

A drawing made in 1864³ shows the capitals, shafts, and bases of the thirteenth bay and an iron grill in the upper part of the arch (the holes of which still remain), but the other two openings are shown entirely filled with rubble and plaster. It may be that all the openings were originally furnished with grills.

The filling behind the arches and piers together with the windows is in each case the work done in 1865. Investigation shows that on the north side of these piers, though now covered, is faced work proving that they once stood free. The filling is 4 ft. thick and forms a much-needed buttress. The north wall of the church had long been a cause of anxiety. In 1812 the vestry directed a buttress to be placed against it. In 1820 the wall was ordered 'to be immediately repaired'. When Walden built his chapel the walls between the three western bays were taken away, his chapel giving the necessary abutment, but when it was pulled down the thrust of the aisle vault seems to have pushed the remains of the north wall outwards. In 1865 the straightening of this wall was an important part of the work of the Restoration Committee. Withers records in his diary on September 20th of that year that the western end had been made perpendicular by means of a screw-jack, and five days later that a portion had been pushed in three inches.⁴ A buttress was then built behind each of the piers of the north wall and the space between was roofed and the ends enclosed by the insertion of the present mullioned windows, which, besides strengthening the wall, enabled

¹ See later, p. 73.

³ Parish Safe, *Drawing*, 32 (12).

² Withers, *Diary*, p. 43, Sept. 25, 1865.

⁴ *Plans* in Parish Safe, No. 32 (23).

a



NORTH TRIFORIUM
(see p. 32)

b



PRIOR BOLTON'S DOORWAY
(see p. 24)



LESSER ARCADE OF NORTH TRIFORIUM
(see p. 32)

the jambs of the arches opening to Walden's Chapel to be left exposed.

Between the fourteenth' and fifteenth bays the pilasters, both against the external wall and on the compound pier, are of two orders, as in the corresponding bays one and two on the south side; and the transverse arch replaced in 1866 has been made to agree with the arch between those two bays (i.e. with two orders on the east side and only one on the west): consequently the present vaulting of bay fifteen (inserted in 1866) has had to follow that of bay one, and may or may not be as originally built.

The arch at the west end of the ambulatory was built up¹ when the north transept, into which it opened, was pulled down at the time of the suppression. It probably formed one item of Hugh ap Harry's Bill (recorded in the *Augmentations* in 1542) rendered to the king for 'repairs to the late priory £80'.² Later on, at the back of this west wall, a stair was built leading to the boys' school in the triforium, which was taken down again in 1866, in order to re-open the arch.³ In taking down the wall Withers records the finding of a crowned head, the fragments of a canopy, and two Norman capitals, all of which are now in the museum in the cloisters, and the matrix of a brass now fixed in the cloister floor. The crowned head has been a corbel and is very similar to the two at Westminster Abbey from which the label springs on the doorway below the Abbot's Chamber built between the years 1360 and 1390. At the base of the wall was found a portion of the old tile pavement then still in position.⁴

The stone coffin now preserved in this last (the fifteenth) bay was taken from the western bay of the arcade under the north arch of the crossing in 1865:⁵ it measures 6 ft. 10½ in. in length and 2 ft. 2½ in. in breadth at the head and 1 ft. 3 in. at the foot. The leaden coffin, now with it, was found in the burying-ground of the canons where the schools now stand.

THE TRIFORIUM OF THE QUIRE.

The triforium arcade corresponds in spacing and in general design with the main arcade. It measures an average of 13 ft. 8 in. in height from the under side of the string below the arcade to the under side of the present fifteenth-century string above the arcade. When first built it was some seven inches higher, as shown by the Norman strings still existing in the west bay. The pilasters on the jambs of

¹ *View* by J. T. Smith; see above, p. 25.

² L. and P., Hen. VIII, pt. ii, No. 231.

³ Withers, *Diary*, p. 59.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 59, 61.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 61.

the arches have capitals, ornamented with the scallop on which is a very narrow impost only $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, from which spring, not only the triforium arch, but also the arch of the lesser arcade (pl. XXXVII, p. 31). In this, Rahere's triforium differs from any known to the writer in England. It would appear, as has already been said,¹ that Rahere intended to have an open arcade, as he made no provision for the present lesser arches. At Malmesbury the lesser arcade consists of four arches, as here, but the end arches rest on a half-shaft built for the purpose. At Gloucester, Ely, Peterborough, Romsey, and Shrewsbury there are lesser arcades of three arches, but in each instance there is special provision for carrying the terminal arch. At St. Remis at Rheims the round-headed arches of the triforium of the transepts are still open,² as we believe Rahere's to have been, but in the nave they have been filled, and the arches rest, as here and also at Basle Cathedral, on a narrow impost only. Anyhow, it is clear that the filling did not take place until after Rahere's time, because the capitals of the circular shafts are of a design of a later date,³ those on the south side dating from about 1150, those on the north from about 1160 (pls. XXXVI a, p. 30, XXXVII, p. 31).

On the north side of the church the westernmost shaft of the west bay is longer than the rest, necessitated by the settlement that took place in the north-east pier of the crossing. If this shaft is original—and it has every appearance of being so—it shows that the settlement took place before the triforium arches were filled, and it may be assumed that Prior Thomas filled the arches for strength after the weakness in the north-east pier of his crossing showed itself. This was the case at Furness, where several arches near the tower were entirely filled for strength when the centre tower was heightened to carry more bells.

The arch of the fifth bay from the west, that is the one adjoining the present cord of the apse, is walled up entirely on both sides of the church (pl. XX, p. 12).⁴ This was evidently done in the early fifteenth century when the east end was reconstructed. The shafts and capitals appear to have been renewed at the same time.

On the north side the other arches of the lesser arcade have all been walled up at one time or another since the suppression. In Coney's drawing in Dugdale, in 1818,⁵ all the arches are so shown and, with the exception of the second from the west, they are shown as plastered

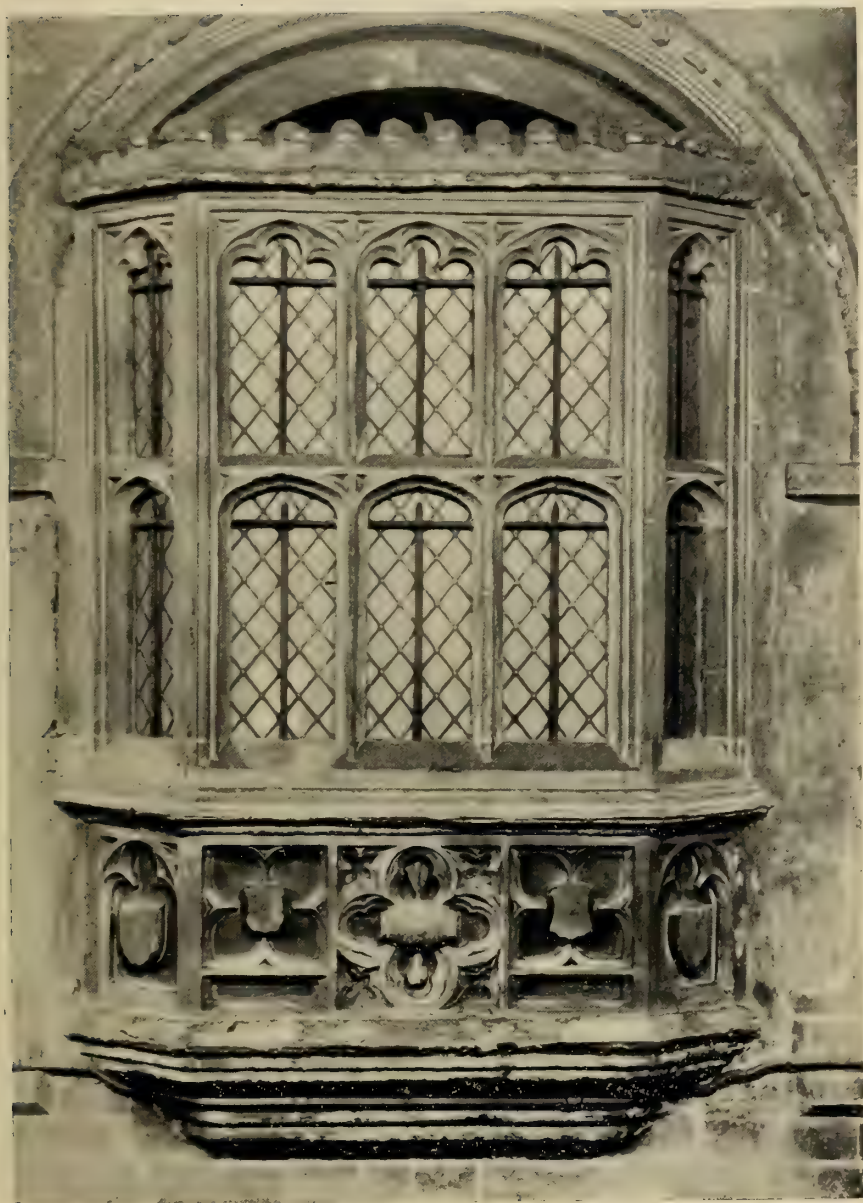
¹ Above, p. 6.

² Mr. Francis Bond drew the writer's attention to this.

³ Compare them with those outside Moyses Hall, Bury St. Edmunds, third quarter, twelfth century.

⁴ See plan at triforium level, p. 3.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.* vi, 291.



PRIOR BOLTON'S WINDOW
(see vol. i, p. 234 ; vol. ii, pp. 13, 33)

over in a manner completely to hide the shafts and their caps. Storer and Greig's¹ and Coney and Skelton's views in 1804 show them in a similar condition; but Billings' drawing of 1838² shows all the shafts free, though the openings were still filled, which was the work of John Blyth, the architect, in 1837.

The east triforium, as originally built, no doubt followed the line of the ambulatory arcade below. That it must have been remodelled when the Lady Chapel was rebuilt is evident, as the arches then formed arose to a greater height than the Norman floor level. How far this remodelling was carried is not known, but the remodelling of the apse, as already described, must have necessitated the entire demolition of this part of the triforium.³

On the south side, where the capitals of the shafts are not so varied, Malcolm, in 1803, shows the two western bays built up, but with the shafts and arcading still visible; the two eastern bays he describes as 'totally defaced and their outline barely discernible'.⁴ The central bay is filled with Prior Bolton's window, built about the year 1517 (pl. XXXVIII, p. 32). It has two tiers of five lights, the upper tier having trefoil cusps at the head of the lights, of which there are three in the front and one on each side of each tier. They were always glazed, as now, as is shown by the original rebates which remain, but some time after the suppression the window was bricked up, for in 1836 the churchwardens paid for 'removing the brick filling into lights and glazing with lead lights and iron-work'. Above is an embattled cornice. Below are three quatrefoil panels in front and a trefoil panel on each side. The centre panel contains Bolton's rebus in low-relief—a crossbow 'bolt' piercing a wine 'tun'. Each of the other panels contains a plain shield.

There are several instances of similar internal windows in churches: thus at Peterborough and also at Gloucester there was an 'abbot's gallery chapel'.⁵ In that at Gloucester is a window looking into the Lady Chapel from the east triforium in which the original *mensa* of the chapel altar remains. At Fountains the abbot's window opened into the chapel of the nine altars from the south end. At Christ's College, Cambridge, there is a window (restored by Bodley in wood) in a similar position to Bolton's and probably built by him. It opens from a chamber known as Lady Margaret's prayer room. At Westminster the abbot's window, with a balcony, opens into

¹ *Select Views* and J. Booth, Architect. Series Lond. Churches, Gardner Collection.

² Godwin, *Churches, St. Bartholomew the Great*, p. 10.

³ Above, p. 22.

⁴ Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* i, 292. *Beaut. Eng. and Wales*, x, pt. iii, 407. Engraving by Malton, *ob.* 1804.

⁵ Bloxam, *Goth. Arch.* ii, 306.

the nave at the west end of the south side. Probably this was used for observation, as the one at Malmesbury in a similar position, or Mr. Francis Bond suggests that it may well have been erected for the use of the semi-choir in the Palm Sunday procession.¹ There are other instances, as at Chichester, Oxford, St. Albans, St. George's, Windsor, and at Worcester, where the prior's oriel opens into the north aisle of the quire at its western end. For all of these various uses have been assigned.²

Prior Bolton's window, in the third bay from the west, no doubt opened from the new prior's house that he built, and enabled him to witness mass at the high altar.

In the fifth bay from the west, in the fourteenth century, was the *domus inclusa* occupied by John Mirfield, the physician, as already related.³

In the early part of the sixteenth century Prior Bolton greatly altered the south triforium internally when it was remodelled by him in connexion with the rebuilding of the prior's house.⁴

Bolton's house, as will be seen later, ran south from the east end of the south ambulatory of the quire, with which, on the ground floor, it communicated by the doorway known as Prior Bolton's door. On the triforium level, between the west wall of the house and the east wall of the sacristy, Bolton built a gallery parallel to and against the south wall of the triforium, very probably of wood like the one at Leicester Hospital at Warwick.⁵ This gallery extended over the south chapel⁶ and over the space between that and the sacristy (a space which was probably enclosed at this time); but it did not extend over the sacristy itself, as that was a lofty building. The floor of the gallery was probably at the same level as that of the triforium, as from Lord Holland's Rental of 1616 we learn that there was access from one to the other, and no mention is made of steps or stairs. We consider that Bolton used the eastern part of the south triforium as his private chapel, and it is possible that it was he who converted the two western bays into the 'chapel chambers', as they are subsequently described in the same Rental.

Bolton's private chapel would have extended from the bay in which his window is placed eastward as far as the line of the fifteenth-century square east end of the church; it seems to have had an

¹ Francis Bond, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 54.

² The *Tribune de Gruithuise*, Notre-Dame, Bruges, is a continental example.

³ Vol. I, p. 173.

⁴ See later, p. 159.

⁵ Mr. Greenaway drew my attention to this.

⁶ Allen, *London*, iii, 647. 'The school partly extends over the vestry of the church.'

east window overlooking a flat or low roof above the square east end of the south ambulatory, because, in 1833, it was thus described by Allen : ¹

'It was one of the apartments erected by Bolton, and still exists in nearly a perfect state; it is now divided into two apartments; the walls are wainscoted with small panels, each contains a curious scroll-formed ornament, the roof also is of timber and panelled into square compartments; at the points of intersection are flowers; at the east end is a large window with wooden mullions; it is bounded by a low pointed arch, on one of the spandrels of which is the device of Bolton. In the window is a shield with many quarterings; the arms of Rich, a chevron between three [crosses botony], is the only one perfect; the same arms appear on the front of a house in Cloth Fair.'²

Although all this has now disappeared, we still have the name 'Bolton' incised in sixteenth-century characters on the wall where the straight east wall of the quire projects into the triforium.

After the suppression, the south triforium appears to have remained without further alteration for a long period, for in Lord Holland's Rental of 1616 we find it described as still forming part of what had been the prior's house, and in the same condition as we believe Bolton left it. In the second half of the seventeenth century, however, the two western bays were converted into a gallery of a Nonconformists' Meeting House, described later,³ and so remained until destroyed by fire in 1830.

The eastern part of the triforium continued in the occupation of the tenant of the prior's house, probably until the middle of the eighteenth century, but we then find, by the parish rate-books, that this part was being used as a school, one Alice Russell being rated for the premises from 1748 to 1755. As there was a church school in the north triforium we assume that Alice Russell's was a Nonconformist school; at any rate her successor, Edward Cook, carried it on as a Presbyterian school, for he was rated for the school from 1756 to 1761. He was rated at the sum of £10, from which we gather that the school occupied the whole of this eastern portion of the triforium, or Bolton's gallery.

Edward Cook was succeeded by John Hitchcock until 1771, when his lease apparently came to an end, for the vestry in that year opened negotiations with the patron, Mr. W. Edwardes (a descendant of the Rich family), through the then rector, the Rev. O. P. Edwardes (also a descendant of Rich),⁴ with the view of obtaining a lease of

¹ Allen, *London*, iii, 646.

² See p. 167.

³ Warwick House, No. 22, now demolished.

See later, p. 353.

the buildings over the south ambulatory ; but, as they limited the rector to a rent of £3 a year, nothing came of it. The patron afterwards concluded a lease with the trustees of a ' Protestant Dissenting Charity School supported by voluntary contributions ' (as a notification on the door used to term it).¹ There were about 100 children, boys and girls, in this school, and the master lived on the premises.² The rector then came to an agreement with the trustees to close Bolton's window and the other openings into the church in consideration of £12 to be paid for opening skylights in their place. This the patron consented to and it was carried out. These schools, like the meeting-house, were continued until they were partly burnt out in the fire of 1830, the effect of which fire can still be seen in the badly flaked jambs of the western arches of the triforium, and in the transept below.

In the year after the fire, Mr. William Monney, who had then acquired the freehold of the Lady Chapel³ and of all the south triforium, except the two western bays,⁴ requested the rector and churchwardens to apply to the Bishop of London for permission to rebuild the rooms over the south and east aisles,⁵ but the vestry resolved⁶ ' that they could not recommend any measure which would tend to perpetuate the existence of a building on the church which they conceive ought never to have existed thereon ' and they placed a tiled lean-to roof over the south triforium floor. The fire apparently either did not extend to the east end of the church or the vestry subsequently reconsidered their decision, for later in the century there existed over the east end of the aisle a brick-built chamber of recent construction, which was in the occupation of the tenant of the Lady Chapel, as was the space in the roof over the south aisle. This chamber may have been erected after the skylights were put into the school premises, either as an extension of those premises or of those of the Lady Chapel. It was removed when the apse was restored in 1886.

The lean-to roof erected by the vestry over the triforium after the fire of 1830 did not reach to the crowns of the arches.⁷ In 1891 this roof was removed, the outer wall raised and a new roof built to the original height.

The north triforium, after the suppression, though secularized, did not fare quite so badly as that on the south side. In the year 1616, the two easternmost bays formed part of Sir Percival Hart's

¹ B. and B., *Beauties of Eng. and Wales*, x, pt. iii, 437, a full account of the school.

² App. II, pp. 530, 567.

³ Parish Safe, *Deed* 42.

⁴ *Ib.*, see plan on *Deed* 46.

⁵ *Ib.*, *Letter D*, 93.

⁶ *Vest. Min. Bk.* vii, 77 ; 27 July 1831.

⁷ Shown in water-colour drawing of 1835, now on the vestry wall.

dwelling, which was in the Lady Chapel. The bay farthest east—the arcading of which had been built up in the fifteenth century—was utilized as a servants' room; the next bay, described as 'a chappell chamber opening into the church within a reasonable distance of the pulpit' apparently formed the private pew of the Hart family. Not many years after this—but at what precise date we cannot say—these two bays of the triforium formed part of the school-house, in connexion with the church schools of the parish, which occupied the remainder of the triforium gallery. The first reference we have to the school-house is a marginal note in the Rental of 1616. It is in a different handwriting from the rest and refers to certain entries with a cross; it runs, 'all these that is cros is into the skole hous and ames houses built by my Lady See'. As Lady Saye and Sele did not build her almshouses until 1631 the entry cannot have been made before that date, but there is no reason why the school-house should not have existed before. It is probable that, when Sir Percival Hart's lease or a subsequent one expired, Lord Holland granted a lease of these two eastern bays of the triforium to the parish to form a school-house. In fact, we learn from the vestry books¹ that in the year 1666 the churchwardens were paying the Earl of Holland at the rate of £10 a year for the school-house, which we assume included the two upper floors as well.

The school itself occupied the three western bays of the triforium. There is no record that any rent was paid to the Earl of Holland for these, nor of the manner in which the parish came into possession of them, neither are they referred to in the Rental; it is therefore probable that they were used for the monastic school before the suppression in 1539. That there was a school at St. Bartholomew's before the suppression there can be little—if any—doubt. John Stow, when referring to Fitzstephen's statement that in the reigns of King Stephen and of Henry II there were in London three principal churches which had famous schools (which Stow considered were St. Paul's, St. Peter's, Westminster, and St. Saviour's at Bermondsey in Southwark), says, 'Other priories, as of St. John by Smithfield, St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, St. Mary Overie in Southwark and that of the Holy Trinity by Aldgate were of later foundation . . . all which houses had their schools, though not so famous as those first-named'.² Had not these western bays of the triforium been in occupation for some such purpose as schools Rich would, no doubt, have incorporated them in the dwelling-house he set up in the Lady Chapel, and when required for schools his descendants would have exacted a rent for

¹ *Vest. Min. Bk.* i, 33.

² See also Vol. I, p. 10.

them, as was done for the eastern bays when those were wanted for a schoolmaster's dwelling-house.

Towards the latter end of the seventeenth century the churchwardens used to let the school-house on a repairing agreement for £10 to the schoolmaster, who sometimes failed to repair. This occurred in 1678, when the vestry 'ordered the churchwardens to take course by law against Mr. Henry Drake, clerk, for not repairing the school-house which he holdeth of the parish being much ruined and decayed'.¹ In 1681 it was let to Mr. Richard Sammon, schoolmaster, on a yearly tenancy,² the churchwardens doing the repairs,³ which they continued to do for all subsequent tenants. In the year 1705 both the school and the school-house were let on lease to Mr. Charles Smith,⁴ curate of the parish, for £14 a year. This may imply that the school was closed for lack of funds, but in the same year as a new seven years' lease was granted to Mr. Smith (1717),⁵ we learn from Seymour's Survey that 'a school for boys was set up here', so we assume that the curate resuscitated the school and ran it himself.

In the year 1727 the rector and churchwardens came into the possession of John Whiting's legacy for the parish schools,⁶ a small farm in the parishes of Navestock and Weald in Essex, bequeathed by him to the schools on the death of his widow. 'Then', Seymour says, 'a girls' school was also set up.' Mr. Smith dying the same year, the school and school-house were let to the treasurer and trustees of the Charity School on lease at £12 a year, the parish doing the repairs. The schools thus resuscitated have continued to flourish until the present time. In 1727 there were thirty-five boys and sixteen girls in the school; the numbers subsequently increased to about one hundred and fifty boys, girls, and infants; in 1918, owing to the air raids, the number fell to about a hundred, but when peace was restored the numbers increased to two hundred and twenty-four. In the year 1849 the rector, John Abbiss, secured a lease of land adjoining the south chapel, whereon, in 1853, he built a school for the girls and infants, and a school-house above for the mistress. He was enabled to do this by means of a bequest of £200 made by Miss Hardwick, and from other sources.

In 1865 the approach to the boys' school, which had always been at the west end of the triforium by a flight of steps, was removed in order to facilitate the restoration of the west end of the north aisle of the church, when access was given by the turret stair of the school-house. The eastern bay of the triforium, which had formed the chapel

¹ *Vest. Min. Bk.* i, 68.

² *Ib.* i, 84.

³ *Ib.* i, 90.

⁴ *Ib.* i, 375.

⁵ *Ib.* ii, 181.

⁶ *Ib.* ii, 340; App. II, 566.

chamber for Sir Percival Hart, was subsequently taken out of the school-house and converted into a class-room for the boys. The original vaulting in the church below the school-house remains, as already stated,¹ but that under the school had been destroyed and was not made good at the restoration in 1866, so that pencils and other things were frequently sent down by the boys into the church between the floor boards.

In the year 1889 new schools were erected on the site of the burial-ground of the canons south of the Lady Chapel (pl. XLVIII c, p. 68); the foundation-stone was laid by the Duchess of Albany, July 5th, 1888, and the boys were transferred there in May 1889. It was whilst the school was in occupation of the triforium that the arches were bricked up, as described above.² The room was lighted by a skylight and by windows inserted in the north wall, which was of brick as now, but these were closed and the arches opened out as soon as the school left for its new premises. The class-room was then thrown into the triforium, the easternmost bay only remaining as part of the school-house, which was occupied until 1911 by Mr. John Hope, the parish clerk and verger of the church.

The turret stair of the house stands on the eastern part of the site of St. Bartholomew's chapel. Excavations have disclosed some stone foundations, which probably belonged thereto, some 6 ft. 6 in. below the present ground level.

THE CLERESTORY OF THE QUIRE.

The present clerestory was built, as already stated,³ during the remodelling of the east end, about the year 1405. It measures in height 16 ft. 6 in. from below the string beneath the sills of the windows to the springing of the roof. It cannot be more than 12 in. higher than the Norman clerestory, as is shown by the position of the string on the east face of the quire arch of the crossing; a string which apparently supported a flat ceiling. On each side of the quire there are four windows, each of which consists of two lights within a single arched opening. On the jambs is a slender shaft carried as a moulding over the arch of the window; it has a small Perpendicular base but no capital at the springing. Above the arch is a plain hood mould springing from corbel heads. The filling consists of two lights with tracery by Hayter Lewis and William Slater inserted in 1865; the fifteenth-century tracery had disappeared when Carter wrote in 1809.⁴

¹ Above, p. 28.

² Above, p. 12.

³ See p. 32.

⁴ *Gent. Mag.* lxxix, 327.

The string under the sill is 7 in. below the Norman string, a portion of which remains on the wall adjoining the quire arch of the crossing. Higher up on this portion of the wall are two other Norman strings (more visible on the south than on the north side). These two strings were probably continuations of the abacus of the capitals of the shafts on the jambs of the Norman clerestory windows.¹ If so, it shows that the Norman clerestory consisted of triple arches, as has been already suggested, and as was usual at that period. The upper string then would indicate the springing of the arch of the central opening, which would have been above the apex of the lesser arches on each side; and the lower string would indicate the springing of those lesser arches. In the rebuilding of 1405 this portion of the wall was left, we may assume, owing to its proximity to the tower.

The passage in the clerestory wall has a shouldered lintel, as at Exeter and Llandaff, dating from about 1405. In this passage, on the south side of the church only, is a stone string which consists largely of fragments of Norman arch mouldings, ornamented differently from any other in the church (pl. LXVI (1), p. 128). The same ornament not infrequently occurs in churches elsewhere, but generally in the second half of the twelfth century, as over the east cloister door at Brinkbourne Priory, and over the late twelfth-century door at New Romney. There is not enough visible to suggest that this ornament occurred in all the clerestory windows; were it so it would be strong evidence in favour of Rahere not having built a clerestory; but we may assume that Thomas used the ornament when building his west bay. The united height of the ground arcade and triforium, in comparison with the width of the quire, is, however, conclusive evidence that Rahere intended that there should be a clerestory, whether he himself built it or not.

At the west end of the clerestory passage, both on the north and south sides of the church, a stone stair ascends, leading formerly to a roof turret or the tower. The stair is now blocked, but it appears again at the east end of the clerestory of the nave.

THE ROOF.

There are no records regarding the original roof of the church, nor of that which succeeded it when the east end was remodelled and the clerestory was rebuilt in the fifteenth century. That intersecting vaults were never contemplated nor carried out, either in the

¹ See above, p. 9.

twelfth or fifteenth century, is evident from there being no sign of any provision having been made for vaulting. We must conclude, therefore, that the quire was always covered by an open or ceiled timber roof, and it is likely, as already mentioned,¹ that in the twelfth century it was ceiled by a flat wooden ceiling supported against the wall over the east arch of the crossing by the stone string-course that still exists.

In the fifteenth century the roof was probably open and of considerably steeper pitch than now, so as to allow height for the heads of the perpendicular east windows. At some subsequent period it is possible that the rafters, having decayed at the base, were shortened, thus lowering the pitch to what it is at present; or the roof may have been lowered to facilitate the use of lead as a covering. We know by wills² that lead was used in the fifteenth century and that the roof was well covered with lead at the suppression, because Bishop Grindal, in 1563, wanted the lead for St. Paul's.

In the year 1809 Carter described the roof as 'the wreck perhaps of some richer Tudor open-worked timber roof pared down to a common pediment covering, and cross timbers supported by cherubim heads'. (These cherubim heads suggest Sir Christopher Wren's time: they were simply wooden ornaments, not carved on the timber of the roof.) The roof has been renewed three times since the suppression, but from the vestry books it appears that it has required considerable repair about every forty years. The first record of the repairs occurs in the Churchwardens' Accounts of the years 1574 to 1578, when, in addition to the lead, timber, stone, iron and other materials, £6 13s. 4d. was paid for 'the new making of the roof of the church' and of the south side aisle. In 1737 a carpenter's bill of £150 was paid when the roof was releaded and the 'new and old timber and boards belonging to the new ruff' were whitened and coloured. The dust evidently caused these repairs to be thirsty work, because the last item on the account reads:

'Spent at the Half Moon Tavern and the Flying Horse &c. concerning these repairs £9/10/6d.'

In 1885 Sir Aston Webb reported that re-roofing the church was absolutely necessary if it was to be preserved, and that the roof was without architectural character. On his recommendation a new roof was made of similar pitch to the old one, but the ancient tie beams were retained.³ The space between the king posts and the

¹ Above, p. 7.

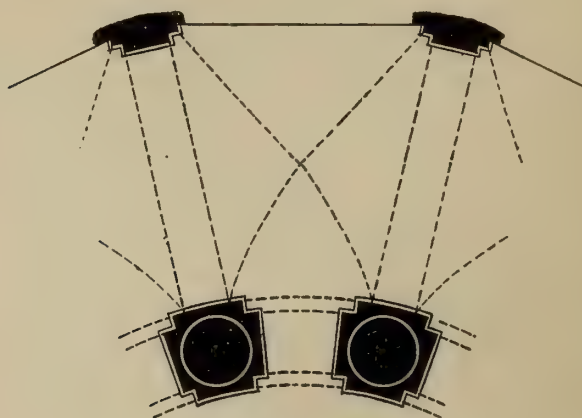
² The prior owed Sir Hugh Fenn for lead £18 13s. 4d. App. I, p. 537.

³ App. II, p. 547.

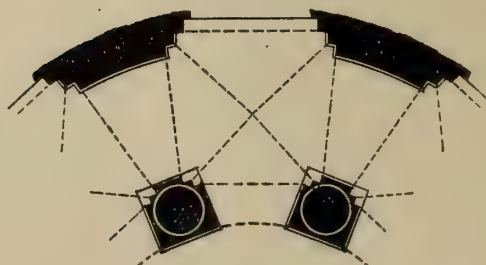
struts was filled with open work in place of the plain boarding of the old roof;¹ and the braces below the tie beams were enriched with cusplings; but the intention to place bosses where the purlins intersect the rafters was not carried out.

The roof of the crossing was similar in all respects to that of the quire until 1886, when a new one of oak was provided and the present flat panelled ceiling was added.

¹ Illustrated in Godwin, *Churches of London*.



ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S



ST. JOHN'S

VAULTING IN AMBULATORY AT ST. BARTHOLOMEW
AND AT THE CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN IN THE TOWER

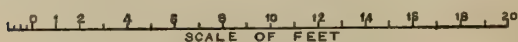


FIG. 2 (see p. 23).

CHAPTER III

THE CROSSING AND TRANSEPTS

THE Crossing (where the transepts meet or cross the quire and nave) was here—as in many other places—included in the monastic or ritual quire of the priory church.

It is not square, for it measures 25 ft. 3 in. east and west and 28 ft. north and south; and it does not centre with the transepts, though the transept arches do so. The centre of the crossing is some 9 in. west of the centre of the transepts. Any reasons for these irregularities are difficult to give as the transepts are practically the same width as the quire and nave, and a square crossing centrally placed would therefore have been expected.

The nave and quire arches are round, while those to the transepts are pointed and stilted. The latter rise to a considerably greater height than do those of the nave and quire.

The spandrels of the four arches, on the inner side, are enriched with diamond-shaped panels,¹ one panel on each spandrel (pl. XXXIX*a*, p. 44). The panels are filled with a device of four scrolls which vary in design. In the angles, where the spandrels meet, there is a small mural arcade,² one on each spandrel, the arches of which rise from a small round shaft in the angle between the two arches. An interrupted zigzag ornament is carried over the arches and down the angle of the sides opposite to the small shaft. This ornament, together with the plain hood mould over the arches, though rich, is somewhat heavy.³

The cornice above, upon which the flat ceiling rests,⁴ is enriched with a very effective lozenge ornament. The four great arches of the crossing have the horizontal zigzag ornament in the hood mould,⁵ and have a double rib on the soffit of the inner order, that of the outer order being flat. The piers under the transept arches have attached shafts corresponding to the double ribs in the arches above, and also to the outer order of the arch. In the south transept the shafts have Norman caps, which on the east side have two scallops,

¹ Illustrated by J. Carter in *Vet. Mon.*, 1784.

² Already referred to above, p. 8.

³ The same occurs externally in the narrow windows in the west wall at Climping and south transept at Old Shoreham.

⁴ See later, p. 41.

⁵ As in the north door at Brinkbourne Priory.

and on the west side three scallops and the pellet ornament (pl. XX*b*, p. 12).¹ The bases in the south transept are a plain Norman type of about the middle of the twelfth century.

In the north transept the base of the west pier is similar, also the base of one shaft only of the east pier, that is the one that was covered by the screen wall under this north transept arch; but the remainder of the base of this east pier, and the caps to the shafts of both the east and west piers, are early Perpendicular work, marking the rebuilding that took place about the year 1405 (pl. XLI, p. 46). The settlement, damage by earthquake, or whatever it was that necessitated this rebuilding, chronicled by the pope in 1409,² seems to have centred in the north-east pier of the crossing, which still shows signs of the trouble, especially in the cracks in its north face. The rebuilding is further shown on the south side of the pier by the fact that the stone string under the sill of the triforium is interrupted before it reaches the transept, whereas on the south side of the church it is continued to the corner.³ It is also shown by the Norman pilaster at the north-east portion of the pier having a Perpendicular cap and base; and, if Coney's engraving in Dugdale can be relied upon, the half-column on the east side of the pier, rebuilt in 1865, was replaced by a corbel with fifteenth-century mouldings.

The variations in the levels of the bases of the piers of the crossing,⁴ and the question as to whether the tower was rebuilt over the crossing or elsewhere, are considered later on.⁵

The quire and nave arches are carried on corbels, thus leaving a flat wall surface for the backs of the quire stalls, as at Brinkbourne, Lanercost, and elsewhere. The corbels of the quire arch are a repetition of the shafts and caps of the south transept piers (pl. XXXIX*b*), the fact that the shafts were never continued down being shown by the string at the triforium level which is continued beneath. The corbels of the nave arch have been replaced in early Perpendicular times and correspond to the caps on the shafts of the piers of the north transept, and further mark the great work carried out about the year 1405. At the close of the nineteenth century, these two arches, which had been strengthened by iron trusses in 1828,⁶ showed signs of giving way, the key-stones having dropped for want of abutment. This was remedied by building a shallow south transept in 1891, and a similar one on the north side in 1893.

The arches of the north and south transepts are, as stated above,

¹ Illustrated by Carter in *Vet. Mon.*, 1784.

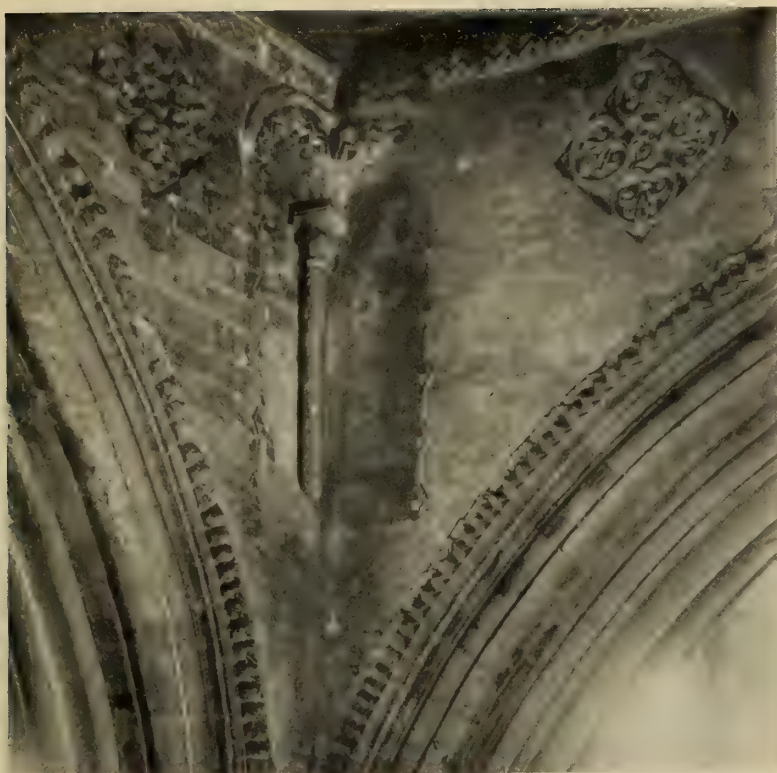
² As already stated, p. 16.

³ See later, p. 111.

⁴ See Vol. I, p. 197.

⁵ See later, p. 71.

⁶ *Vest. Min. Bk.* vii, 5.



MURAL ARCADE AND PANELS IN THE SPANDRELS
OF ARCHES OF THE CROSSING

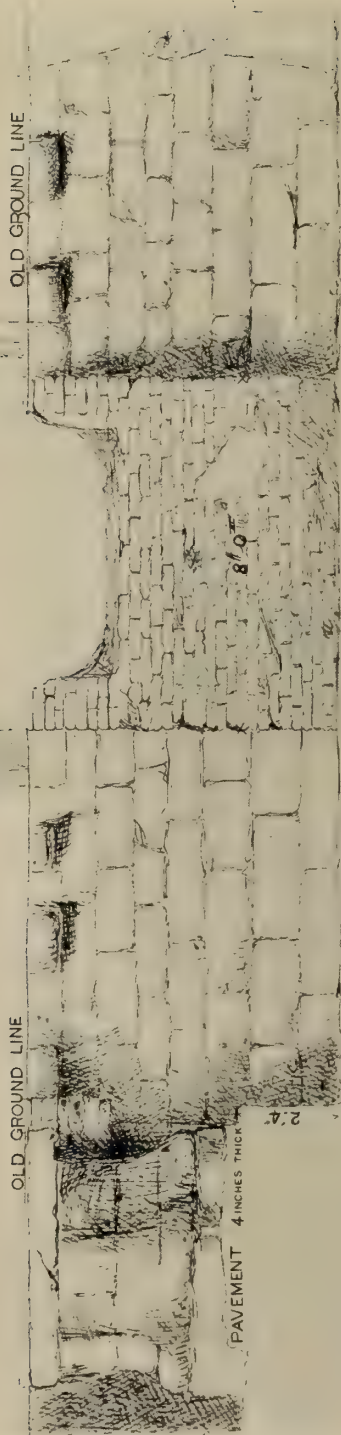
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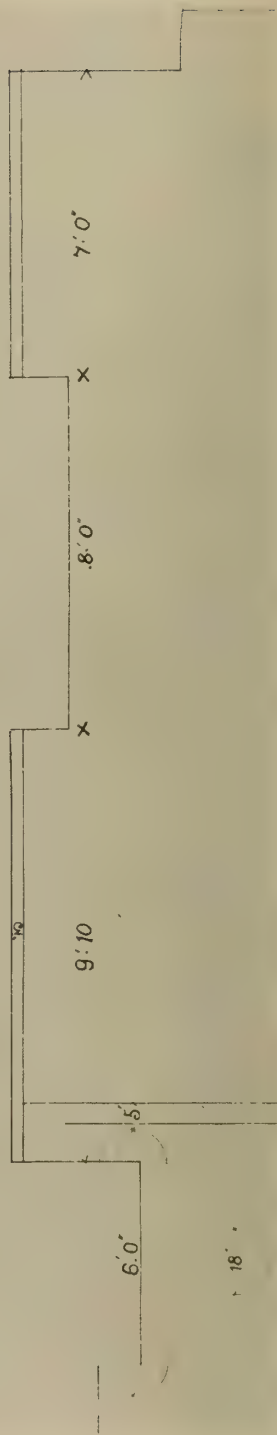


THE CROSSING

Twelfth-century Corbels to East Arch
Fifteenth-century Caps to North Arch



ELEVATION OF WEST WALL BELOW OLD GROUND LINE



BASE OF WEST WALL OF PULPITUM AND NAVE PIER, 1864
(see pp. 45, 64, 109)

pointed ; and because they are somewhat stilted it has been thought that they were originally round-headed¹ as at Malmesbury ; but, although there is evidence that the north transept arch has been partially rebuilt, there is no such evidence as regards the southern one ; it may therefore be assumed that they were both built with a pointed arch as at Christ Church, Oxford. In the north transept arch the zigzag ornament, which is carried over the arch and down to the cap on the west side, stops three-quarters of the way down on the east side, and from there to the cap it is replaced by a Perpendicular mould. In the south transept, the zigzag mould, although wanting from about seven feet above the caps, has clearly been hacked off, probably to allow the brick building erected after the suppression to be placed against the face of the arch : there are no signs of any rebuilding. It is not uncommon to find pointed arches stilted when required to reach a given height.

The crossing in monastic times was enclosed on three sides by stone screens. On the west side was the quire screen or pulpitum, which here occupied the entire width of the bay westward of the crossing. The present west wall of the church would appear, by a drawing made in 1864, to have been built on the remains of the west wall of the pulpitum (pl. XL). Its east wall was on a line with the east jamb of the triforium arch, as is shown by the position of the small doorway there. The top floor of the screen may be assumed to have been on a level with the floor of the triforium, giving a screen 18 ft. deep and 17 ft. high, with probably a parapet of 4 ft. above that again.² The doorways in the triforium arch gave access to the screen by doors opening outward on to it (pl. XIX*b*, p. 11). These doorways still remain, and at the south end the staple for the door hinge is still in position. They probably date from the time of the re-building, about 1405, as they have a four-centred arch, but the east jambs on both sides of the church are twelfth-century work.

At the restoration of 1864 a portion of the base of this screen was discovered *in situ* beneath the pavement.³ ' It consisted of a massive shaped stone which had supported the left angle of the structure at the entrance into the quire. One arm eastward had carried a buttress, the other westward had flanked the entrance passage, while the stem extended northward, constituting part of the plinth of the east face of the screen. A trefoil was deeply cut in the stone,

¹ *Lond. and Midd. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, iii, papers by Hayter Lewis ; also his and Slater's report to Rest. Com. 1863.

² For use of pulpita in monastic churches see *Archaeologia*, lxviii, p. 104.

³ *Ecclesiologist*, xxvi, 119.

and a base moulding ran beneath : apparently work of the thirteenth century.' It is a fair assumption from this description, and from the character of the doorways, that the pulpitum was built at the same time as the nave, about 1230. It was probably destroyed at the suppression or in 1624, when Strype says 'the gallery at the lower end was rebuilt'.¹

The only record of a screen on the south side of the crossing, under the south transept arch, is a statement in Hayter Lewis's paper read before the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society² in 1866, in which he says that the pulling down of the eastern wall 'and of another under the tower, erected probably to form the back of the stall work there, afforded some interesting specimens of the capitals and other enrichments of the old Norman church'. F. J. Withers in his diary also wrote, under date January 25th, 1865,³ 'Three gigantic capitals and one smaller one had been discovered embedded in the low fragment of wall remaining parallel with, and in, the south transept'; and on March 27th following he wrote, 'the small fragment of wall running across the lower part of the south transept arch had been dug out and yielded two fragments of ornamental columns and two plain ones'. The discovery of late twelfth-century work embedded in this stone screen (or stone base for a wooden screen) points to its having, like the pulpitum, been erected when the nave was built, and when any twelfth-century work in the nave was taken down.⁴ Had the floor in 1865 not been lowered below the original level these fragments of the two screens might have been retained. The capitals referred to are preserved in the church (pl. LXVI (6), p. 128; pl. LXVII (7), p. 129).

The screen on the north side of the crossing beneath the north transept arch still exists. Like the two other screens it formed backing for the stalls, and for that reason was built on its southern face of plain ashlar, in line with the face of the great piers of the crossing (pl. XLV b, p. 54; pl. XXVII, p. 21).⁵ It may be assumed that there was an earlier screen here, built at the same time as the other two screens. The present screen evidently dates from the time of the great rebuilding about the year 1405. It is 11 ft. 6 in. in height from the present floor level. It is massive in construction and is bonded into the columns of the main piers at each end to give support, apparently, to the north-east pier of the crossing, the dangerous condition of which is referred to above.

¹ Strype, *Stow*, Bk. iii, 238 d. Also see later, pp. 46, 49.

² *Transactions*, iii, 79 and 89.

³ Withers, *Diary*, p. 28.

⁴ See above, p. 9.

⁵ See Dugdale, vi, 291, Coney's engraving.

a



QUIRE SCREEN, NORTH SIDE OF CROSSING
(see pp. 44, 47, 48)

b



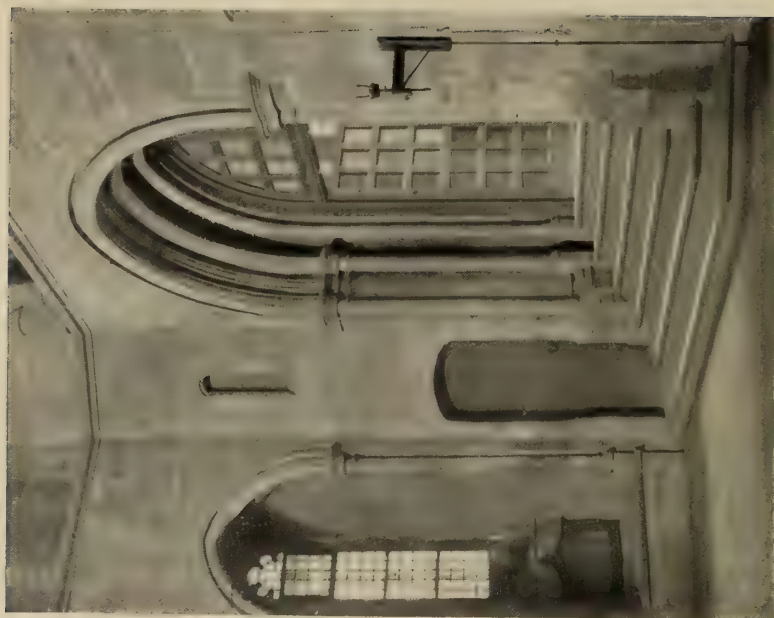
NORTH TRANSEPT, AMBULATORY, AND SCREEN
(see p. 51)

a



FORGE ON SITE OF NORTH TRANSEPT
[a portion of the picture is removed to show
the position in the Church]
(see pp. 47, 50)

b



NORTH END OF NORTH TRANSEPT
(see p. 51)

The description of the north side of the screen more properly belongs to the north transept, but can be conveniently given here (pl. XLI, p. 46). It consists of an arcade of two arches, as is the case at Winchester, where it formed part of the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre; the centre pier has no capital, but is ornamented with the ressalt (or double ogee) moulding of the early fifteenth century. It is in good preservation in its lower part, where, after the suppression, it was covered with earth; but its upper portion was badly damaged when the transept was occupied as a blacksmith's forge (pl. XLII a).

At the restoration in 1865 the ashlar face on the south side of the screen was removed¹ under the impression, we must assume, that it was post-suppression work. After this was done, a stone coffin² was found which Withers describes as 'running under the blacksmith's shop'. It was in the western bay of the arcade and, for some reason, was drawn out on this south side and was not replaced. This coffin (now in the north aisle without contents or lid) probably contained the remains of one of the priors, for in the adjoining bay there is a similar coffin, the skeleton in which is believed to be that of a prior because leather sandals are on the feet. Moreover, Stow mentions that in his time there were memorials in the church to a John Carleton and to a John Watford, and as there were priors of these names it is possible that these were their coffins.³ This second coffin, which has a Purbeck marble top but no inscription, was not found until the north transept was being excavated in 1893. When discovered it was badly cracked across the centre, and in order to repair it the lid had to be lifted, when a skeleton was disclosed in a good state of preservation, but without a head. We have no record of any beheaded person, prior or other, having been buried in the church, so we must assume that the skull had been abstracted at some earlier period.

The work of demolishing the south face of the screen in 1865 revealed the backs of the two arches of the arcade, but the work could not proceed further for fear of encroaching on the dwelling-house which, with the blacksmith's forge, was on the north side in the transept; the defaced wall was therefore left and simply screened by a large benefactions-board until the restoration in 1893. It then had to be decided whether to reface the wall on the quire side or to pierce the filling in of the arches and rework the old stones of the arches on the south side to a new face. As the filling in of the arches on the north side was plain ashlar with no moulded stone, and as the

¹ Withers, *Diary*, p. 40, 11 Aug. 1865.

² *Ib.*, p. 61, 6 June 1866.

³ See Vol. I, pp. 167, 177.

requirements of the day made it very desirable that worshippers in the north transept should be enabled to join in the services in the quire, the latter course was pursued ;¹ a few shallow mouldings were worked on the angle of the arches and a small battlement on the top.

The appearance was greatly improved by the insertion of a wrought-iron grill in each arch, upon which were placed small shields emblazoned with the coats of arms of the more notable people present at the opening of the transept in 1893 (pl. XLI *a*, p. 46).²

The coats on the upper shields are : the royal arms ; those of Albert Edward Prince of Wales (later King Edward VII), of the priory, and of St. Bartholomew. Those on the lower ones are : the hospital, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the City of London, and the Rev. Sir Borradaile Savory, Bart., and the Rev. Canon Frederick Parr Phillips, rector and patron respectively at that time.³

After the suppression of the monastery the north transept was demolished, which necessitated filling in the space above the screen and below the transept arch. This was done with rough masonry, in which a pointed arched window was inserted. The rear arch of this window remained until the transept was restored in 1893, but the window had been replaced in the eighteenth century in the same style as the Georgian windows in the east end of the quire.

The only reference to the quire stalls in monastic times is that by Matthew Paris in his account of the affray in the church when Archbishop Boniface crushed the sub-prior against one of them⁴ in the year 1250. The stalls at that time would have extended eastward from the pulpitum half-way across the eastern pier of the crossing to a point where the stone string from the ground arcade is stopped on the face of the pier. The present stalls are in the same position, but they do not extend beyond the eastern face of the western piers of the crossing. They are of oak, nine on each side, and were erected in 1886 by the patron, the Rev. F. P. Phillips, in memory of his parents.⁵ The back bench ends have an ornamental panel terminating in a carved poppy-head with a figure of an angel worked on the arm below. There are two benches for six boys each, on either side, in front of the stalls. The ends of these are ornamented with traceried panels with rounded foliations on the top.

¹ See account of the restoration in 1893 later on, p. 422.

² The grills were designed by Sir Aston Webb and carried out by Mr. Starkie Gardner ; the shields by Mr. G. W. Eve.

³ Heraldically described later on, p. 478.

⁴ See Vol. I, p. 123.

⁵ For inscription see later, p. 475.

The present quire screen, which stands on the site of the east front of the pulpitum, was erected in 1889 in memory of Rector William Panckridge (pl. XVI, p. 8).¹ It is Perpendicular in design and is entered in the centre through an ogee crocketed arch with two cusped open panels in the spandrels. Above is a double row of five open panels, each panel having two cusped openings. On either side of the entrance is a richly canopied stall; the panel below the canopy is pierced to form a double opening, and below that are three solid panels with cusplings. On either side of the canopied stalls are four open bays, each the width of a stall (2 ft. 3 in.); the fourth is splayed eastward and encloses the stalls. Above these is a frieze of a double row of two open panels, as over the entrance.

The organ gallery, as mentioned,² was rebuilt on the site of the pulpitum in 1624 and the gallery was also continued across the south transept (pl. XLIII, p. 52). A Conobles organ was ordered by the vestry 'on approval' in the year 1715, to be placed in the gallery, and in 1731 they purchased an organ built by Richard Bridge of Clerkenwell.³

In 1864 this gallery was removed and the then organ (a second-hand one by Russell, reconstructed by R. H. South, of Gray's Inn Road) was sent to South for safe custody during the restoration of the church; but before the church was re-opened South had died intestate and the organ had been sold as part of his effects. A small instrument had to be purchased in its place and was erected on the south side of the sanctuary. At the restoration of 1886 this small instrument was disposed of and the present organ from St. Stephen's, Walbrook, built by George England in 1765, was purchased.⁴ A new oak gallery, finely panelled, was erected for it on the site of the pulpitum; and in 1893 an organ case was given by Mr. H. T. Withers in memory of his brother John (whose diary has so frequently been referred to). The case is of oak, divided into three compartments; the central one is higher than the rest and is surmounted by a carved figure (pl. XVI, p. 8).

In the centre of the crossing there was, until 1919, a brass lectern, the gift of Mrs. John Hilditch Evans in memory of her husband, who was churchwarden here in 1869, and treasurer of the restoration fund from 1868 to 1885. This has now been replaced by an oak lectern, designed by Sir Aston Webb, and built out of old oak beams from the original roof of the Lady Chapel.

¹ See later, p. 414.

³ See below, p. 336.

² See above, p. 46.

⁴ See, p. 503.

THE TRANSEPTS.

The south transept of the church as originally built measured internally from the south face of the transept arch to the north face of the wall opposite 50 ft., and in width 27 ft. 6 in. The length of the north transept is not known; it was probably built in or about the year 1148¹ and the south transept soon after.

THE NORTH TRANSEPT.

Of the original north transept nothing remains but the south end. In the case of the south transept, as will be seen presently, the ruins of the original structure were standing as late as 1830, and they figure in several engravings (pl. XLIV, p. 53); but we have no such records concerning the north transept, and from other evidence dealt with later,² there can be little doubt that the walls were pulled down and removed by Henry VIII at the time of the suppression, the space under the north arch of the crossing being filled in as explained above (pl. XLV *b*, p. 54).³

The north side of the transept arch was thus exposed to the weather from 1544 to 1893, which accounts for its extremely weather-worn condition at the present time. The same applies to the north quire screen, which thus became an external wall. The site of the transept probably remained vacant for some time after the suppression, for Agas's map of 1560, Hofnagel's of 1572, and Norden's of 1593, all show the site as vacant land; but in 1658 Fairthorn and Newcourt show it, and the whole of the parish, as densely packed with houses. Before that date, however, houses had been built on the site, for Holmes's buildings seem to have been there in 1602, and in 1631 Lady Saye and Sele bought a house at 'the corner of Church passage', that is, at the south-west corner of the transept site, for an endowment of her almshouses. In 1776 this same corner site was leased by the churchwardens and overseers on a 61 years' building lease,⁴ to continue the income of the almshouses (fig. 5, p. 128).⁵ It was then known as 9½ Cloth Fair. The blacksmith's forge, known as No. 10 Cloth Fair, was probably set up in the transept in the first half of the seventeenth century under a lease by the Earl of Warwick. As the anvil stood close to the stone screen of the transept the hammer was heard very plainly in the church (pl. XLII *a*, p. 47).

In 1884 No. 10 Cloth Fair was acquired (as explained later on),⁶ and in 1891 9½ Cloth Fair was bought back from the Charity Com-

¹ See p. 50.⁴ D. 27, Parish Safe.² See later, p. 96.⁵ *Vest. Min. Bk.* iii, 457, 467.³ See p. 48.⁶ See p. 117.

missioners,¹ who had laid hands upon it. The two houses were then, together with No. 11 Cloth Fair,² cleared away and the present shallow transept was built, more particularly to give abutment to the east and west arches of the crossing. The depth of the present shallow north transept is 19 ft. 6 in.

The north porch to the transept is described later with the exterior of the church³ (pl. LVIII, p. 118).

The stone screen on the south side of the transept has already been described.⁴ Some old work still remains in the arched entrance to the north ambulatory, though considerably restored. The pilaster on the south side of the arch has a Perpendicular capital and base;⁵ that on the north side seems to have been restored in 1864. The triforium arch above, with its subsidiary arcade, is a restoration of 1893, though the pilaster on the south side is apparently twelfth-century work (pl. XLI *b*, p. 46). After the suppression this arch was built up to form the west end of the boys' school.

During the building of the shallow north transept in 1893, the base of a circular shaft was found in the east wall, with some 18 inches of wall attached running eastward. This wall was plastered and a portion of the colouring was still adhering. The opening probably formed part of a doorway leading by a turret to the triforium above, as occurs at Norwich in a corresponding position, and also at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, though at St. Augustine's it is in the south transept. To preserve this bit of old work intact, the recess for the side altar was placed on the north wall of the transept, instead of on the east wall as originally intended.

The remainder of this bay of the transept, together with the corresponding bay on the west side and the whole of the north end, are the work of Sir Aston Webb in 1893. The style adopted is characteristic of its time. A feature is the way in which the slender shafts penetrate the mouldings of the capitals and of the bases of the piers, and in which these mouldings die away into the face of the adjoining walls. The work is carried out, like that in the apse, in blue Bath stone, whereby it harmonizes in tone with the older work.

The north end of the transept consists on the ground floor of two bays; that on the east is recessed for the side altar; that on the west contains the north door of the church leading through a porch into Cloth Fair (pl. XLII *b*, p. 47). Beside this door is the entrance

¹ *D.* 33, Parish Safe.

² Subsequently thrown into roadway by the Corporation. *D.* 68, 69, Parish Safe.

³ Below, p. 118.

⁴ See p. 47.

⁵ As mentioned on p. 44.

to the present turret stair, which leads to the triforium and clerestory passages and gives access to the chamber built over the porch.

The bay adjoining contains, on the west wall, a deeply splayed window with a stone bench. The other bay contains the arched entrance to the north aisle of the nave. The arch is pointed, it is the work of 1893 and is similar in style to the rest of that time; but it is very massively built, and the great pillar on its south side seems to be a natural extension upwards of the remains of the twelfth-century pillar which were found beneath the flooring of No. 9½ Cloth Fair. The height of the remains of this twelfth-century pillar is 5 ft. 7 in. from the present floor level and indicates the present height of the road outside the church.

The triforium of the north wall is divided into three bays, each with a subsidiary arcade of three pointed arches. The same arrangement is carried along the west wall.

The clerestory of the east and west sides of the transept has in each inner wall two plain oblong openings to the clerestory passage, corresponding with the two light cusped windows in the outer wall. On the north wall, the three outer windows of the clerestory run up into the gable and have double tracery. Each consists of a single light, but the corresponding openings in the inner wall form an arcade of three arches, corresponding with the triforium arcade below, except that each arch is furnished with open tracery. The shafts between these clerestory inner windows end in the sill of the triforium arcade.

The roof is open and has twelve rafters.

The finding of a portion of a lid of a coffin of one of the priors on the site of this transept was referred to when speaking of Prior Hugh,¹ who died in 1295.

The small wooden altar against the north wall of the transept appears to date from early in the seventeenth or late in the sixteenth century, and served as the altar of the church until 1885. It now serves in its present position as the altar of a chapel, named the Chapel of Sacrifice, in memory of those who in connexion with the church fell in the Great War.

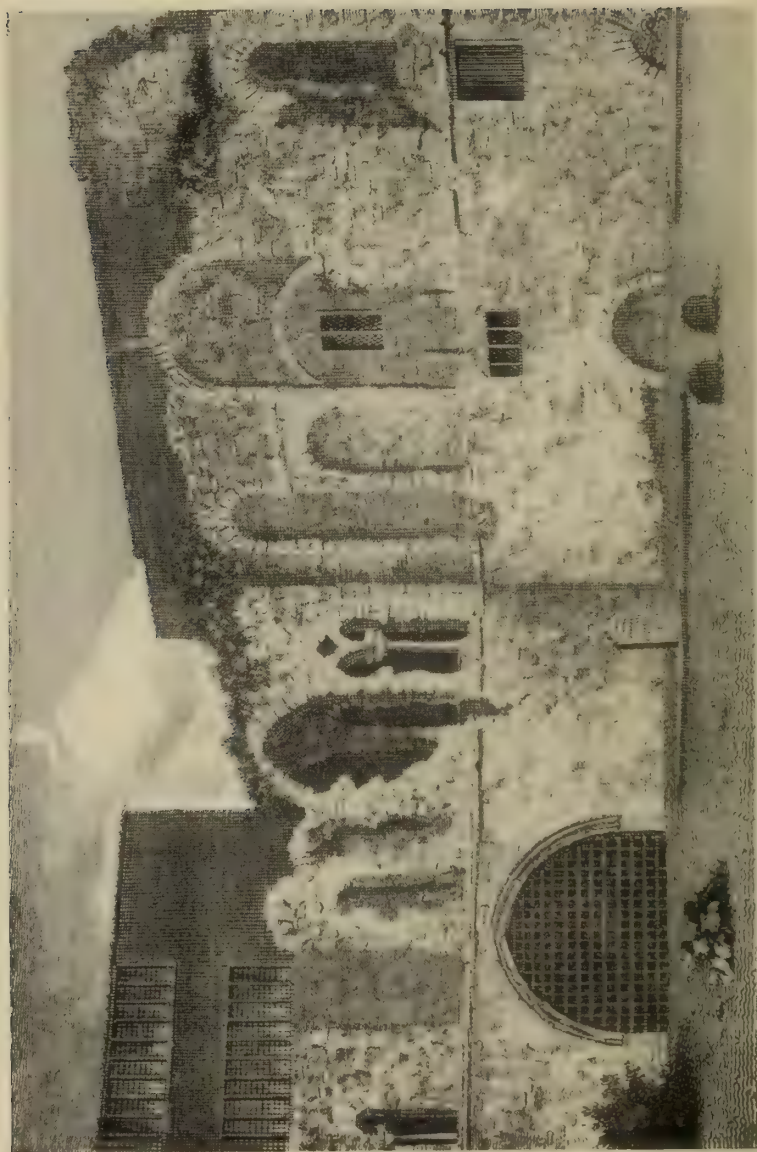
THE SOUTH TRANSEPT.

The south transept originally extended to the railings on the south side of the small burial-ground known as the green churchyard. It would seem that at the suppression in 1539 the lead was stripped

¹ Vol. I, p. 139.



ORGAN GALLERY, *circ.* 1740
(see pp. 49, 333)



THE SOUTH TRANSEPT IN 1802
(see pp. 5, 8, 50, 53)

from the roof of the transept and the walls were allowed to fall into ruin, as happened in the case of the majority of the monasteries.

There are several engravings of the south and east walls when in ruins, but not of the west wall, which had no windows, as it backed on to the cloister and its gallery over; it is, however, picturesque enough now with its worn bricks and large fig tree. The oldest of these engravings is in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1790, but the best is in Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*,¹ 1803, with a drawing by Carter in 1781 (pl. XLV a, p. 54), here reproduced (pl. XLIV): the views differ slightly in detail. A drawing by Nash in 1821² is evidently to some extent imaginary and may be disregarded.

Malcolm's engraving shows on the east wall the wide arched entrance³ to an eastern chapel, and on the triforium level an irregular arcade along the entire length. The two large openings were presumably windows with a passage in the thickness of the wall, the round-headed arch of which was then alone standing. Between these windows, and on either side of them, is an arcade opening into a mural passage. Two of the arches have a subsidiary arcade of two smaller arches with a central shaft, a heavy capital and a pierced tympanum. The arcade probably dated from the second quarter of the twelfth century. The two arches of the arcade between the windows are of unequal height, somewhat like those in a similar position at St. Cross by Winchester.

On the south wall is shown on the ground floor a central round-headed doorway which must have led into the slype as at Tewkesbury; on the right of it in the engraving, nearly in the corner, is a smaller door, as at Christchurch, Hampshire: this may have been the night door from the dormer.

Above on the triforium level are shown three windows; the central one is higher than the others: the one on the right is bricked up on the outer face and shows a deep splay on the church side; but no passage is shown in the thickness of the wall. There is a mural arch between the central and eastern windows. The two latter windows probably had a deep splay like the third, but being bricked up on the church side the splay is not seen.

The clerestory on both walls had fallen before this or any of the drawings were made. Rising behind the east wall is seen, in the engraving, a timber building on the site of the sacristy, which we assume was part of the Nonconformists' meeting-house; and behind the south wall the top of the chapter-house, where the disastrous

¹ Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* i, 291.

² Wilkinson, *Lond. Illust.*

³ Malcolm shows this arch slightly pointed, but Hardwick shows it round-headed.

fire originated on the 3rd May 1830.¹ This fire, which seriously damaged the south side of the church, was made the occasion of removing the ruined walls of the transept. There is a receipted account of that year in the belfry cupboard for 'cutting up the foundations of the south wall and clearing away in the green church yard'. The walls must have required much labour in clearing, as they were 4 ft. 10 in. thick.² A brick wall was then erected in their place round the green churchyard. The still more destructive fire, which occurred on the 11th August of this same year at Houghton & Messenger's in Bartholomew Close,³ does not seem to have touched the church. We hear nothing of the parish fire engine on either of these occasions. One had been bought as early as 1668 and another in 1730. In 1862 we hear of it being housed in the north aisle of the church.⁴ At Malmesbury an engine of that period was, a few years ago, still housed in the north transept of the abbey. The church at the time of the outbreak in 1830 was not insured, and in consequence £1,000 had to be borrowed for the repairs.

After the suppression, the ruined transept was cut off from the church by the erection of a brick wall in line with the outer wall of the south aisle, with a door for access, and was used as a graveyard. Between this wall and the crossing, on the triforium level, a gallery was placed, a continuation, as has been stated, of the organ gallery in the west end (pl. XLIII, p. 52). This gallery, we assume, was destroyed in the fire of 1830, for in the year 1836, when the select vestry were dissatisfied with the St. Stephen's chapel for a vestry room, they resolved to form a more convenient room 'in the vacant space above the south aisle'.⁵ This vacant space must have been the space occupied by the old gallery, for it was there that this vestry room was erected.

A floor was thrown across from the sill of the triforium arch on the east side of the transept to that of the one opposite. The great arch of the crossing was filled with a wooden frame, on which canvas was stretched on both sides. The triforium arch on the east side was filled with a fireplace; that on the west side with the parish safe; the hood moulding of the arch of the crossing was hacked off and the walls were plastered over so that no signs of any arches were visible, and the room was then wainscoted (pl. XX *b*, p. 12).⁶

¹ *Vest. Min. Bk.* vii, 51; also p. 36 above; also below, p. 171.

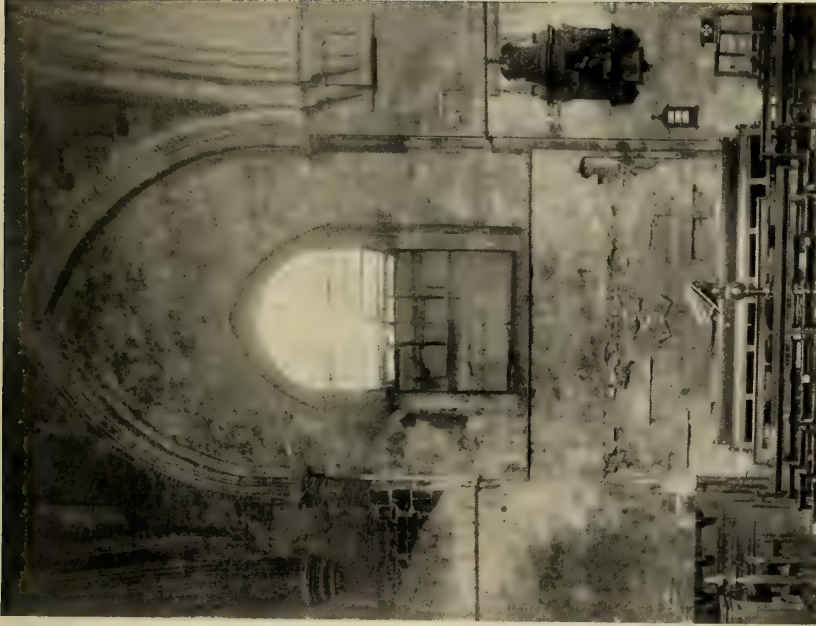
² Belfry cupboard, drawer 17, bundle 8, *Illidge's notes*.

³ *Annual Register*, 1830, p. 131.

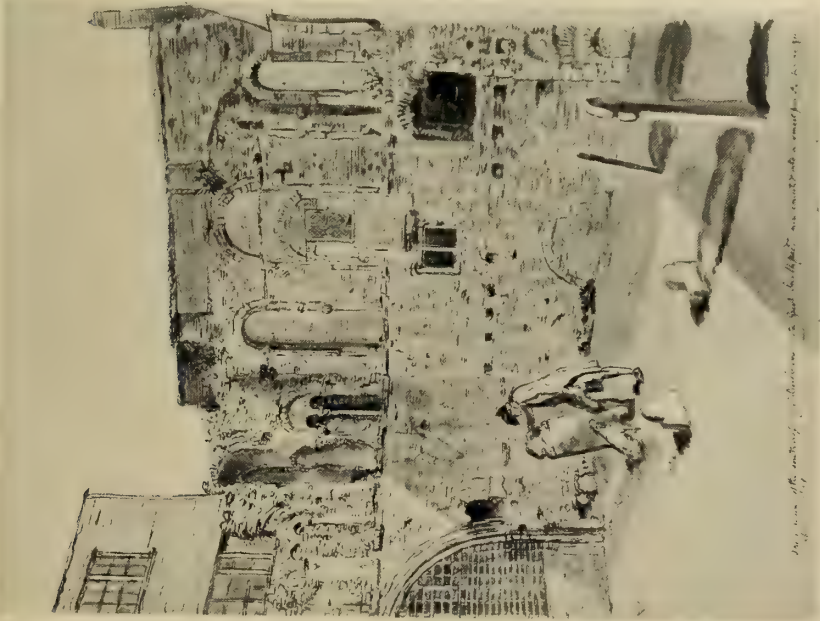
⁴ The Met. Fire Brigade Act was not passed until 1865.

⁵ *Vest. Min. Bk.* vii, 160, 28 June 1836.

⁶ *Ib.*, 175, 7 June 1837. In this room, approached by an outside wooden stair, the parents of the writer signed the marriage register.



NORTH ARCH OF CROSSING, AFTER THE SUPPRESSION
(see pp. 46, 50, 117)



SOUTH TRANSEPT, 1781
(see pp. 50, 53, 145)

The transept remained in this condition for over fifty years, until 1890, when the Restoration Committee removed this temporary structure, restored what remained of the northern bay, and added a new bay to give abutment to the arches of the crossing, forming a shallow transept only half the length of that originally built. It provided a much-needed baptistry, but the requirements of the day did not call for a new building of the same size as the old; indeed, the adjoining buildings had acquired rights of light over the site which could have been extinguished only at great cost.

The transept as it now stands measures 21 ft. 6 in. north to south; 27 ft. 6 in. east to west on the ground floor. On the east side, the twelfth-century arch into the aisle remains, refaced in 1865; the redness of the stones at the base of the wall below is the effect of the fire of 1830. The triforium arch above is twelfth-century work; the hood and other mouldings of the arch are quite plain. The subsidiary arcade was inserted in 1890, when the fire-place was removed. The arcade consists of two slender shafts with capitals and three lesser arches as in the quire.

In the corresponding bay on the west side, the arch into the nave aisle is original, and has a square chamfered hood mould. The triforium arch above is also original work of the second quarter of the twelfth century. It has an interrupted zigzag ornament worked on a moulding of the arch, and is characteristic of that period.¹ This outer order of the arch also differs from that of the one opposite by springing from a slender shaft at each end. The shafts are new, but the capitals and bases are old. When the plaster was removed the hood mould was found to have been hacked off. There is no subsidiary arcade on this side, but the arch is filled in as is the triforium arch opening into the nave, and no doubt for a similar reason (pl. XX *b*, p. 12). In the south jamb of the arch there is an arched opening to a passage in the thickness of the wall. This passage was blocked with an encroachment on the church wall by the owners of the rooms over the cloister until the year 1905, when that portion of the east cloister was recovered.

The second bay on this west side of the transept still retains some of the original work, owing to the cloister with its gallery over not having been entirely destroyed. Thus, adjoining the triforium arch some of the plaster still retains its original red colouring marked out in brick pattern. South of this again is an original shallow lancet-shaped mural arch with a slender shaft on its north jamb, much weather-worn from exposure; the capital has gone. The ashlar

¹ There is a good example in the north door at Stone, Kent.

filling of this arch was inserted in 1891, as the fireplace of the encroaching tenement on the other side was at that time only 9 in. away. The recessed mural arch below, the south wall, and the southern bay on the east wall are entirely Sir Aston Webb's work and are similar in style to that in the north transept. The latter bay has an entrance door to a small spiral stair, also built in 1891, which leads to the triforium of the quire. The door is within a recessed mural arch similar to the one opposite. In the triforium above is a narrow arch of the same date containing a lesser arcade of two arches, similar to those in the north transept. Between it and the old arch described above there is a recess of about 5 ft. high caused by a splay, but for what purpose the wall was splayed at this point is not clear: it is not shown in any of the old prints.

The south wall consists of three bays. On the ground floor the three deeply-recessed arched openings are projected for some six feet southward into the graveyard; the central one to form an inside porch to the south door of the church; the eastern one to form a baptistry; the western to give additional seating accommodation. The deep flat-sided piers between these three bays are pierced with small crocketed openings. The east wall of the baptistry has an 'aumbry' or locker.

Above this ground arcade on the south side three lancet-shaped windows run from the triforium sill right into the gable. They are each divided by a mullion into two simple cusped lights with tracery in the heads. The inner jamb shafts stop at the sill, but the outer ones are carried to the ground, penetrating the mouldings of the capitals and the bases of the piers below.

The clerestory windows are similar to those in the north transept. There is, however, no window over the north bay on the west side. The wall above the triforium at that point has apparently been rebuilt of a less thickness, and no windows inserted. On the opposite side the original clerestory window remains, also the Norman string below it.

The roof, restored in 1890, is similar to that in the north transept. In the north-west angle of the transept, on the south side of the pier of the crossing, the abacus of the last capital ends in a grotesque head, such as frequently occurs about the years 1150 or 1160. Here it is a corbel and merely serves to screen the termination of a member which is carried up, but to carry nothing (pl. XX *b*, p. 12). At Christ Church, Oxford, and at Cartmel there is a member with its cap in this position in each of the four piers of the crossing, inserted apparently merely to fill up the space.

THE FONT.

The font stands in the baptistry in the south transept (pl. XLVI *a*, p. 58). This and the font of St. Dunstan's, Stepney, seem to be the only two pre-Reformation fonts in London. It is an octagonal basin set on an octagonal pedestal, devoid of ornament but with mouldings of the second half of the fourteenth, or quite early in the fifteenth, century. It probably dated from the great restoration of about the year 1405. The dimensions are 3 ft. 4 in. high and 2 ft. 6 in. in diameter. The marks of the staples for locking the font, in conformity with the order of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the thirteenth century, are still visible on the south-west face of the bowl, and there is a matrix of a brass 10½ in. × 2 in. on the north-west face, but there is no record concerning the inscription.¹

The present font cover is pyramidal in form and has eight crocketed ribs, each terminating in a man's tonsured head. But it has hardly a sufficient air of antiquity to warrant the suggestion of its being pre-suppression. On the top is a detached triangular box with winged cherub heads, which seems to be later. The cover is carried by an iron crozier round the upper part of which is twined a stem with narrow leaves and berries which may be intended for a vine.

In the year 1712 the church very nearly lost its font,² for the vestry Minutes of February 6th that year record: 'Tis ordered yt ye do buy a new fount instead of ye old one and cause it to be set up against ye green churchyard dore or thereabouts.' But on April 12th following better counsels prevailed, for it was 'ordered yt ye churchwarden do cause ye old fount to be set up again against ye old green churchyard dore'.

We have three references to the font in wills. In the year 1450 John Goldyng, who was living in the Close, desired 'to be buried before the font under a marble stone'.³ In 1455 Richard Ryder desired 'to be buried behynde the funt within the church of the priory'.⁴ And in 1538 Richard Bellamy, who lived within the Close, desired to be buried in the body of the church 'between the font set there and the holy image of our Lord Jesus Christ'.⁵ From this we may infer that the font was, in monastic times, in the nave and not in the parish chapel. There was the same arrangement at Holy Trinity, Aldgate; for when the pope consented to the building of St. Catherine's (Cree) as a parish chapel within the precincts of the

¹ See Dr. A. C. Fryer's paper, *Archaeolog. Journ.*, 2nd series, xxi, No. 2, pp. 167-70.

² *Vest. Min. Bk.* ii, 30, 31.

³ Wills, App. I, p. 533.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 534.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 540.

monastery, owing to the smallness of the parish church and to the noise made by the parishioners, he directed that the font should remain in the church.¹

After the suppression, according to John Coney's drawing in Dugdale, 1818, and Thomas Malton's in *Beauties of England and Wales*, 1804, the font was placed under the crossing near the south-west pier. Hatton, writing in 1708, indicates the same position by describing it as 'directly westward from the Communion Table'.²

Some additional interest attaches to the font from the fact that William Hogarth, the painter, was baptized in it on the 10th November, 1697 (pl. XCV, p. 286).

THE SACRISTRY.

The Sacristy was in the external angle formed by the junction of the south transept with the quire aisle, being an extension of the Norman apsidal transept chapel. It was entered by the large round-headed archway in the east wall of the transept, shown by Carter and by Malcolm; and by the present pointed arched doorway from the south aisle which was opened out in 1914 (pls. XLVI *b*). This is the position of the sacristies at St. Mary's Abbey, York, at St. Albans, at Fountains and at Hereford. According to Carter the sacristy was built in the Decorated period, and if that is so the benefactions made by William de Wibusade, temp. Edward I,³ by J. de Honnesdon in 1307 and by Richard de Ewelle in 1314,⁴ for the maintenance of the works of the church may indicate the date of its building.

The first reference to the sacristy is in Lord Rich's grant to Queen Mary made in the year 1555,⁵ in which mention is made of 'the building late the sacristy or vestibule of the late priory in a measure used as the sacristy of the church'.

It is again referred to in the year 1784 in *Vetusta Monumenta*,⁶ where it is misnamed the 'priory hall', but it is properly described as on the east side of the south transept. It was 'then being used as a carpenter's shop, where, till within a few years, were the twelve apostles or saints painted on the walls'. This carpenter's shop would have been, as shown below, in the basement of the Dissenters' meeting-house.⁷

The entrance arch from the transept is shown in the drawings made by Hardwick in 1791 for the Society of Antiquaries (pl. LXXII, p. 136), in whose library they now are. When Malcolm wrote in 1803 this

¹ *Cal. Pap. Reg.* vi, A.D. 1409.

² *New View*, i, 142.

³ *Cal. Pat.*, 597.

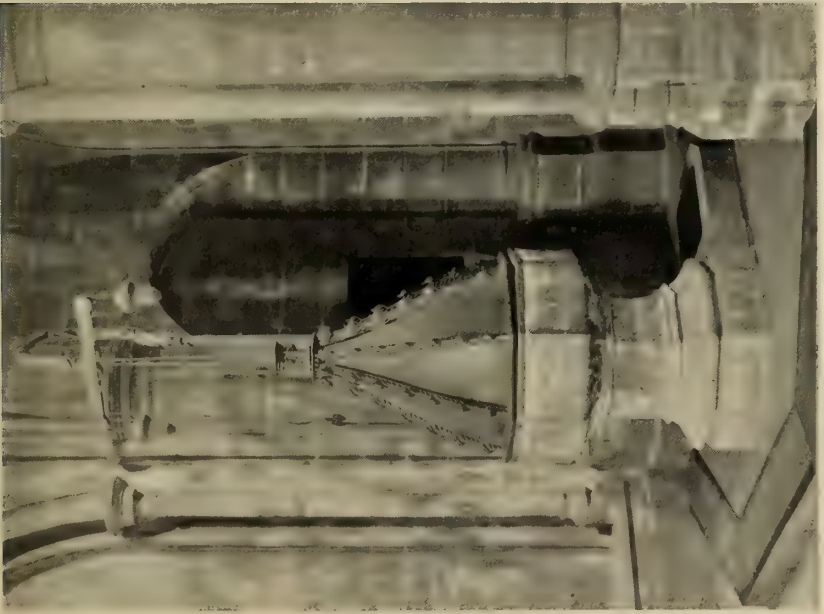
⁴ *Cal. Hust. Wills*, i, 245, 249, App. I, p. 528.

⁵ *Close*, 2 & 3 Phil. & Mary, pt. ii, No. 28, 17 Sept. (1555).

⁶ *Vet. Mon.* ii, 8.

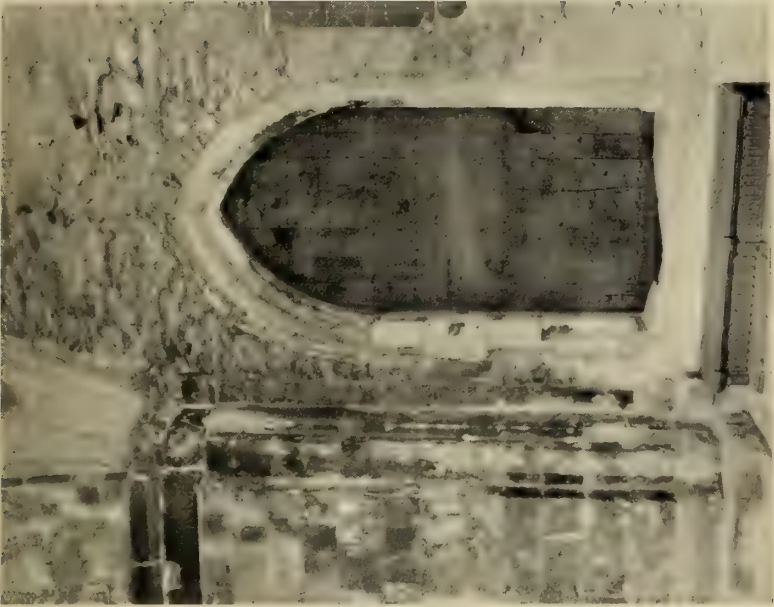
⁷ p. 60.

a

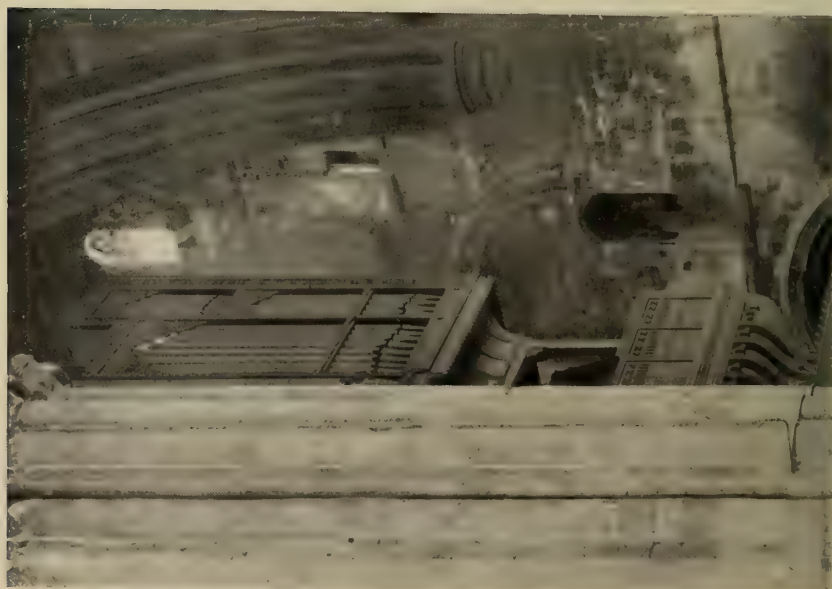


THE FONT
(see p. 57)

b



DOOR OF SACRISTY
(see pp. II, 23, 58)



SMALL CLERESTORY WINDOW
(see p. 63)

b

I pray you to send into the living house of
 virtue for my ladye powerfull at laste - my to and the
 bill assigned to my hands of all yours. I pray you from Lamborg
 into the year due of June. 15. 1561
 I pray you to send to the peters monk for my ladye
 tomb & when ye have any fear I will com my self to paye

+

R. to the door of West
 15. 1561
 15. 1561

BISHOP FISHER'S LETTER TO PRIOR BOLTON
(see vol. i, p. 225)

lower part of the building was occupied by deal board scantlings and carpenters. He says that in the time of the convent it measured 26 ft. in length by 21 ft. in breadth, but he misnames it the 'Frater'.

The best description of the chapel is that given by John Carter in 1809,¹ in which he writes: 'Directly against the wall of the south aisle of the quire of the church is a magnificent small chapel with a grand arch of entrance from the south transept (latticed up), a doorway from the church (stopped up), and windows on the east and south sides. The design is of the time of Edward III's reign (1326-1377). Its use is now a store-room for hops, etc.'

Later on, when describing the exterior of the church, he says:² 'A magnificent chapel on the south side of the quire. The windows on the east and south sides have lost their arched heads; the columns and architraves to the jambs remain; they are very delicate and beautiful; the dado mouldings are remarkably so. The large archway from the transept has columns and a fine architrave. The upper part of the chapel is destroyed.'

Thomas Allen in 1809 writes³ of the sacristy as 'the chapter-house', but like the others describes its position correctly. He repeats Malcolm's dimensions, but, not being an architect, as was John Carter, his description is not so valuable. He writes: 'The original pilasters, buttresses and the small square masonry of the Norman architecture of the church is well preserved in this place, and a pointed door communicating with the church exists in the south wall of the latter, and at the east end are remains of columns in the early pointed style; eastward, in a portion called the south porch, is the upper part of a window of the sixteenth century. It is at present filled with logs of mahogany'!

The arrangement of the east end here described and the south porch, which was not apparently an entrance to the church, is shown in the plan published by Wilkinson in 1821 in his *Londina Illustrata* plan (pl. LVII, p. 111), and also by Hardwick (p. 136).

In the year 1612 the sacristy was occupied by Arthur Jarvais, who was Clerk of the Pipe from 1603 to 1624, and who was also the occupier of the prior's house. Lord Holland's Rental describes it as 'one very faire large cellar with a large room over the same where the office of the pipe was lately kept; out of this last mencioned room up a paire of staires on the north side are two pritty chambers one within another for lodging or other use'. From this it is evident that the ground outside the chapel having risen, here as elsewhere, a floor had been

¹ *Gent. Mag.* lxxix, 228.

² *Ib.* lxxix, 327.

³ Allen, *London*, iii, 647.

formed a little above the ground level, thus making a basement or cellar probably about six feet or more high. From Carter's account the old walls seem to have existed to the springing of the window arches, but as he says the upper part of the chapel was destroyed we suppose that 'the roof supported by large beams after the old manner', as described by Wilson,¹ could not have been the original roof, though it sounds much as if it were so.

In the second half of the seventeenth century this building was converted into one of the many Nonconformists' meeting-houses that were set up at that period. It will be found fully described later on with a conjectural plan and section of the building.²

Wilson writes of it: ³ 'In a corner of the meeting-house there used to be seen some years back a very antique sculpture, representing the figure of a popish priest, with a child in his arms; and there are several arches which appear to have been filled up with the same sort of trumpery. Underneath appear several vestiges of an antique chapel, though now used for no higher purposes than a cellar. From these remnants of ancient superstition, there is every reason to suppose that, in the days of Romish ignorance, this place was devoted to the purposes of religious worship.' We may forgive Mr. Wilson for his own ignorance and for his contempt of the art of sculpture, because he has preserved for us a record that this beautiful building was apparently enriched with a series of sculptured figures in niches in addition to the wall paintings referred to in *Vetusta Monumenta*. The figure mentioned by Wilson was probably a representation of Simeon with our Saviour in his arms.

After the fire of 1830 Knight wrote 'not a vestige remains'; but in 1914, the greater part of the site of the sacristy having been secured (as described later on),⁴ Pope's cottages were pulled down, and remains of the east wall of the sacristy, with foundations of what was apparently a stone altar on the west side of it, were discovered. In the wall are the jambs of a doorway leading into what is described above as a porch, the floor of which, paved with red tiles, was on a level with the sill. The foundations of an altar in the sacristy contain fragments of twelfth-century worked stones. On the north wall is the remnant of a Norman pilaster buttress with a fragment of the stone string badly burnt, like the rest of the wall, by the fire of 1830.

¹ Wilson, *Hist. Dissenting Churches*, iii, 371.

³ Wilson, *Hist. Dissenting Churches*, iii, 370.

² p. 167.

⁴ See p. 440.

CHAPTER IV

NAVE AND FLOOR LEVELS

THE nave of the church, with its aisles, was destroyed by Henry VIII at the time of the suppression of the monastery. The only portions now left are the eastern bay, the south portion of the west façade, a fragment of the south wall, with the bases of three vaulting shafts and probably the greater portion of the foundations of the north wall, though these latter at present have not been opened up. There are also a few fragments of worked stone which are preserved in the church.

The remains indicate that the work was of the first half of the thirteenth century, excepting the eastern bay, which, as already mentioned, dated—like the crossing—from the third quarter of the twelfth century.

As already shown, it is probable that more bays than one were built in the twelfth century,¹ but the remains of a thirteenth-century base still existing at the north corner of the present west wall show that, if more were built, they were taken down and rebuilt in the thirteenth century.

The twelfth-century eastern bay of the nave, which was occupied by the west end of the ritual quire, was left standing in its main structure by the thirteenth-century builders. They seem, however, to have endeavoured to alter it to harmonize as far as possible with their new work westward, for, as previously stated, they took down the earlier clerestory windows and replaced them with others, presumably of the same design as in the rest of the nave, and they carried the higher Early English vault of the aisles into this bay.

The thirteenth-century clerestory windows still exist and there are fragments of the aisle vaulting on both sides of the church. In the south aisle the easternmost shafts and springers of the vault remain. The shafts are slender and double; those on the south side by the cloister door have bands with plain moulded caps; those on the nave side have no bands, and the caps, though much obscured with white-wash, were evidently foliated. It may be assumed that they were built at the same time, the latter design being used for the nave

¹ See p. 9.

arcade and the former for the mural vaulting shafts of the aisle. They are built of Reigate stone. On the north side of the church, as seen from Cloth Fair, the line of the thirteenth-century vault is still plainly visible against the north wall of this bay.

The introduction of the higher Early English vault into the Norman work made the vault protrude considerably through the floor of the triforium, and it was no doubt to screen this that both triforium openings of this bay were filled in as we now see them, and the subsidiary arcade removed, if it ever existed. In the filling (on both sides of the church) are the small doorways already described opening on to the pulpitum and leading by steps to the upper side of the new vaults: the steps to the doorway on the north side of the church¹ still remain, but those on the south side have been removed. The filling of the triforium openings was unevenly done; that in the north opening left only one order of the arch visible, while that in the south left two. The Norman work follows closely that in the quire: the arches had flat soffits, but the jambs had detached shafts at least to the outer order: the date (third quarter of the twelfth century) is clearly indicated in the hood mould, which is ornamented with a threaded billet. The existence of a square angle instead of a shaft on the east jamb of the south opening is probably due, like the doorways, to the repairs of about 1405.

The Early English windows inserted in the clerestory are very interesting, as they appear to indicate a transition state from plate to bar tracery.² They consist of two lower lights, without cusping, with a circle above, also without cusping; the section is separated to form panels in the spandrels and to produce the lines of perfect bar work, but these panels are not pierced and are formed out of single stones. The panels exist on both faces of the windows. The rere-arches of these windows have simple hood moulds, similar to the windows in the tower of St. Nicholas, King's Lynn, and in the ruins of Neath Abbey.

The Early English windows do not occupy the exact position of the previous Norman ones, which probably centred with the bays of the triforium below. On the north side of the church the east jamb of the Norman window still exists, the later work being built up to it with a straight joint. It had a shaft, the cap of which was exposed when the thirteenth-century window was uncovered in 1915, and the cap can still be seen from the organ loft.

About 3 in. above this cap there was discovered at the same time a small slightly pointed window, which measures on the face of the

¹ See p. 45.

² See p. 9.

outer wall 2 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. (pl. XLVII *a*, p. 59). It is splayed through the wall, which is 4 ft. thick, and measures on the face of the inner wall 3 ft. 5½ in. by 2 ft. 3 in. The sill is on a level with the springing of the thirteenth-century arch of the clerestory window. There are no signs that this little window was ever glazed, but the stone is so much decayed by the weather that any rebate for glass would have disappeared. The purpose of the window is obscure, because it was not needed to give light, being so close to the great clerestory window, and as it is entirely beyond doubt that the nave was never vaulted, it was not required to give light over a vault.

Below this window again, but nearer the arch of the crossing, and immediately above the twelfth-century string, is a small square-headed opening (pl. XLVII *a*, p. 59), also discovered at the same time in 1915. The sill is on a level with the floor of the clerestory passage into which it opens. It has a small chamfer on the jambs and head, and measures 2 ft. 6 in. high by 12½ in. wide; the purpose of this opening is also obscure. Mr. F. Bligh Bond, however, has pointed out that close down at the right-hand corner of this little window, inside the church, there remains built into the wall a stone corbel which has all the appearance of having been placed there as a support for a candle beam traversing the nave at this point. Candles placed on such a beam would throw their light exactly through this small window and would have denoted to those assembled outside at Bartholomew Fair time the keeping, within the church, of the festal celebration of St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24th). If that were so, then he points out that the square-headed opening below would probably have been made to enable an acolyte to have access through it to the beam, by means of a little staging outside the opening and a short ladder to a small gallery, for lighting and extinguishing the tapers. Another reason for showing a light through this little window may have been to drive away evil spirits, which were supposed to haunt the north side of churches; or, the parochial burying-ground being on the north side, it may have served as a 'Lantern of the Dead', as may still be seen in some cemeteries in France, at Limousin, Poitou, &c.¹ At Cleeve Abbey in Somersetshire there is a somewhat similar opening for a bell to call in those working in the fields.

The ground arcade of this sole surviving bay of the nave is similar to that of the quire immediately east of the crossing, and like that bay has compound piers. These piers are somewhat wider than those in the quire, by a thirteenth-century addition to their western ends, in order that they might harmonize with the other Early English

¹ *The Times*, 28 Feb. 1919.

piers in the nave. The Early English base of the compound pier on the north side was uncovered in 1864 and can be seen from the graveyard (pl. XL, p. 45). The mouldings on the arches of this bay of the nave are the same as those of the quire, except that the billet on the label has been omitted, probably with the intention of making the nave a little less enriched than the quire. As the height of this remaining bay of the nave is the same as that of the quire, it is probable that the nave was of the same height, but the higher vault of the aisles would have necessitated a corresponding lesser height of the triforium.

As previously pointed out, the nave, like the quire, probably had a flat wooden ceiling carried against the face of the west arch of the crossing, as shown by the twelfth-century string which still exists. The openings of these two bays (north and south) of the ground arcade of the nave, being at the ends of the pulpitum, were probably filled, though there is no indication of this in the south bay; the opening in the north bay is at present filled with a small wall of ashlar in which is a doorway with a Tudor arch. This doorway was lowered to its present position in 1864, when the steps down to the church from Cloth Fair were placed outside, instead of inside, the building.

Of the aisles of the nave only the south aisle of the eastern bay remains. The corresponding bay on the north side was encroached upon in the sixteenth century, and possession could not be regained when the north transept was restored in 1893; but the encroachment has now been removed by the demolition in 1914 of No. 9 with other Cloth Fair houses. In the bay of the south aisle the thirteenth-century vaulting shafts and part of the springers of the vault remain, and on both sides there are remains of the mural rib of the Early English vault as already referred to, but all traces of the Norman vault have been removed (pl. XVIII, p. 10).

In the south bay is the original twelfth-century doorway to the east walk of the cloister. It measures 11 ft. in height and 6 ft. in width. It was built up after the suppression in 1539, and was only re-opened in 1905.¹ In monastic times an image of St. Bartholomew stood beside it,² for in 1494 Alice Hoole, a widow of the parish, who bequeathed to the prior and convent 'a silver gilt chalice and a corporax cloth of crimson velvet bordered with two branches of gold', made the condition that they should pray for her and bury her within the church 'under the image of Seint Barthilmewe standyng at the Cloister dore'.³

The present cloister doors are those in use immediately before the

¹ See p. 140.

² See Vol. I, p. 221.

³ Wills. App. I, p. 538.

suppression (pl. LXIX, p. 132). When the cloister doorway was built up in 1540 the doors were taken down and made to serve as entrance doors in the present west wall of the church erected at that time by Henry VIII. They appear in the Hans Sloane engraving of 1737 in the doorway under the tower (pl. XXI *a*, p. 14). In 1864 the tower entrance was closed and the space converted into a baptistry. About the year 1890, the entrance was again made under the tower and the doors erected there, but only to be once more taken down when the present porch was built in 1893. They were then stored away until 1905, when, doors being wanted for the cloister, it was discovered that they were the original cloister doors and they were therefore re-erected in their original position.

A question was raised in 1863 as to whether the nave extended as far as Smithfield, it being suggested that the gateway facing Smithfield was an entrance to the Close and not directly to the church. But the matter was conclusively settled in 1906, when excavations were made in the churchyard path and under the public footway. For in this manner the nave wall was traced from the portion still standing in the eastern end of the church path to the churchyard gates. Thence it was traced under the public footway to beneath the floor of the house No. 57 West Smithfield, and so to within a few feet of the gate itself. Finally, in 1910, when possession was obtained of the house above the gate, there was found against the east side of the gate the remains of a shaft with a portion of the springer of the aisle vault, proving conclusively that the nave aisle was continued right up to the Smithfield gate through which the aisle was entered. The length of the nave from the present west wall of the church to the outer face of the Smithfield gate is 152 ft. 8 in., or about 169 ft. from the western arch of the crossing. This is not out of proportion to the total length of the church, which was 349 ft.

The nave and aisles consisted apparently of ten bays, including the eastern bay still in the church. When the churchyard path was lowered in 1866,¹ the portion of the original south wall mentioned above, with the bases of three mural vaulting shafts, was discovered. In 1906, by means of a small excavation in the seventh bay, the bases of the jambs of the west cloister door were found, and these are now marked in outline in brass in the church path.

The first bay (in the church), the second bay (occupied by the porch), and the third bay (in the churchyard) were found by the discovery of these shafts *in situ* to measure 15 ft. 9 in. each, and the fourth bay 17 ft. If the fifth and sixth bays also measured 15 ft.

¹ Withers, *Diary*, p. 63.

9 in. each, then a vaulting shaft would have come immediately on the east side of the west cloister door, just as it does now at the east cloister door, which suggests that that was their measurement.

It is also not unreasonable to suppose that there were four more bays of 15 ft. 9 in. each in the remaining space of 63 ft. between the sixth bay and the Smithfield gate, making ten bays in all. That no base of a shaft was found between the eighth and ninth bays, when tunnelling under the public footway, may be explained by the fact that a doorway was found in the south wall at that point which may have necessitated the vault being supported by a corbel instead of by a shaft, as in the south aisle of Wenlock Priory. Hardwick's plan of 1791 shows that there were 96 ft. of the south wall still standing at that time, and shows the arch of the west cloister doorway; Malcolm, writing in 1803, also refers to it.¹ It was not actually demolished until the 'Coach and Horses' public-house adjoining was pulled down in April 1856. The vestry, finding that the church wall was being taken down as well as the public-house, gave orders for this to be stopped, but the wall was apparently left in such a dilapidated condition that the Corporation intervened and on September 11th of that year the vestry resolved: ²

'That the churchwardens be requested to offer for sale by tender to the best bidder the old building materials, namely the bricks, stones, etc., of the old wall in the front churchyard lately pulled down by order of the City Commissioners of Sewers.'

In the rebuilding of the public-house the lights over the churchyard, allowed to be opened by the vestry in 1731,³ were unfortunately permitted to continue. The church wall had been encroached upon from the south as early as 1669.⁴

Hardwick's drawing of this wall shows the west cloister arch in its proper position, but in the distance between it and the west wall of the church he shows a mural arcade of six arches (instead of five), which must be imaginary as they bear no relation to the vaulting shafts above referred to, still actually existing, and there is no sign of any arcading on the wall in the careful engraving dedicated to Sir Hans Sloane in 1737 (pl. XXI a, p. 14).

At the base of the wall was found, during the excavations of 1906, a bench 11 in. wide and 9½ in. from the floor, as occurs at Christchurch, Hampshire, and elsewhere. The threshold of the door mentioned above, and discovered at the same time, has a step of 6 in., and may have led to a parlour of the guest-house, as at Mottisfont, Hampshire.

¹ Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* i, 288.

³ *Ib.* ii, 424.

² *Vest. Min. Bk.* vii, 477, 479, 491.

⁴ *Ib.* i, 36, and see below, p. 271.

It is difficult to assign exactly a reason for the fourth bay of the aisle being wider than the rest. It may indicate the point at which the twelfth-century builders finished and those of the thirteenth century commenced; for we have already shown the probability of the former having built three bays in all; or it may have been in connexion with the rood screen, which would have been continued across the aisles.

We know that there was a rood screen, because in the year 1371 Henry Bosele willed to be buried 'before the Great Cross',¹ as the cross of the rood was usually called; and in 1435 Alice Mores willed to be buried 'before the altar of the Cross',² generally called the Jesus altar, which stood on the west side of the screen between the two doorways. A normal position for the screen would have been at the pier between the third and fourth bays, which is the position at St. Albans where the rood screen still remains.

Of the west façade of the nave there only remains the south-west portal, known as the Smithfield Gate; and small portions of the wall on either side of it. The fragment on the south side was only discovered in 1909 when the stationer's shop was set back. The lower part of the wall had been badly damaged. This had to be refaced, which made it a permissible place on which to fix the war shrine in 1917, referred to below.

The plinth at the base of the wall is original and on the upper part of the wall the original face remains. Upon it is the arch of a mural arcade similar to the one in a like position at Dunstable; below the shop window is the base of a buttress.³ The rest of the west front, which must have extended to the entrance to Cloth Fair, has been entirely removed, even to the foundations.

The opening of the Smithfield Gateway is 6 ft. 6 in. wide, 18 ft. 10 in. high, from the original floor level, and 7 ft. deep, from the face of the west wall. So great a thickness indicates an important superstructure, such as a tower;⁴ and that there was a tower above the gateway is indicated in a record of certain Chancery proceedings which took place in 1596. For therein a parishioner, Philip (afterwards Sir Philip) Scudamore, described the building over the gateway (which building he had himself pulled down in 1595) as:

'Certain chambers or rooms one over another anciently edified builded and standing over and upon the same gate on an arch of stone and two great mayne pillars of stone bering upp the saide arche chambers and rooms.'⁵

¹ Wills, App. I, p. 531.

² *Ib.*, p. 533.

³ As at St. Magnus, Kirkwall. See Macgibbon and Ross, *Eccles. Architect. Scotland*, i, p. 283.

⁴ Sir Wm. St. John Hope drew attention to this.

⁵ *Proc. in Chanc. Eliz. D. d. 9/54, m. 10, R.O.*

Rooms described as 'anciently builded' in 1595 must have been of pre-suppression date; and the description 'one over another' suggests rooms in a two-storied tower. At Dunstable there is such a tower, but it is at the north, not the south end of the west front as here.

The present rooms over the gateway are as they were built by Scudamore in 1595. At some time, probably the first half of the eighteenth century, the front of this house was hung with red tiles made to resemble bricks (pl. XLVIII *a*); but in the year 1916 these tiles had to be taken down, having been loosened by the Zeppelin raid of the previous September. The old half-timbered house was thus disclosed, still in a sound condition. The few defective timbers were made good, the windows, including the dormer, were renewed, and the house restored to its Elizabethan character (pl. XLVIII *b*). During the work it was found that every piece of the wood had been previously used for some other purpose before its erection here; probably the timber had come from the rooms of the tower that Scudamore pulled down, for one piece—now in the cloister—had been a top rail of a wooden screen from the church.

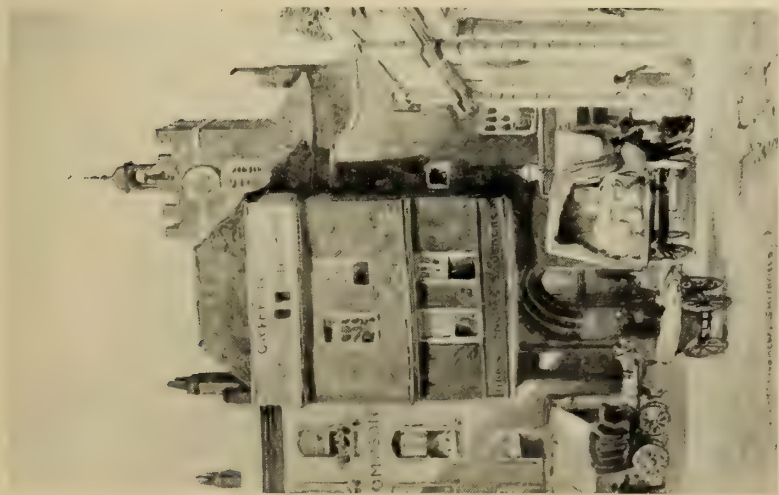
In 1917 there was placed between the upper windows of this house a figure of St. Bartholomew, carved by Mr. W. S. Frith from an oak beam at one time in the church. This was given by Sir Aston Webb in memory of his son Philip E. Webb, 2nd Lt. R.E., killed in action in France, 25th September 1916. Below the lower windows are emblazoned the arms of the priory. On the new stone face of the south side of the gateway facing Smithfield has been placed a war shrine, presented by a donor who wished to remain anonymous, to commemorate those connected with St. Bartholomew's who fell in the Great War. It was designed by Sir Aston Webb; the figure of our Lord was carved by Mr. Frith from an old oak beam from one of the Cloth Fair houses¹ (pl. XLVIII *b*; pl. XXIV *b*, p. 18). It was, together with the figure of St. Bartholomew above, dedicated by Dr. Perrin, Bishop of Willesden, on November 18th, 1917.

The ancient rooms above the gateway were part of the grant to Rich in 1544, who disposed of them, but the portal itself was retained as a convenient place to hang one of the gates of the parish which had become the 'liberty' of Lord Rich. From that time the gateway was the property of the parish; but the house above remained in private hands until 1910, when it was purchased for the parish by public subscription.

The arch is recessed into four orders with Early English mouldings and the dog-tooth ornament. Each order springs from a corbel in

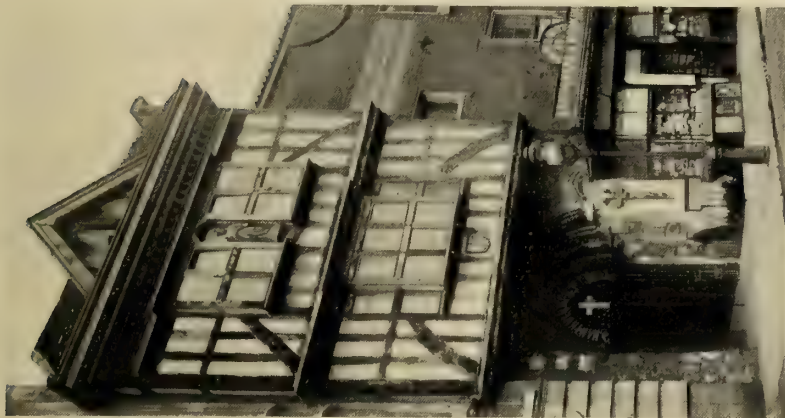
¹ The gift of B. Goodman & Co.

a



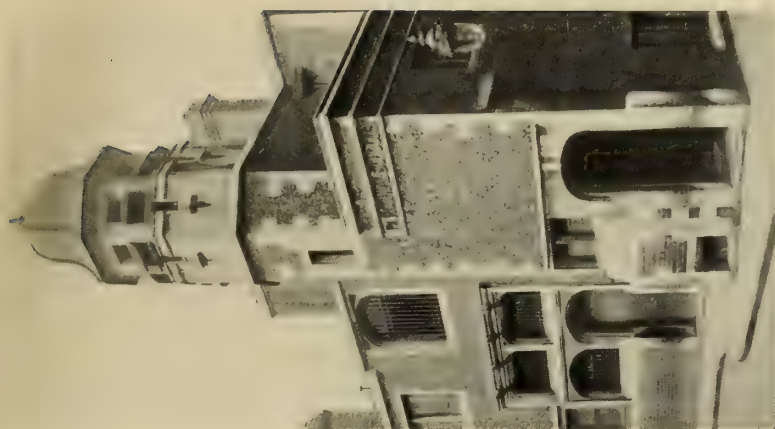
GATE HOUSE HUNG WITH TILES
(see p. 68)

b



GATE HOUSE RESTORED, 1916
(see p. 68)

c



SCHOOLS, REBUILT 1889
(see pp. 39, 217)

the form of a capital with a small pendant. Evidently there were no shafts carried down, as at Dunstable, because the simply splayed wall below the corbels has a projecting plinth, 2 ft. 6 in. above the original ground level. The four corbels on the north side remain, but on the south side two are missing. The mouldings on this south side were covered for many years by the shelving in the stationer's shop, during which time the other corbels were thickly covered with Roman cement; John Blyth, senior, when architect of the church, used this material very largely: the mouldings on the east side of the arch are still covered with it, as was the west face of the wall, which is patched with brick on the north side of the arch. The shaft which occupied the angle between the wall and the arch on the north side, which was carried down as far as the springing of the arch, was found—when the arch was restored in 1910—to consist entirely of brick and Roman cement. This shaft first appears in engravings in 1838,¹ and as in the archives of the church occurs an estimate by John Blyth, sen., dated 1836, to restore with best Roman cement various mouldings and other members of an arch and piers in the church,² we may fairly assume that this shaft of brick and cement had no greater authority than Mr. John Blyth. It was removed in 1910.

There are some indications of there having been a buttress on the wall on the north side of the gateway as well as on the south side (alluded to above), but they are not conclusive. On the east side of the arch the arch mouldings remain, also the original rebate of the door; and adjoining on the south side are the Early English base, capital and springer of the vault alluded to above,³ but the shaft has gone.

The present iron-work in the gateway up to the spring of the arch was the work of John Blyth in 1856, in place of the iron gate injured by the fire of the year before.⁴ The upper portion was added sometime after 1864. When the Corporation bought the gates of the parish in 1910 they allowed the framework of this gate to remain. Previous to 1804 the way was closed by a plain wooden door, as the other gateways of the parish⁵ (pl. XXIV *a*, p. 18; pl. LXXXIII *b*, p. 210).

The gateway itself has been in jeopardy on several occasions; thus, in the year 1814, there was some wish in the parish to remove it entirely, but when Sir J. A. Park gave his opinion, as Counsel,⁶ that the parish would be bound to support the house above the

¹ Drawing by R. W. Billing in Godwin, *Churches of London*.

² Belfry cupboard, drawer 10, *Receipted Accounts*.

³ See p. 65.

⁴ *Vest. Min. Bk.* vii, 495. Cost £54.

⁵ Storer and Greig, *Select Views*, 1804; Pennant, *London*, 1792.

⁶ *Reg. Par. Doc.*, 75-87.

arch, the vestry relinquished the idea. In 1855 the house adjoining on the north side of the gateway was burnt down, when, but for the precautions of Mr. Palmer of the parish, the gate itself would have fallen.¹ And in 1901 an electric company—without permission and under cover of night—set a gang of men to underpin the arch to form a storage chamber, and were only stayed in the morning by the issue of a writ.²

As regards the fate of the body of the nave, sometime between the suppression in October 1539 and the grant to Rich in 1544, the building was entirely demolished; for the king said in his grant:

‘On pretext of the dissolution of the said monastery . . . a great part of the church of the same late monastery or priory . . . has been now utterly taken away thence and the lead stones and timber thence are being turned to our own use and sold.’³

A wall to enclose what was left of the church was then erected on the site of the west wall of the pulpitum and a length of 87 ft. of the nave west of it was filled up with earth to form a burial-ground, for the king says in his grant:

‘We ordain . . . that all the vacant land and soil containing in length 87 ft. and in breadth 60 ft. of assize next adjacent to the said parish church . . . by us prepared on the western side of the same church shalbe for the future received and reputed for the burying-place of the said parish church of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle the Great.’

The remaining 67 ft. of the nave was either at once built upon or left available for Rich to do so.

During the rebuilding of the lofty premises at the west end of the graveyard in 1906–1907,⁴ the whole of the site of the nave from the graveyard to Smithfield was laid bare. An ancient brick wall, some 4 ft. thick, with chalk foundations 6 ft. below the present graveyard

¹ *The Builder*, xiii, 171, 14 Apr. 1855.

² Photo of foundations then exposed, Parish Safe, E. Portfolio, 2.

³ Reference to the payments in the Augmentation Accounts made by the king during the years 1540–1544 show that the following works were in progress at that time, in any of which stones from St. Bartholomew’s may have been used. Payments for all these buildings were made from revenues seized from the monasteries at their suppression. Nonsuch Palace, in Cuddington by Ewell; Oatlands at Weybridge (both afterwards destroyed by the Commonwealth); buildings at Esher, at Offord, and at Hanworth in Middlesex (a favourite residence of the king). Further afield buildings were in progress to the account of the Augmentations at Sandgate, Winchelsea, Dover, Calais, Cowes, Thornton (Lincolnshire), Camber near Rye, &c., known as Henry VIII’s Castles.

⁴ The fire-escape staircase, with exit on to the graveyard, was built without the consent of the rector and churchwardens, who can, by agreement, close it at any time. Deed 110, Lease of right of way during pleasure, 29 Sept. 1907.

level, was found and removed. It ran from north to south and had apparently been built at the time of the suppression to act as a retaining wall to the graveyard which was formed at that time on the east side of it. On its west side was a basement with brick sides and floor. The wall on this side was buttressed by two short walls 4 ft. in length and 5 ft. 6 in. in width, and between them was a wall 2 ft. thick, running westward, dividing the basement into two cellars. At the north end of this brick wall was found a portion of the north wall of the nave, giving support to the south wall of one of the Cloth Fair houses.

Fragments of Purbeck marble shafts were found below the footings of the ancient brick wall, evidently thrown into the trench at the time of the destruction of the nave. These fragments have been placed in the cloister, together with another fragment from the nave found in the rough filling in of the east cloister doorway. The latter consists, apparently, of a canopy of a thirteenth-century tomb and retains much of its ancient colouring.

Beneath the floor of the basement of the house just referred to, what appeared to be the original floor of the nave was uncovered. It was without tiles and was much indented in such a manner as might be caused by the fall of heavy stones during the destruction of the nave.

Two interments were found about 30 ft. from the Smithfield frontage in what would have been about the centre of the nave; a third was found farther east. The remains were lowered on the same spot.

THE FLOOR LEVELS.¹

The floor levels of the church are somewhat perplexing because the bases of the piers vary in height in almost every instance. Those of the main arcade on the south side are on the average about $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 4 in. below those on the north side, apparently due to settlement, if we assume that Prior Rahere's and Prior Thomas's work were originally level. There are, however, at the present time no other signs of a settlement visible on the south side, as there are next to the crossing on the north side.

The present floor was laid in 1864 with the intention of lowering it to the original twelfth-century level; but in doing so two things occurred:

First, it was, apparently, found necessary to pitch the floor in relation to the bases that had sunk the most, with the result that

¹ The result of the investigations of Mr. F. H. Greenaway.

a level had to be adopted some four or five inches below that of Rahere's church.

Secondly, the architects ignored or did not realize the fact that Prior Thomas had stepped up his floor at the compound piers five inches, with the result that the bases of the western bay of the quire and of the crossing were pitched in 1864 nine to ten inches below the original level.

It was an unusual arrangement for the western quire to be at a higher level than the eastern or presbytery. We assume that Rahere in laying his floor did not allow for a rise of the level of the ground outside, which had actually occurred when Prior Thomas continued the work. Prior Thomas, therefore, instead of pitching his floor 5 in. lower than Rahere's to form a step up to the presbytery, reversed the process and made a step down, as clearly shown in the plinth of the compound piers. That this higher level from the compound piers westward was continued is shown by the floor indication at the base of the mural shaft now exposed at the Smithfield gate corresponding with that originally in the western quire.

Apart from the difficulties arising from the differences in the levels on the north and south sides of the quire and from the restorer's work of 1864, there is the question why, whilst the bases of three of the four piers of the crossing are 2 ft. above the present floor, that of the south-east pier is only 1 ft. 4 in. above it, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. below that of the west side of the compound pier. This can hardly be accounted for by a settlement, as the south arch of the crossing shows no signs of having been disturbed, as has the north arch; and the shafts of this south-east pier are $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. longer than the south-west pier in consequence of the lower base. Whether this lower base was so built intentionally, to correspond approximately with the compound pier, or for what cause, there is no means of knowing. The corresponding pier on the north side (the north-east pier) has a base 2 ft. on its western side and 1 ft. 6 in. on its eastern side above the present floor level, but this proves nothing, as there is ample evidence of the base having been rebuilt.

The next difficulty is that the bases of the two western piers are higher by $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 8 in. than the base of the south-east pier. We know of no explanation unless it is that the three western stalls and the return stalls were required to be on a higher level than the eastern stalls, which would mean another step up half-way along the quire stalls, and a step down through the pulpitum; but we have met with no parallel case to justify such an assumption.

Subsequent alterations in the levels present no difficulties. In the

fourteenth century it is probable that the floor of the eastern quire and of the ambulatory was raised to accord with the western level; this is indicated by the height of the threshold of the fourteenth-century opening at the east end of the north ambulatory, by the apparent level of the floor of Walden's chapel, and by the height of the commencement of the plaster on the walls.

The Lady Chapel floor, when rebuilt in 1335, was raised about 2 ft. from Rahere's floor level, or 1 ft. 7 in. from the raised level of the ambulatory (2 ft. 5 in. from present floor level), to accommodate the crypt at its eastern end, and the chapel was probably approached by three or four steps from the raised level in the ambulatory. The floor of Walden's chapel, judging by the design of the bases, was at this time at the same raised level, and there would have been three steps up to Bolton's door and two to that of the sacristy.

At the time of the formation of the square east end, about the year 1405, the level of the floor of the presbytery was raised a further 1 ft. 10 in., or some 2 ft. 3 in. above that of Rahere's work, as is shown by the base of Rahere's tomb; ¹ no doubt to give greater prominence to the high altar. And so matters stood at the time of the suppression.

After the suppression the floor of such of the church as was left was raised to that of the new presbytery level, as is thus recorded in the Churchwardens' Accounts of 1574-1578:

'The charges of the raisinge of the flower of the said church and new sittings and mendinge of the pewes xil: xixs: viiid.'²

In 1864 the floor was lowered again, as stated above. •

¹ The same thing was done at St. Albans.

² App. II, p. 525. Mr. John Hope, the verger, drew attention to this

CHAPTER V

THE LADY CHAPEL AND CRYPT

THE Lady Chapel is at the east end of the church. It was built in the twelfth century by Rahere,¹ and was rebuilt in the fourteenth century. No trace of the twelfth-century chapel was discovered until the year 1911, when excavations were made at the south end of the rough block of masonry which is against the west end of the north wall, just inside the iron screen of the chapel. The excavations showed not only that the masonry was part of the external wall of Rahere's apse, but also disclosed the foundations of the north wall of the twelfth-century chapel, which, after a gap of 3 ft. 6 in., runs for 9 ft. 6 in. in an easterly direction, thus locating exactly the north-west angle of Rahere's chapel. At the east end of the wall there was an indication of its turning south with a curve, suggesting, but not definitely proving, an apsidal end to the chapel.² Assuming there was an apse, the length indicated would have been 23 ft. 6 in. and the breadth 12 ft. 6 in.

That the original dedication of this chapel was in honour of Our Lady is clearly shown in the 'Book of the Foundation', where a vision of one of the canons in the Lady Chapel is thus recorded³ (translated from the Latin version) :

'In the east part of the same church is an oratory and in it an altar hallowed to the honour of the most blessed and perpetual Virgin Mary. Moreover, there was in the congregation of the brethren one Hubert by name of distinguished birth, versed in liberal knowledge, of advanced years and of wonderful gentleness, who, in his old age, had left all for Christ, and escaping naked from the wreckage of this world, had assumed the habit of holy religion, which by his pious character he adorned conspicuously. Being admitted to that order of brethren, he had directed all his zeal to loving God, and assiduously spent his time in prayer and reading, and excelled in justice and truth many to whom he was inferior in rank. This man used often to prostrate himself in the said oratory a living sacrifice for a sweet savour to God and His most sweet Mother. As he once prayed in this same place there appeared to him the Mother of Mercy and with honeyed lips spoke as follows : "The canons of this church," said she, "thy brethren, my loved

¹ As stated, p. 3.

² *Archaeologia*, lxiv, 169.

³ Lib. II, cap. iv.

ones, used formerly in this place, hallowed to my name, to pay me the service of a mass and rendered the devoted obedience of pious reverence. As carelessness has now crept over them, charity has cooled, so neither is the holy mystery of my Son observed here, nor are the wonted celebrations of praise offered to me by them. Wherefore from the high portal of the heavens (*summo celorum cardine*) by the consent of my Son I have hither descended to render thanks for the service of honour which has been paid, (but) to charge and require for neglect and to admonish my dear ones for their profit (*salubriter*). For here will I receive their prayers and vows and will grant them mercy and blessing for ever." So spake she and, as he beheld her, she vanished from his sight. He repeated openly what he had heard, and thereby rendered them more ready and fervent in serving the Mother of the Lord.

'Oh! of what reverence is that most hallowed place worthy; with what pious and sweet affection is it to be worshipped, where the noble Queen of Heaven, the Lady of the world, the Mother and Bride of the everlasting King, deigned to show her presence and mercifully to arouse, with gentle exhortations, the slackness of her servants to a readier praise of her name.'

The only other reference to the chapel, before its demolition in the fourteenth century, is in the year 1327,¹ when the king gave licence for the alienation in mortmain to the prior and convent of a messuage in the parish of St. Sepulchre 'towards the support of a chaplain to celebrate daily at the altar of St. Mary for the soul of Alexander de Sharford'.²

In the fourteenth century³ we have a brief record of the rebuilding of the chapel in the will of Stephen de Clopton, who was janitor of the priory and also a cleric;⁴ for in his will dated in January 1336 he left his shops in the parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury (which Agnes de Stanes had left him eighteen years before) 'for the maintenance of the work of the chapel of St. Mary newly constructed'. That gives a date of 1335 for the completion of the rebuilding, and with that date the style of architecture agrees. The bases of the reveals at the entrance to the chapel and of the shafts on the window jambs, and other mouldings, are characteristic of the period.

Of this fourteenth-century chapel there are four records only, and three of those are from wills, thus:

In the year 1426 Katherine Lancaster,⁵ in her will, wished a torch to be used after her death 'in the service of the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary'.

¹ See Vol. I, p. 156; also Pat., 1 Edw. III, p. 1, m. 3.

² Alex. de Swereford, *ob.* 1246; a great benefactor of St. Bartholomew's.

³ See Vol. I, p. 154.

⁴ *Cal. Hust. Wills*, i, 427, 278; also App. I, p. 529.

⁵ Wills, App. I, p. 536.

In the year 1458 Alice Byssshop¹ (alias Derby) directed her executors to buy a taper 'to remain in the chapel of the Blessed Mary' after her death.

In the next year John Louth, of Louth,² willed to be buried 'in the chapel of the Blessed Mary' within the church (*infra ecclesiam*) of the priory of St. Bartholomew near and beside the wall of the same chapel on the north side by permission of the prior and convent'.

The fourth record is from the episcopal register of St. Paul's,³ where, in the year 1510, on the occasion of the decree of the election of Robert Byley (or Beley, or Beyley) as master of the hospital, it is recorded that the vicar-general sat in 'a certain chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the eastern part of the conventual church' of the priory.⁴

After the suppression, the Lady Chapel fared very badly.

The surrender of the monastery was in October 1539; it was sold to Rich in May 1544, who gave it by a deed of grant to Queen Mary in September 1555. The grant enumerates the parts of the monastery conveyed, and as the Lady Chapel is not mentioned we assume that its conversion into a dwelling-house had taken place in the interval. Sherborne Abbey suffered in the same way; and the Lady Chapel there was still a dwelling-house in 1919.

The method of conversion was to build a wall on the site of the present iron screen, to a height of 13 ft. 6 in. from the twelfth-century floor level, to carry a first floor to be formed above. The chapel floor level was then raised to the level of the floor over the crypt or charnel house, giving a cellar at the west end of 5 ft. 6 in., the crypt at the east end making a cellar of 11 ft. 9 in. in height. The ground floor was under 9 ft. in the clear, commencing 2 ft. below the inner sill of the chapel windows, and was 62 ft. 8 in. long and 23 ft. 3 in. wide within the chapel walls. The first floor above was extended westward over the ambulatory and the rafters were fixed into the east wall of 'purgatory'. The second floor at this period was probably in the roof of the chapel and was not raised until the eighteenth century. Access was given from this first floor to the easternmost bay of the north triforium of the quire, by which means the tenants of the house could attend the services of the church⁵ (pl. L a, p. 78).

The Rental made for Sir Henry Rich, in 1616, described the house fully, and the description can be still followed on the plans made in 1885 before the restoration of the chapel commenced (pl. LXI, p. 120). The second story there shown, however, is not as it was at

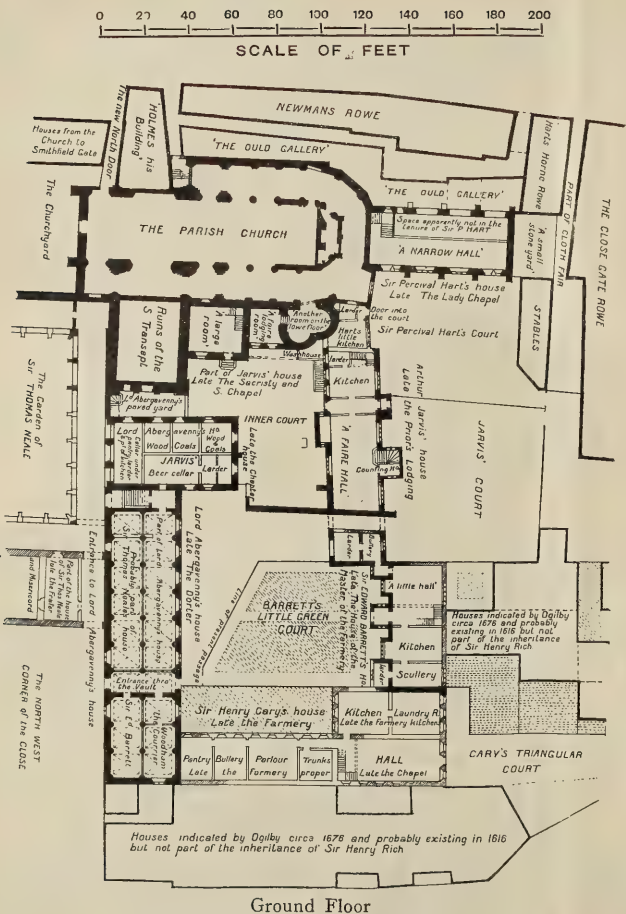
¹ Vol. I, App. I, p. 537.

² *Ib.*, p. 536.

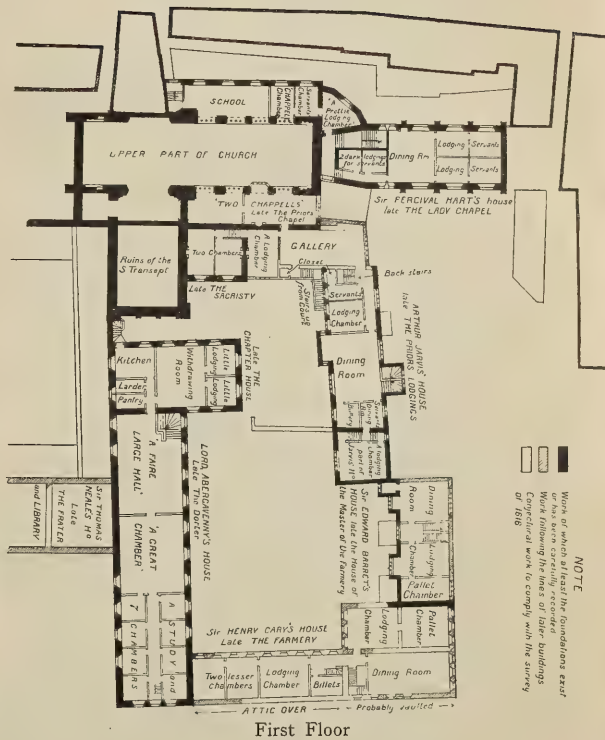
³ *Reg. London*, FitzJames, f. 15 et seq., 9-10 Aug. 1510.

⁴ See Vol. I, p. 236.

⁵ As mentioned above, p. 37.



Ground Floor



First Floor

PLAN OF THE LADY CHAPEL AND MONASTIC BUILDINGS IN SECULAR OCCUPATION AS DESCRIBED IN 1616

NOTE
 Work of which at least the foundations exist
 or has been carefully recorded
 Mark following the lines of later buildings
 Conjectural work to comply with the survey
 of 1616

the time of the Rental, but dates from a later period, probably in the eighteenth century, when the roof was removed and the walls were raised some 7 ft. 9 in. The floor was carried westward as far as the back of the straight east-end wall of the church, and the roof was hipped back to prevent interference with the light of the east windows. This floor was 80 ft. long and projected 17 ft. into the church (pl. LXII, p. 120).

Rich made the burying ground of the canons on the south side of the chapel into a forecourt of the house, building stabling on the east side of it against what is now Red Lion Passage (part of the Cloth Fair precinct).

To turn now to the Rental, we see that Sir Percival Hart held a part of the 'mansion house' of the monastery of Lord Rich on lease, paying a rent of £26 8s. 4d., but declared to be worth at that time £40 a year. It is described as having (see plan, p. 77)

'a gate of entrance on the north side of Mr. Jervais his courte into a large courte the square whereof extendeth from the house of the said Lord Rich unto the side of the Cloth faire along the side whereof nere unto the gate is a coach house and stabling built shedwise for to contain about 6 horses.'

This is a fairly exact description of the forecourt shown in the plan (pl. XLIX), bearing in mind that the later division of the chapel into three separate houses necessitated the forecourt also being divided as shown. The gate of entrance in 1616 was probably at the south end of the east side of the court.

'Then passing forwards at the north-east corner of the courte openeth a dore into a narrow hall with a cellar under the same.'

This door must have been in the south-east bay of the Lady Chapel, the cellar under referring to the crypt; for the building shown on the plan at the east end of the Lady Chapel (now demolished) was probably not then built. There is no other description of the ground floor and, as the hall is described as being narrow, it is probable that the northern half was not in the occupation of Sir Percival Hart, which would also account for the brick cellars being found only on the south side of the building.

The 'small kitchen on the west side of the courte taken out of the great kitchen' was the north end of the kitchen of the prior's house; the lower part of the jambs of the entrance door remain, also the sill: it is formed from a Purbeck marble gravestone, on which are the fixings of a brass, now destroyed. The statement that the 'conduite water' came into it 'by a pype of lead, the quantite of so much as may pass through a goose quill', is explained by the fact that the water conduit from Canonbury, which was formed by the canons

for the supply of the monastery, came by the east end of the Lady Chapel.

The statement that 'out of the hall passeth up a paire of staires' seems to refer to the hall or dwelling room of the house, though described above as 'the narrow hall'. The pair of stairs would be that shown on the plan 4 ft. 6 in. wide at the west end of the building (pl. LX, p. 120). This was a fine oak staircase which remained until the restoration of the chapel in 1886. It was described by Malcolm in 1803¹ as 'a vast flight of stairs literally wide enough for a coach and horses', and is (indifferently) illustrated by Normanus (pl. L b).² The 'prittie lodging-chamber' on the right hand at the head of the stair is shown on the plan of the first floor in the north-west corner, which at that time formed the north-east part of the triforium: the rectangular room shown on the plan was probably not formed until the eighteenth century.

'Beyond the same one little chamber for servants' indicates a room in the easternmost bay of the triforium which was built up on the church side when the east end was remodelled early in the fifteenth century. The 'chappell chamber opening into the church within a reasonable distance of the pulpit' would have been the next bay of the triforium, and being only two bays off it is fairly described as 'reasonably' near the pulpit. The 'particular' then proceeds:

'Then returning back to the stair head down some few steps there is a narrow entry along the south wall of the building on the north side whereof are 2 dark lodging roomes for servantes.'

The nineteenth-century plan shows that the cutting up of the house into three houses had necessitated a change in the internal arrangements here.

'At the end of this entry we come into a faire dyning room, the chymney piece and windowes fynly weynscotted receiving light from both north and south.'

This dining-room occupied the one or the two centre bays on this first floor. And 'the two lodgings' beyond, eastward, and 'the two lodgings for servants beyond them again' occupied the end bays. (The stairs shown on the nineteenth-century plan were probably additions when the house was cut into three.)

'Then coming to the stairhead again'—(continues the description)—'on the right hand wyndeth up another staire to a gallery containyng the whole length and breadth of all the building from the church to ye Cloth faire.'

¹ Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* i, 290.

² *Illust. Acct. of St. Barth. Pr. Ch.*, by Normanus (no date).

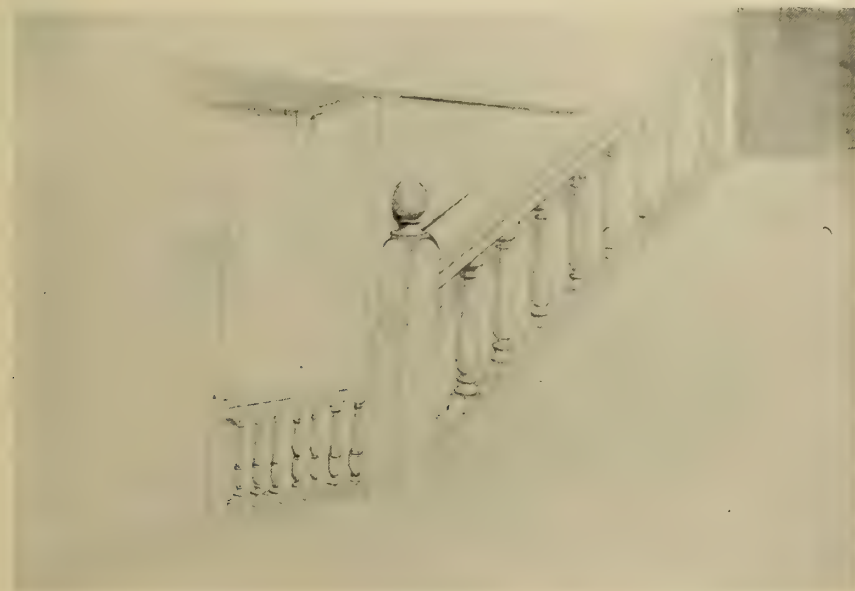
a



SOUTH SIDE OF LADY CHAPEL IN SECULAR OCCUPATION

b

(see pp. 76, 82, 122, 125)



STAIRCASE IN LADY CHAPEL DURING SECULAR OCCUPATION

(see pp. 78, 151)

This is the top floor, which was probably at that time in the Lady Chapel roof and raised at some later time—as mentioned above—when required for a factory. Out of the gallery

‘by the sides’ were ‘enclosed 4 small lodging chambers whereof two had chimneys’. ‘At the east corners of the gallery’ (were) ‘2 turrets containyng 2 clossettes within them,’

from which we may infer that the fourteenth-century Lady Chapel was flanked with turrets in this way, as shown in Wyngaerd’s panorama.

‘Under the stair cases’ (were) ‘some small necessarie rooms for storage of cole or billets, all which is worth to be lett per ann. £40.’

So ends the description, which shows how little the house formed by Rich out of the Lady Chapel changed during the 350 years of its occupation.

The Augustinian priory at Mottisfont in Hampshire, still in secular occupation, is similarly divided into ground, first, and second floors.

For how long Sir Percival Hart occupied the house does not appear, but it must have been for a good many years. He was the eldest son of Sir George Hart of Lullingstone, Kent (died 1587), where Sir Percival resided when not in town.¹ He was twice married: first to Anne, daughter of Sir Roger Manwood, Knt., chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, who also had a house at St. Bartholomew’s; secondly, to Jane, daughter of Sir Edward Stanhope, of Grimston, Kent, whose burial here is recorded on the 23rd October 1619.² The fact that his first wife was the daughter of a parishioner of St. Bartholomew’s the Great and that his second wife was buried here indicates a residence of some considerable period, as well as the fact that his servant, Nicholas Granway, is described in his will as early as 1611 as of Great St. Bartholomew’s as well as of Lullingstone.³

Who was Sir Percival’s immediate successor we do not know because the first rate book, 1636, is only for the ‘Cloth Fair’ and not for the ‘Close’ precinct. The next rate book, 1649, also furnishes no clue as to the occupier of the house; but the rate book of 1676 gives the name of William Rollins (subsequently spelt Rawlins), described in the Churchwardens’ Accounts of 1694 as a printer; whom, by comparison with the rate books year by year until the houses were numbered, we find in occupation of the house, continuously until 1709, when Mr. Delava (described the next year as Mr. Dellew), dancing-master, appears as next door to Rawlins, on the church side. Probably the house was divided into two houses at that time. In

¹ Hasted, *Kent*, i, 312.

² *Par. Reg.* i, 124.

³ Wills, App. I, p. 552.

1712 William Rawlins was succeeded by James Rawlins. In 1716 Thomas Roycroft's name appears. He was born in the parish in 1680, and was the son of Samuel Roycroft and grandson of Thomas Roycroft, the printer of the London Polyglot Bible, whose monument is in the church.¹ As the Roycrofts' printing works were at No. 54 Bartholomew Close it is probable that at this time the house in the Lady Chapel was still being used for residential purposes. In 1719 Roycroft's name disappears from the rate book and in 1720 that of Thomas James is substituted, who had a daughter Elizabeth baptized in the church in May 1715. In 1718 a John James appears, where the dancing-master had lived, until 1725. In 1726 three names appear as occupying parts of the house, viz. Samuel Palmer, Thomas James, and John James, and we are inclined to think that it was at this period that the top story was raised some 7 ft. 9 in. to make a large workroom, as it remained to the end in 1886.

Thomas and John James were well-known letter founders. Reed² tells us that 'Thomas, finding that his premises at the town ditch were insufficient in strength for the weight of his operations, moved to Bartholomew Close, where he continued to the time of his death'. Row Mores, who purchased the printing materials from the widow of John James in 1772, and wrote a book on letter founders,³ says that the foundry was disjoined from the dwelling-house and seemed to have been built for Mr. James's own purpose. He describes the dwelling-house as 'an irregular rambling place, formerly in the occupation of Mr. Roycroft, afterwards in that of Mr. Houndeslow',⁴ afterwards in that of Mr. S. Palmer, and lastly in that of the two Mr. James, and was 'part of the priory of St. Bartholomew'. This sequence does not entirely agree with that of the rate books, but that could be accounted for in various ways. The foundry referred to was the small house at the east end of the Lady Chapel already mentioned, which communicated with the rooms in the Lady Chapel; it was known early in the seventeenth century by the sign of the Hartshorn. Samuel Palmer was a well-known printer and wrote a *History of Printing*. During the time that he was in the Lady Chapel he had for a year (in 1725) as a young journeyman the great natural philosopher and American statesman, Benjamin Franklin. Franklin thus writes in his autobiography: 'I immediately got engaged at Palmer's, at that time a noted printer in Bartholomew Close, with whom I continued nearly a year. . . . I was employed at Palmer's on the second

¹ See later, p. 465.

² Reed, *Letter Founders*, p. 217.

³ E. R. Mores, *Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders*, p. 58.

⁴ Not mentioned in rate books.

edition of Woolaston's *Religion of Nature*.¹ In the edition which bears the date 1726 is the small engraving here reproduced (Fig. 3, p. 90), which would seem to represent the top floor of the Lady Chapel, already described, in which Franklin would have worked. When the place came into the possession of the Restoration Committee in 1885 the room had exactly this appearance: the compositors' racks were still standing, although it had been used as a fringe factory. Whilst working at Palmer's, Franklin mentions that he had seen the practice of the art of letter founders 'at the house of James in London', which is natural, seeing that the factory was under the same roof.

In the year 1730 Palmer's name disappears from the rate book, though he did not die until 1732. In 1734 the name of T. James still appears, when he also signs the rate book, but in 1738 his widow Elizabeth James paid the rates and continued to do so until 1748. In 1752 another John James, also a letter founder, appears on the books and so continues until 1771 when 'widow James' pays the rates.

From the year 1726, if not before, the chapel was divided into three houses, which in later years (1833) were numbered 40, 41 and 42 Bartholomew Close. No. 40 was the small house at the east end, together with the fourth bay of the Lady Chapel. No. 41 was the second and third bays; No. 42 was the first bay with the rooms projecting over the ambulatories. In the year 1790 we learn from the vestry books that No. 40, then 'in the occupation of John Barlow, late of John James', was in ruinous condition and was to be presented to the Court of Aldermen as a nuisance.² The rate books³ continue to give the names of the various tenants of these three houses onwards, but they are of no interest until the advent of the fringe-makers in 1833. Robert Burgh, described as a lace and fringe maker, who had been previously in occupation of No. 45 Bartholomew Close, was granted a lease of Nos. 41 and 42 in the Lady Chapel, but in consequence of the fire of 1830 the lease was 'subject to any rights of the churchwardens to prohibit rebuilding over the aisle or porch'. (Sarah Barlow was at that time the tenant of No. 40.) Burgh seems to have continued his business here until 1863, when James Stanborough, also a fringe-maker, was granted a lease of Nos. 41 and 42, which were made into one house again.⁴ Had the Restoration Committee been

¹ The second edition was published before Franklin arrived in December 1724. Wheatley (*London, Past and Present*, p. 110) says it must have been the third edition.

² *V. M. Bk.* iv, 2.

³ See also *Deeds*, Nos. 39-56 in parish safe, dating from 1789 to 1885.

⁴ *Deed*, No. 51, Parish Safe.

able at that time to secure this lease a large sum would have been saved to the church. The Lady Chapel at this time had been in secular occupation for nearly 350 years. During that period all signs of the building having been part of the church were obliterated; even the exterior buttresses, built of flint and stone, were plastered over. Square-headed domestic windows replaced the old ones and everything possible had been done to make the chapel resemble first a dwelling-house and then a workshop. So far was its appearance as part of the church altered, that Malcolm, usually a careful observer, did not, in 1803, recognize it as such. Led by the thickness of its walls, being, as he says, thicker than those of many fortifications, he considered the building to be the prior's house with the infirmary on the top floor;¹ but Carter, in 1809, correctly described it as 'our Lady's Chapel'² though filled with three floors and a cellar (pl. *L a*, p. 78).

In 1864 a great effort was made by the Restoration Committee to purchase that part of the fringe-maker's factory which projected into the church; but it was not until 1885 that success was obtained, when the building and the ground on the south side were purchased by the new Restoration Committee for £6,500.³ The intruding portion of the factory was at once cut off by a wall and demolished, enabling the remainder of the apse to be restored.⁴ The rest of the chapel had to be left in its debased condition for a further twelve years whilst the restoration of other parts of the church was proceeded with. It was left till last for the reason that, although there was too much original work to destroy, there was but little left to restore.

In 1891 the architect reported that the building was in a pitiable condition and might fall at any time; but it was not until 1894, when the great work to the north transept was finished, that the Lady Chapel could be dealt with. In that year the whole of the encroaching buildings were demolished, leaving nothing but the original pre-suppression walls and the crypt beneath.

This demolition, as reported to the Restoration Committee,⁵ showed that at the east end the south-east angle alone was standing with a small portion of the flint-faced exterior, just sufficient to show precisely the position of the inner and outer faces of the east wall. On the south side of the chapel in no case were the window jambs found in position, but portions of the original walls were standing held up by the three buttresses outside. Where the fourth buttress had been destroyed there was no original wall at all. On the north

¹ Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* i, 290.

² Parish Safe, *Deed* 56.

³ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 127, 20 Nov. 1894.

⁴ *Gent. Mag.* lxxix, 226.

⁵ See above, p. 21.

side the jambs of the windows were found up to the springing of the window arches though in a mutilated condition. A portion of a jamb shaft and the back of the sedilia were exposed on the south side of the sanctuary when the fringe-maker's safe was taken away. How the original sedilia were arranged was not at all clear, so the architect has left the remains exactly as found, the new work being treated independently.

Below the cellars of the fringe factory on the southern half,¹ and 4 ft. below the twelfth-century level of the church, a tiled floor was uncovered in which some of the original tiles of the church, mixed with plain red ones, had been used; for what purpose is not known. Nothing remained of the original south wall as it was below the foundations of Rahere's chapel; but some twenty years later excavations on the northern half revealed the remains of the north wall (as stated above²).

It was another two years before work to the chapel could be proceeded with, but in the meantime, in 1895, the crypt, as will be seen, was restored, and in 1896 the almshouses which blocked the two westernmost windows on the north side were secured³ from the Charity Commissioners and pulled down, and in May 1897 the Lady Chapel was reopened. The window in the third bay on the north side was still blocked by a cottage, but in 1906 this too was secured⁴ and removed.⁵

The Lady Chapel as it exists may now be described. Its internal length, measuring from the iron screen to the east wall, is 60 ft. 6 in., and its width 23 ft. 6 in. The walls at the west end are 23 ft. in height, the height to the ridge of the roof being 32 ft., and they are carried westward across the ambulatory, where they slightly converge so that they may rest on the piers of the apse.⁶

The chapel, which is entered by one step through the iron screen, consists of four bays with a three-light window in each bay. After the first bay the floor is raised four steps because of the crypt which extends under the two eastern bays. The floor is again raised a step at the third bay and also at the sanctuary, and the altar is raised by another step, making eight in all from the church floor level.

Of the windows on the north side, the arches and the tracery are new but the jambs are original. The shafts on the jambs are cylindrical with an octagonal base overhanging an octagonal plinth.

¹ See p. 77 above.

³ Parish Safe, *Deed* 79.

⁵ Fuller details will be found in the account of the work of the Restoration Committee of this period.

⁶ See above, p. 27.

² See p. 74.

⁴ *Ib.*, *Deed* 100.

They are of the Decorated period and may well be of the second quarter of the fourteenth century. In the first window (from the west) only one stone of the sill is original; in the second the whole sill is new; in the third not more than three feet of the jambs remain. The tracery of this third window was inserted at the restoration in 1897,¹ but under some difficulty because the owners of the small cottage mentioned above, which was built in front of the window, probably early in the seventeenth century, claimed the chapel window as a party wall. The spaces therefore between the mullions had to be filled, but the small light in the head of the window was left open, being above the cottage roof, and so it remained until 1906 when, the cottage having fallen, the site was purchased and the window was opened out. The next window eastward, being within the sanctuary, was treated differently. It has double tracery, the free mullions of which are carried down to the window sill. A small portion of the shaft of the east jamb is all that remains of the original work.

The corresponding window on the south side, like the other windows on that side, is entirely new. The free mullions in this case are carried down to within 1 ft. 8 in. of the floor, where they rest on a stone bench to form sedilia. Adjoining is the portion of the original sedilia which has just been referred to.² The small shaft on the jamb was much injured by the fringe-maker's safe when this part of the chapel was his private office (pl. LI, p. 85).

The walls on the north side of the chapel are old, but on the south side they are new, excepting where three of the original buttresses remain standing. The shafts on the jambs of the windows on this side have been made octagonal to differentiate them from the original shafts on the north side.

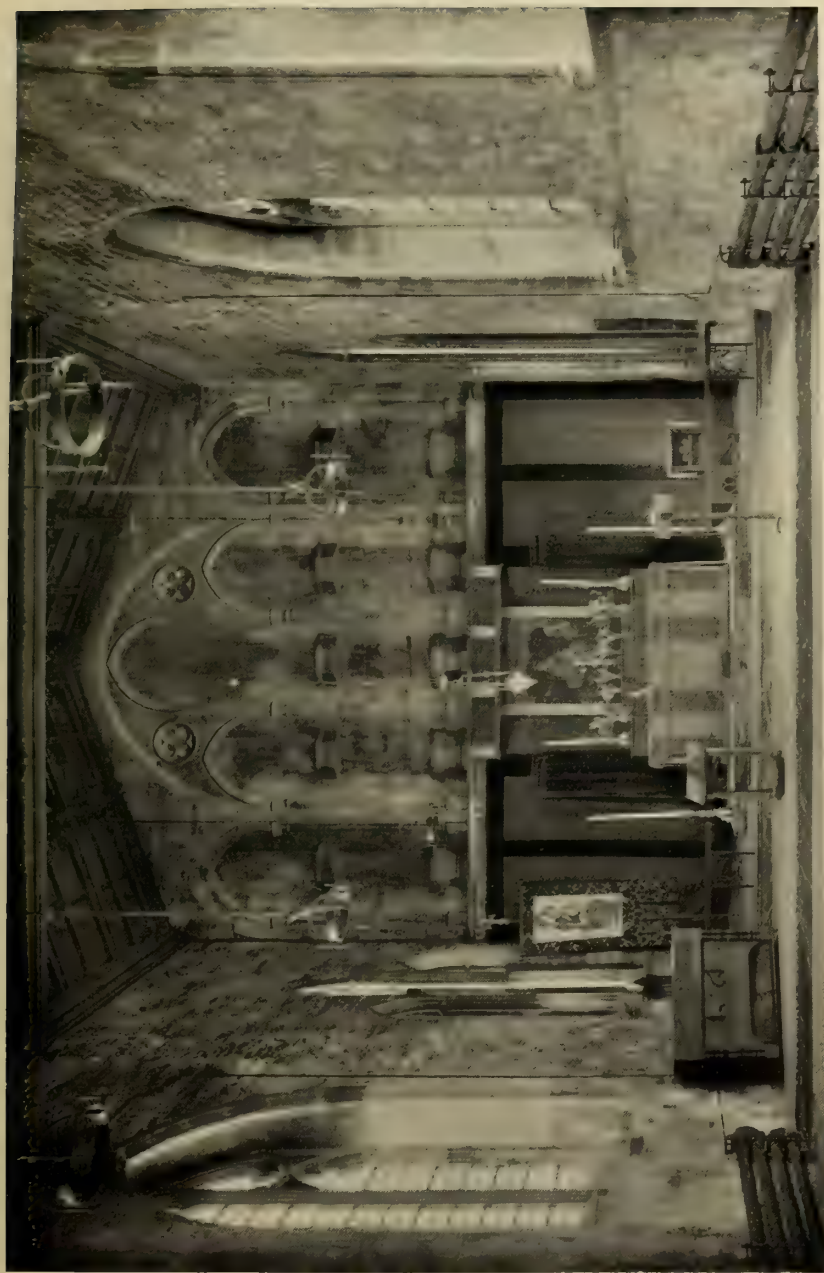
The east wall of the chapel was entirely rebuilt in 1897, with the exception of the small portion of the external face some 3 ft. square (mentioned above³), which serves as evidence that the new wall is built on the site of the original one and that the old wall, like the buttresses, was faced with flint.

To prevent a direct light from an east window in the chapel penetrating to the quire, and so disturbing the sombre effect of the ambulatory, no windows have been inserted in the east wall, but the chapel is well lighted from the sides. The lower half of the east wall is built of plain ashlar; the upper half has five niches with canopies and pedestals for figures within the span of a central arch which fills the gable.

¹ Below, p. 428.

² See above, p. 83.

³ See p. 82.



EAST END OF LADY CHAPEL
(see pp. 14, 84)



WROUGHT IRON SCREEN, LADY CHAPEL, 1897
(see pp. 11, 85)

The altar, which measures 8 ft. by 3 ft., has a retable and above an oil painting presented by a friend of Rector Sandwith. It represents the Madonna and Child with St. Elizabeth, and was pronounced by the late Sir Edmund Poynter, by the late Sir Alma Tadema, and other authorities to be a very fine copy of a painting by Murillo.

In the western bay on the south side is the modern door leading to the crypt, of the original approach to which there is no record.

In the north wall, immediately on the east side of the iron screen, is a small square-headed window, externally of Tudor character. It is 8 ft. 9 in. from the floor and measures 3 ft. high and 2 ft. 1 in. wide and has a wooden lintel. It was glazed when opened out in 1897, but was not so originally. It is too small and too near the large window to have been intended for lighting the chapel. It is not a squint, because the jambs are not splayed so as to give a view either to the high altar or to the Lady altar. It is possible that it was built after the suppression to give light below the great staircase, but the window has an air of antiquity and seems to be of too careful workmanship for post-suppression times. It may have been inserted by Bolton (1505-32); if so, it was too late to have any connexion with the anchorites who were in vogue in London about the middle of the fourteenth century. It was suggested by Sir William St. John Hope that it may have lighted a passage in a stone screen at the entrance to the chapel, or a staircase to it. At Tewkesbury a small portion of such a screen still remains at the entrance to the Lady Chapel.

On the floor immediately below the window is the block of rough masonry referred to above.¹ It measures 2 ft. 5 in. in length and 2 ft. in height (in parts); it had been left beneath the fourteenth-century floor level and was uncovered in 1897. It was that part of the external wall of Rahere's apse which was to the north of his Lady Chapel, the continuation of which upwards can still be traced in the wall above as far as the square-headed window.

The present wrought iron screen was erected in 1897 to the design of Sir Aston Webb and is the work of Mr. Starkie Gardner (pls. LII, LIIIa, p. 86). It consists of five bays formed with square bars of wrought iron subdivided with thinner ones of the same. The gates are in the central bay and above is a hammered sheet-iron frieze which is pierced and set in a broad wrought-iron frame, the lower part of which consists of a band formed of two iron plates, one placed a short distance in front of the other. On the outer plate is an inscription,² the letters of which are pierced through the plate into the dark

¹ p. 74.

² See below, p. 478.

intervening space, by which means the inscription never obtrudes and the lettering cannot be effaced.

On either side of the gates are two candle brackets. Above the frieze is a cresting of wrought-iron spikes, every third or fourth of which is foliated. The uprights of the screen are carried slightly above the frieze as single candlesticks.

Over the gates the frieze is surmounted by a further panel of hammered sheet iron pierced, through which run the foliated spikes of the cresting. The letters S. M. are introduced into the upper portion to denote the dedication of the chapel.

Above this panel again is a tall wrought-iron cross, the arms of which are supported by chains from the roof beam. The figure of our Lord on the cross is of silver.

The severity of the design of the lower part of the screen is in keeping with the massive character of the building, and the delicacy of the work above with the character of the dedication.

Of the original roof of the fourteenth-century Lady Chapel there still remain a moulded purlin, which retains its colouring, and a wall plate, which are preserved among other fragments in the church. The present timber roof is divided into five bays by four main trusses. The space between the beams and the principals of these trusses is filled with an open arcading of four traceried panels declining from the centre. The arcading of the truss over the iron screen has the two panels on either side of the king post filled with one principal arch, whilst the corresponding panels over the other trusses contain two arches, and the shorter panels at the ends are further subdivided, giving a rich effect. The intermediate rafters divide the space in each bay into three divisions, which are each subdivided into four square panels, with a foliated ornament in the four corners of each division.

CRYPT OR CHARNEL HOUSE.

The crypt extends under the two easternmost bays of the Lady Chapel, with which it is coeval (*c.* 1335). Its use was that of a charnel house. It is so called in the will of Walter Whytefeld¹ in the year 1451, where he willed to be buried 'in the cemetery of the priory of St. Bartholomew before the entrance of the charnel house (*coram hostio de le charnelhose*) outside the processional path in West Smythfeld'.

The following (also quoted by Bloxam²) from the *Rites of Durham*³ (1593) explains the use of such a charnel house :

¹ Wills, App. I, p. 533.

² Bloxam, *Gothic Architecture*, ii, 185.

³ Surtees Society.

a



LADY CHAPEL, LOOKING WEST
(see pp. 11, 85)

b



CHARNEL, OR CRYPT
(see pp. 14, 87)

'Att ye easte end of ye said Chapter-howse there is a garth called ye centrie garth, where all the priors and mounckes was buried, in ye said garthe there was a vaulte all sett within of either syd with maison wourke of stone, and likewise at eyther end; and over ye myddes of ye said vault there dyd ly a faire throwgh stone and at eyther syde of the stone was open so that when any of ye mounckes was buryed Looke what bones was in his grave, they wer taiken when he was buryed and throwne in ye saide vault, which vault was maid for ye same purpose (to be a charnell house to cast dead men's bones in).'

In most cases there was a separate chapel over the charnel (the *capella carnariae*), as was the case at St. Paul's, where, as at Worcester, it was on the north side of the church. At Norwich both the chapel (St. John the Evangelist) and charnel are still standing; the one is a Grammar School, the other a playground below it; they are westward of the cathedral. At Bury St. Edmunds remains of the chapel are still standing. There were also charnels under Ripon Cathedral and Waltham Abbey, as well as under many parish churches, such as Hythe and Rothwell.¹ The majority of them seem to have been built at the same period as that of St. Bartholomew's, that is, during the fourteenth century. At Christchurch, Hampshire, however, there is a charnel under each transept, built in the twelfth century, and there is one at Buildwas, Salop, under the north bay of the north transept.

At Christchurch the charnel is entered by a spiral stair from within the transept and also from outside by a flight of steps. It has much in common with the vault at St. Bartholomew's; it has three deeply splayed windows, one of which has steps on the sill, though the outer opening only measures 6 inches.

At St. Bartholomew's the internal dimensions of the crypt—which is rectangular—are 25 ft. 6 in. in length, 23 ft. 9 in. in width, and 9 ft. in height: the thickness of the walls is 3 ft. It consists of six bays (pl. LIII *b*, p. 86). The vaulting was originally built with chalk blocks, of which small portions remain in the north-east and north-west corners, but they only measure 2 ft. by 1 ft. and 2 ft. by 2 ft. respectively. There were five vaulting arches and a vaulting wall rib at each end. Some of the stones of the arches were found when building the schools (in 1888) on the site of the burying-ground of the canons. The rib on the eastern wall is original, excepting where the doorway breaks it. The wall, always considered to be the west wall of the crypt, was proved to be so at the restoration in 1894 by the finding of the north-west angle with a portion of the vaulting remaining *in situ*. At that

¹ The church of the Capuchin monks in Rome is a well-known gruesome example.

time all that was done to the west wall was to raise it in its southern half to its original height with stones found on the site. No signs of a floor were discovered.¹

The vaulting fell at some time, probably not long after the suppression. It was rebuilt in concrete with stone arches, corresponding with the old ones, in the year 1895. The vault is arched with plain chamfered ribs which spring from pilasters without capitals or imposts: they have a small rectangular base and plinth. The bases on the south side are 14 in. above the level of those on the north side, showing that the original floor sloped towards the north; presumably to get rid of any water coming in through the windows, which were all unglazed.

The walls and pilasters are original, excepting the upper portions of the west wall which had been destroyed.

In the second, fourth, and fifth bays from west to east in the south wall there are deeply splayed windows, the interior openings of which measure 2 ft. 2 in. in width by 4 ft. in height. The exterior openings are 1 ft. in width and 2 ft. in height: they are furnished with a heavy gabled hood moulding, and iron stanchion bars, of which one still remains, while another only fell away recently (pl. LXIII, p. 120).

In the western bay of this south wall there was originally an opening measuring 2 ft. 8 in. in width by 2 ft. 6 in. in height. It could hardly have been intended for an entrance, but may have been for a bone shoot. As no other entrance could be found, either from the chapel above, or from outside, the sill was lowered in 1895 to form a doorway 7 ft. 6 in. in height, with five steps down to give access to the vault.

In the north wall there are also three windows directly opposite to those in the south wall, the one in the centre being similar to those opposite; but the others vary in width and have had the splayed jambs and sills cut away. The window at the eastern end is 2 ft. 8 in. in width and has two steps, as at Christchurch, but that at the western end has now a square sill without steps or splay. These could not have been intended for entrances as the sills are 3 ft. 8 in. from the floor.

The house or cottage that blocked the window of the third bay of the Lady Chapel on the north side, and which fell in the year 1904, also blocked this crypt window. The tradition is that access was had through it from the cottage by the tenants or their friends, who were not as honest as they should have been, and that they made

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 125.

off, from time to time, with bottles from the fringe-maker's wine-cellar. The present opening is as it was found in 1905, when the cottage was removed.

In the east wall there are two openings. The one on the southern side is similar to those in the south wall, excepting that, in the splayed sill, there is a deep groove suggesting that it was used for lowering things through this window into the crypt by means of a rope. Only the lower half now has the groove, as the upper part was missing in 1895, and was merely made good with a plain stone.

The opening on the eastern side was evidently converted after the suppression into a doorway. It measures 6 ft. in height and 4 ft. 6 in. in width and has two steps and an exterior arch. It is now as found in 1895, excepting that the outer opening has been closed with ashlar in which a small window has been inserted for the sake of light. There is an iron hinge on one of the jambs, for a door opening inwards. As the door could not have so opened whilst the vaulting was in position it must have been made after the vaulting fell.

There is a record in the year 1616,¹ that a shop, having the sign of the 'Hartshorne', which was in the alley now known as Red Lion Passage at the east end of the Lady Chapel, and then known as 'Harts horne rowe', 'contained a low chamber called the stone room under part of Sir Percivale Hart's house'.² This must refer to the crypt, which was probably entered through the doorway we are now considering. If this surmise is correct, then it follows that the vaulting had fallen before the year 1616. At the north end of the open area outside this doorway was found a brick arch of a passageway measuring 6 ft. 3 in. by 3 ft. This was found in 1921 to be a passage which probably led from the Hartshorne to the crypt and was not the water conduit from Canonbury as found in the Close in 1915. The passage to the crypt had, at some time, been blocked by masonry.

In the year 1885 the architect and the writer were allowed, by the fringe-maker, to inspect the basement of his premises. By crawling on hands and knees over the coals in the cellar, the deeply-splayed windows of the south wall were discovered. This disclosed the real nature of the crypt and the chapel over and led to the purchase of the whole property.

At the restoration in 1895 the crypt was made into a mortuary chapel for the use of the inhabitants of the crowded courts and

¹ *Rentals and Surveys*, R.O., 11/39, 16 James I.

² *Rest. M. Bh.* ii, 126.

alleys round the church. An altar was erected at the east end, where the Holy Communion was celebrated for the first time on the 29th June 1895. Later, on the same day, the crypt was opened as a mortuary chapel by the Duke of Newcastle, after a short service of dedication by the Bishop of Stepney.

In the centre of the floor is a low dais for the bier, around which are six tall wooden candlesticks for light in the death chamber.



FIG. 3. WHERE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN WORKED IN THE
LADY CHAPEL OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT.

(See p. 81.)

CHAPTER VI

OTHER CHAPELS, ALTARS AND IMAGES

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S CHAPEL

AFTER the Lady Chapel at the east end, the next in importance of the three external chapels of Rahere's church was the chapel of St. Bartholomew, at the north-east end. The round-headed arched entrance to it from the ambulatory is all that now remains above ground, the chapel itself having been entirely demolished.

The first record of it in the 'Book of the Foundation' has been already quoted;¹ it runs thus:

'When then in the beginning there was built in the aforesaid place an oratory of the blessed apostle, many and innumerable miracles were performed.'

The next is in the same book,² where it is related that

'A youth Osbern whose right hand clave to his left shoulder and his head lay immovably pressed down upon his hand . . . he, coming before the altar of the most blessed apostle Bartholomew, . . . the freedom of his limbs was obtained.'

The third reference is also from the 'Book of the Foundation'³ and has been already quoted in full. It is where the deaf, dumb, blind and crippled girl was healed in a place described as 'far off in the left end of the church'. The fourth reference is from the same book⁴ (for we assume that the image of the apostle referred to was the one which would have stood at the north end of the altar in St. Bartholomew's Chapel and not the one which stood at the cloister door).⁵ It is the amusing account of a priest of Kent, who, on his way to the church with others to join in the celebration of the festival of St. Bartholomew (24th August), finding no inn for the night, determined with his friends to leave the horses to pasture whilst he himself kept watch and guard. But the good man fell asleep and his horse broke away without his being conscious of it. There then—

'Appeared to him a man having a shining countenance and lightly shaking the garment which he (the priest) wore said "arise; why art thou so long overcome by slumber?"'

¹ Vol. I, p. 64.

² *Bk. of Found.*, Lib. I, cap. xviii.

³ Vol. I, p. 66.

⁴ *Bk. of Found.*, Lib. II, cap. xxvii.

⁵ Above, p. 64.

He at once awoke, found that his horse had gone, heard it neigh in the distance, caught it, and on reaching St. Bartholomew's 'prostrated himself before the image of the apostle and gave thanks for the finding of his horse'.

There are various references in the wills to the image of St. Bartholomew; thus, Henry Bosele, in 1371, willed a mass before the image of St. Bartholomew;¹ and in 1485 Thomas Peerson left 8*d.* for a taper to St. Bartholomew.²

In 1409 we have confirmation of the chapel at that time also being on the north side in the will of Thomas de Stanlo,³ who willed to be buried before the 'altar of St. Bartholomew where the apostil-masse is sung in the north part of the church'; and where he also wished a marble stone to be placed upon his tomb.

The chapel was rebuilt, and probably farther east, at the end of the fourteenth century, because Joan Lovetoft, in 1397, willed to be buried in the chapel of St. Bartholomew 'newly founded', to the repair and support of which she bequeathed 40*s.* and one linen cloth (*nappa*) and a napkin (*manutergium*).⁴

One John Newport, a wealthy man,⁵ living here at that time, in his will desired to be buried in Roger Walden's Chapel.

The Waldens, Newports, and Lovetofts were all well-to-do people and evidently intimately connected, because both Roger Walden and his brother John were the executors of John Newport and John Lovetoft was one of his feoffees.

It would appear that the old Bartholomew Chapel was taken down and rebuilt to give more space for Roger Walden's parish chapel, which was built at the same time, and this may have been done by the Lovetofts, as Joan Lovetoft willed to be buried there.

As to the position where the St. Bartholomew Chapel was 're-founded' there is no direct evidence, but it may have been (as already suggested⁶) farther east on the same side of the church; the present window at the north-east end of the north ambulatory forming a large arched entrance. The appearance of the wall externally below the present window favours this view. It is true that no foundations of the walls of such a chapel were found when search was made in 1911, but that may be accounted for by the fact that that space was used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a burial ground for the poor, which would have necessitated the removal of any foundations that might have been there. It is difficult to suggest any other position for the chapel, because it was

¹ Wills, App. I, p. 531.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 532.

² *Ib.*, p. 537.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 531.

³ *Ib.*, p. 532.

⁶ Above, p. 28.

still on the north side of the church in 1409, as shown by T. de Stanlo's will, mentioned above, which was made at least twelve years after the chapel was 'refounded'. But wherever it was placed, there must have been a space on the west side of it for St. Anne's Chapel, as will be seen presently.¹

There are no post-suppression records of the chapel, from which we assume that it was demolished either by Henry VIII or in Elizabeth's reign, at the same time as the parish church (as mentioned by Stow).²

The original plan of the chapel is assumed to have been the same as that of the South Chapel, that is with two apses, for a portion of the foundations of the eastern apse was discovered when the new furnace room was made in 1913. The remains have been left exposed.

The turret stair, which led to the schoolmaster's house, has stood on the eastern part of the site since early in the seventeenth century, if not earlier. The present sacristy, or robing room, occupying the western part of the site, was erected in 1866.³

THE SOUTH OR ST. STEPHEN'S CHAPEL.

The last of Rahere's three external chapels is the South Chapel, which corresponds to St. Bartholomew's Chapel on the north side. As the altar of St. Stephen was on the south side of the quire, we incline to the view that that was the dedication of this south chapel. The only record we have of St. Stephen's altar is in the will of John Chishull, priest, made in his lodging within the Close in 1382.⁴ He bequeathed his 'body to be buried in the conventual church of the true religious men of St. Bartholomew, before the altar of St. Stephen, situate on the south side of the quire there'. He bequeathed, among many other things, 'to the altar of St. Stephen £10 for the painting of two pictures to be dedicated there', of which one was to be above the altar and the other before it.

This chapel was standing in the middle of the nineteenth century and was used as the parish vestry room at that time. John Carter, in describing it in the year 1809,⁵ refers to it as a complete specimen of simple Saxon (*sic*) architecture. Its original windows, he says, were stopped out, though visible externally; a sketch made by him in the year 1780, showing fifteenth-century cusps, is now in the Gardner Collection. The south window, he says, had been

¹ Below, p. 99.

² Withers, *Diary*, p. 75.

³ *Gent. Mag.* lxxix, 226.

⁴ p. 143.

⁵ Wills, App. I, p. 531.

destroyed and replaced by a modern one. Godwin described the chapel in 1838 as a small chamber of the same character as the aisles,¹ that is of the twelfth century.

In 1822 the vestry directed the churchwardens to carry out a proposed alteration of the entrance and the insertion of a double circular window therein. In 1830 a receipted bill in the belfry cupboard records that a new roof was made for the vestry, showing that the fire of that year reached thus far eastward (as indeed is shown in the wood engraving in Knight's *London*).²

The doom of the chapel was sealed when an agitation commenced for a better vestry room in the year 1826. It was then agreed³ that it would be a great convenience to provide a vestry room with a fire, as there was much inconvenience and danger to health and comfort of persons waiting in the church whilst parish meetings were being held in the vestry. Ten years later, in 1836, a committee of the vestry recommended⁴ that a room for vestry meetings be formed in a vacant space above the south aisle, and that, by way of saving expense to the parish, the then vestry room and east porch (then requiring considerable repairs) should be removed, the ground being made use of as an additional burial-ground. But the vestry, to their credit, on the motion of Mr. Pocock, did not adopt the report, and directed that the east porch be repaired instead. They, however, formed the new vestry room in the south transept⁵ (as already mentioned⁶). The old vestry chapel was still allowed to remain for another ten years; for in 1846 Mr. Cockerill was granted permission to remove a portion of its roof to complete some buildings he was then erecting on the south side of the church.⁷

The destruction of the chapel came three years later when, in the year 1849, the chapel then being unused, the rector, the Rev. John Abbiss, obtained a 90 years' building lease of the land adjoining the chapel on the east and west sides. He then proceeded to pull down the chapel, and on its site and that of the leasehold land adjoining, to build a school-house: the ground floor to serve as an infants' school, the first floor as a girls' school, with dwelling-rooms above for the schoolmistress. It was so used until 1888, when the new schools were built; after which time the ground floor was used as a vestry room and for other parochial purposes, and the two floors above as dwelling-rooms for church-workers.

¹ Godwin, *Churches of London*, i, 14.

² Knight, *London*, ii, 41.

³ *V. M. Bk.* iv, 581.

⁴ *Ib.* vii, 160.

⁵ *Ib.* vii, 176.

⁶ As mentioned, p. 54.

⁷ These were known as Cockerill's Buildings. Demolished June 1912.

In 1867 the furnace of the church was placed beneath this infants' school-room floor within what remained of the bases of the walls of the ancient chapel. But in 1913 this undesirable state of things was altered: the furnace was moved outside the church on the north side, and, the freehold interest in the lease having been acquired and presented to the church by the patroness, Mrs. F. Abbiss Phillips (now Mrs. Bowen Buscarlet), the house was taken down and the remains of the chapel were uncovered. It was then first discovered that the plan of the chapel was one of two apses, one apse on the east side and one on the south. Upon the remains of the twelfth-century walls was then built a new choir vestry, at the sole charge of Mr. G. Duckworth Atkin, a member of the Restoration Committee. The ancient walls vary from 2 ft. to 3 ft. in height on the east and south sides, to 7 ft. on the west side. The new walls of the vestry follow the inner face of the old walls, but, being only 1 ft. 10 in. in width, the old walls project beyond the new work some 1 ft. 4 in. to 1 ft. 8 in. The external door has been placed in the east wall at a point where the old wall had been removed to form a coal shoot. On the north wall of the chapel, at a height of 3 ft. 4 in. above the floor level, are the remains of an aumbry, 2 ft. 3 in. in width, the upper part of which is a restoration.

THE PARISH CHAPEL.

That there was a parish chapel here from the first there can be little, if any, doubt.

Henry VIII in his grant to Rich said¹ that the inhabitants of the Close had always had their own parish church and burial place within the church of the late monastery and annexed to the same church, and all sacraments and other divine services for the parishioners were administered by a curate at the cost of the prior and convent, as in other parish churches in the realm.

In the first instance at any rate it would seem that this parish church (or chapel) was in the north transept; the parish altar probably being in the apsidal east chapel of the transept. We assume that it was there that the assemblage of impotent folk took place on St. Bartholomew's Day 1148, as recorded in the 'Book of the Foundation';² for the nave of the church was not built at that time and none of the side chapels would have been large enough for such a purpose. As such an assemblage could not have taken place before the high altar of the monastic quire, the north transept would seem to have been the only available place for such a gathering.

¹ See Vol. I, p. 270.

² See Vol. I, p. 66.

The north transept was not an unusual position for the parish chapel. At Romsey it formed (eventually) the chancel of an enlarged parish church, which was in the north aisle of the nave. At Tewkesbury the nave of the parish chapel was built against the north wall of the north transept and was entered from outside through the door in the west wall of the transept. At St. Bartholomew's it would have been entered in a similar way but directly from Smithfield by way of Cloth Fair.

Henry VIII in his grant to Rich¹ said that 'a certain chapel commonly called the parish chapel with a part of the church of the monastery had been taken away', and as at the suppression the walls of the north transept were entirely taken away it is not unreasonable to assume that the parish chapel and the north transept were one and the same place.

The Walden Chapel, as shown below, was, however, also called the parish chapel, from which we assume that it was an extension eastward in the fourteenth century of the parish chapel in the transept, similar to that at Holy Trinity Aldgate.² This probably involved the removal of the apsidal eastern chapel of the transept (as was the case in building the sacristy in the south transept), and placing the altar at the east end of the new chapel to form the high altar of the parish chapel. This high altar is referred to by John Agmondesham in his will in 1509;³ and by Nicholas Mynne in 1528:⁴ a lesser altar was probably placed elsewhere in the transept.

That the parish chapel, pulled down by Henry VIII, was distinct from the Walden Chapel is evident from Stow's record of a parish church or chapel that was not pulled down at the suppression.⁵ He says:

'The church being pulled down to the quire, the quire was, by the king's order, annexed for the enlarging of the old parish church thereto adjoining, and so was used till the reign of Queen Mary, who gave the remnant of the priory church to the Friars preachers or Blackfriars and was so used as their conventual church until the first of our sovringe Lady Queen Elizabeth when those friars were put out and all the said church *with the old parish church* was wholly as it stood in the last year of Edward VI given by Parliament to remain for ever a parish church to the inhabitants within the Close called Great St. Bartholomew's. Since the which time *that old parish church has been pulled down.*'

(That is between 1559 and 1598.) Stow is very precise in this statement, for he corrected his 1598 edition by inserting in 1603 after the

¹ See Vol. I, p. 270.

² See plan in *Home Count. Mag.*, Jan. 1900, p. 46:

³ App. I, p. 539.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 540.

⁵ Stow, p. 142.

words 'old parish church has been pulled down' (marked by italics above) 'except the steeple of rotten timber ready to fall of itself. I have oft heard it reported that a new steeple should be built with the stone, lead and timber of the old parish church but no such thing was performed'. In 1603 Stow added 'the parish have lately repaired the old wooden steeple to serve their turn'. This the parishioners were enabled to do by a bequest made by Evan Meredith in his will in the year 1601¹ of £30 'towards the makinge up of the steeple' to be paid 'when the works aforesaid shalbe don and finished and not before'.

This parochial steeple is shown on Ralph Agas's map (pl. LVIIb, p. 110) as on the north side of the church towards the east and much in the same position as the present turret stair to the old boys' school in the north triforium, but we incline to the opinion that it stood in the angle formed by the Walden Chapel and the transept. (It is suggested later that the present pre-Reformation peal of five bells was in this steeple.²)

THE WALDEN CHAPEL.

Walden's Chapel, variously called the Chapel of All Saints, the Chapel of All Hallows, and the Parish Church, was founded towards the end of the fourteenth century by Roger Walden, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London, as already described.³

It is first mentioned in the will of the John Newport referred to above, dated 15th April 1396,⁴ in which he desires to be buried 'within the chapel of his venerable lord Lord Roger Walden, treasurer of England, in the church of St. Bartholomew by Smythfeld'. It is next mentioned in Roger Walden's own will dated 31st December 1405,⁵ in which he speaks of the 'certain new chapel' he had 'newly caused to be made'. We may therefore assume that it was built but little prior to the year 1396, with which date the architectural character of its remains in the north ambulatory agree.

That it was on the north side of the church; that it was dedicated in honour of All Saints; and that it was sometimes known by the synonymous dedication of All Hallows we also know from Wills. Thus, one John Walden, clerk⁶ (not the brother of Roger Walden), in his will (27th December 1404) desired to be buried 'within the chapel founded by Lord Roger Walden on the north side of the church'. In 1417 Roger Walden's brother John desired to be buried 'in the

¹ Wills, App. I, p. 552.

³ Vol. I, pp. 186, 188.

⁵ See Vol. I, p. 193.

² Below, p. 111; Vol. I, p. 256.

⁴ Wills, App. I, p. 531.

⁶ Wills, App. I, p. 532.

new chapel of the church of St. Bartholomew lately built on the north part of the church',¹ and his widow Idonia, in a will dated 18th February 1420/1² (enrolled in the Court of Husting and made in the name of Idonia Rote, she having married John Rote after the death of her first husband), desired 'to be buried in All Saints' Chapel in the church of St. Bartholomew near West Smythfeld'; and in a subsequent will dated 17th January 1424/5,³ made in the name of Idonia Walden, she described the chapel as 'the new chapel of the church of St. Bartholomew which has lately been built on the north side of the said church where John Walden my late husband is buried'.⁴ Reference has already been made to the will of Walter Shirington, the canon of St. Paul's who, in 1448, willed to be buried in Walden's chapel.

In 1509 'John Agmondesham, gentleman', willed 'to be buried within the priory' and bequeathed 'to the high altar of Allhallows within the priory towards an altar cloth to be bought for the same 20s.'⁵ (His will was witnessed by 'Master William Bolton, prior'.) The following wills do not say whether the parish chapel referred to is Walden's parish chapel or the one destroyed by Henry VIII. In 1502 John Fitzherbert, Remembrancer to the king, willed 'to be buried in the parish chapel within the conventual church'.⁶ In 1508 John Clerke, gentleman, willed, if he died at 'Seynt Barthilmewes', to be buried 'in the parish chapel afore seynt Ursula mine Avowerie' (i.e. patron saint), for which he bequeathed to the prior 20s.; and he desired that his 'grave be covered and made plain of marble, the same to have a remembrance of mine auctorities (actions) passed'.⁷ In 1513 Walter Martyn willed 'to be buried in the parish chapel', and bequeathed thereto 1s. for tithes forgotten and £10 to the repairs of the church.⁸ In 1514 John Webbes willed to be buried 'within the church before the parish chapel',⁹ and in 1524 Elizabeth Westby bequeathed 'unto the maintaining of the vestments and ornaments of the parish chapel' 10s.¹⁰

Sometimes the parish chapel was called the parish church, as in 1528 when Nicholas Mynne gave to the high altar of the parish church 3s. 4d. for tithes forgotten.¹¹ And that the Walden Chapel was known as the parish church is indicated in the records of the Court of Augmentations, where there is a grant by the prior and convent to one

¹ Vol. I, App. I, p. 535.

³ Ib., p. 535.

⁵ App. I, p. 539.

⁷ Ib., p. 539.

⁹ Ib., p. 539.

² Ib., p. 535.

⁴ Ib., p. 535, and p. 193 below.

⁶ App. I, p. 538.

⁸ Ib., p. 539.

¹¹ Ib., p. 540.

¹⁰ Ib., p. 540.

Stephen Fyndeley of the offices of 'clerk of the church of the monastery and of parish clerk of the church or chapel of All Saints within the church of the monastery aforesaid'.¹ If Fyndeley was parish clerk of All Saints, then it follows that All Saints was the parish church.

Of the building itself nothing now remains except the three arched openings in the north ambulatory already described.² Of the dimensions of the chapel, we can only assume that it extended eastward from the transept the length of those three arched openings and possibly another bay, if St. Anne's Chapel, now to be referred to, was on the site of the north apsidal chapel.

ST. ANNE'S CHAPEL.

Of St. Anne's Chapel but little is known. In the year 1504 one Edward Hungerford, Esquire, in his will, after directing that his body should be buried in his chapel of St. Anne, where his wife Anne was buried, went on to say, 'I bequeth to the said priour and convent my psalter booke glosed, my book of vi parts of the bibill, and my booke *Speculum exemplare*, the said books to be teyd w^t cheynes on a yron bolt betwene the doore of Saynt Bartilmew chapell and the Est side of my said chapell'.³

We assume that, as Edward Hungerford referred to the chapel as his chapel, he was the founder and that it was built not very long before 1504.

If, as we suppose, St. Bartholomew's Chapel had been rebuilt more than a hundred years before this date to the outside of bay ten, then the St. Anne's Chapel here referred to was probably between the rebuilt St. Bartholomew Chapel and the east end of Walden's Chapel and outside bay eleven, and was entered through the original arched entrance to St. Bartholomew's Chapel still standing. There would then have been ample space on the north wall of bay ten to the east of the entrance, and west of that to the St. Bartholomew Chapel, for the books bequeathed to have been chained.

There are now, however, no traces whatever of the chapel.

ST. KATHERINE'S CHAPEL.

Of this chapel the only records are that Roger de Barneburgh, canon of All Saints, Derby, in the year 1375, willed 'to be buried in the chapel of St. Katherine in the nave of the church, at the south end of the altar of the same chapel';⁴ and that in 1393 John Wrichte,

¹ *Aug. Off. Misc. Bks.*, No. 97, p. 355, 28 Mar., 27 Hen. VIII (1536).

² Above, p. 31.

³ Wills, App. I, p. 538.

⁴ Wills, App. I, p. 531.

janitor of the priory, bequeathed 'to the service of the altar of St. Katherine, a chalice of silver and golded below weighing thirty shillings of English money'.¹

THE CHAPEL OF THE HOLY TRINITY.

The Holy Trinity altar was usually placed against the west wall of the pulpitum, but there is no record of the position of this chapel at St. Bartholomew's. Richard Gray, in 1432, willed to be buried 'afor ye trinite autre in chirche of Seynt Bartylmew'.² Sir William Coventry, the prior, was executor to the will. In 1458 Alice Byssshop, alias Derby, who willed to be buried between the high altar and the quire, directed her executors to buy four tapers, not to exceed 3 lb. each, to remain in the church after her burial; one taper in the chapel of the Holy Trinity for service at the time of mass; another in the chapel of the Blessed Mary; another before St. Bartholomew, and the fourth apparently before the tomb of an ancestor. They were to be held by four poor persons, and she wished immediately after her death to have a thousand masses said for the souls of herself and for those of her father and mother.³ Thomas Peerson, as we shall see, in 1485 also bequeathed a taper in the worship of the Holy Trinity.

ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST'S CHAPEL.

To the chapel of St. John the Evangelist there are several references. In the year 1426 Katherine Lancaster, who dwelt in the Close, in a long will bequeathed one out of six torches 'for the altar of St. John'.⁴ In 1474 John Durem, late a baron of the Exchequer, willed to be buried in the church 'before the chapel of St. John the Evangelist, founded in the aforesaid church'.⁵ In the year 1477 his widow, Elizabeth Durem, willed to be buried before the same chapel beside her husband.⁶ In 1485 Peerson (as above) bequeathed a taper in the worship of St. John the Evangelist,⁷ and in 1514 John Alexander desired to be buried in the church 'before the altar of St. John the Evangelist'.⁸ Its position in the church is not recorded.

ST. EDMUND'S CHAPEL.

To the chapel of St. Edmund the only reference we have is in the year 1499, in the will of Sir John Longe of London, priest, where he desired to be buried 'without the chapel door of St. Edmund', and

¹ Wills, App. I, p. 531.

² *Ib.*, p. 533.

³ *Ib.*, p. 537.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 536.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 537.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 537.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 537.

⁸ *Ib.*, p. 539.

also directed that a mass be said by the canons during three years for the souls of himself and others 'at the altar within the chapel of St. Edmund aforesaid'.¹ We have no record of its position in the church.

THE PRIOR'S CHAPEL.

'The chapel of the lord prior' next to which Thomas Felmysham, in the year 1451, desired to be buried² 'if it pleased the prior' may or may not have been a separate chapel.

There may have been other chapels, though not mentioned in the wills.

THE HIGH ALTAR.

The high altar, we assume, was placed on the cord of the apse at the time of the foundation of the church. As there were then seven bays in the apse it would have been one bay farther west than it is at present. When, early in the fifteenth century, the east end was remodelled the altar was probably placed one bay eastward against the straight east wall and raised on several steps above the presbytery, which itself was raised³ some 2 ft. 3 in. from the twelfth-century floor level. At this time there stood, as stated in the will of William Thirwall, quoted below, an image of the Blessed Virgin on the south side of the altar. After the suppression, the altar still stood raised on steps above the presbytery until 1556, or later, when the Blackfriars were in possession, because in that year one John Garatt willed to be buried 'between the steps going up to the high altar and the chancel'.⁴ About the year 1776 the floor of the church was levelled up to that of the presbytery, thus reducing the elevated appearance of the altar. When the altar steps were removed we have no record, though certainly it was before the nineteenth century. In 1864, when the floor of the church was lowered again, the level of the presbytery was lowered too. In 1886 a new altar was presented to the church⁵ raised on three steps and again placed on the cord of the apse, which consists now of five bays only.

The high altar is frequently referred to in the wills: there are four references to it whilst it stood in its first position, thus:

In 1382 John Chishull, priest, bequeathed to the high altar £10 which Dom John Randish, a canon of the church, owed him for a loan.⁶ In 1387 John Royston willed to be buried before the high altar and bequeathed to Dom John Rankedych (probably the same

¹ Wills, App. I, p. 538.

⁶ Wills, App. I, p. 544.

² *Ib.*, p. 533.

⁵ See below, p. 411.

³ See above, p. 17.

⁶ Wills, App. I, p. 531.

as Randish above) £20 to be expended about the high altar.¹ In 1393 John Wrichte willed to be buried before the high altar and bequeathed 12 marks for making a vestment for the celebration of masses for the soul of himself and others; and 26s. 8d. for making a dorsal for the high altar, the money to be given to the same Dom John Rankdich for doing the work.² And in 1397 Joan Lovetoft bequeathed 40s. to the high altar, and an altar cloth and a towel.³

After the rebuilding of the east end references to the high altar become more frequent, thus: In 1426 Katherine Lancaster willed to be buried before the high altar under the stone where her husband (Richard Brigge called Lancaster) was buried, and she bequeathed 20s. to be spent in the decoration of the same.⁴ In 1432 William Thirwall, esquire, wished to be buried in the church before the image of the Mother of God by the high altar on the south side.⁵ In 1434 Thomas Russell bequeathed to the high altar and to the fabric of the church 20s.⁶ In 1448 Walter Shirington bequeathed to the high altar 7s. for each of three days when his obit was kept.⁷ In 1450 Stephen Grove bequeathed 20 pence for its decoration.⁸ In 1458 Alice Byssshop, alias Derby, willed to be buried between the high altar and the quire.⁹

After this date till the suppression the bequests to the altar were all for 'tithes and oblations negligently forgotten or withheld', thus:

In 1473 there was bequeathed by John Durem for such 3s. 4d.¹⁰ In 1514 by John Alexander 5s.¹¹ In 1515 by John Webbes 10s.¹² In 1521 by Bartholomew Westby the large sum of £6 13s. 4d.;¹³ and by Hugh Grannger 10s., and after mass the priest was to say *de profundis* at his grave and then to cast holy water upon it.¹⁴ In 1522 Robert Blagge, one of the barons of the Exchequer, bequeathed for tithes 'not fully and truly paid and for the furnishing of eight images to be new painted' 8 marks.¹⁵

In January 1538/9, the year of the suppression, Richard Bellamy bequeathed 3s. 4d. for tithes negligently forgotten: he was 'a brother of the chapter seall' with the canons.¹⁶ Among the witnesses to this will were John Deane, then the parish priest and afterwards the first rector, Dr. Bartlett, the king's physician, and others.

In 1545, that is after the suppression, Robert Adams bequeathed 3s. 4d.¹⁷ for the same object. In the same year Robert Burgoyne

¹ Wills, App. I, p. 531.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 535.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 535.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, p. 537.

¹³ *Ib.*, p. 539.

¹⁶ *Ib.*, p. 541.

² *Ib.*, p. 531.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 536.

⁸ *Ib.*, p. 536.

¹¹ *Ib.*, p. 539.

¹⁴ *Ib.*, p. 540.

¹⁷ *Ib.*, p. 542.

³ *Ib.*, p. 532.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 536.

⁹ *Ib.*, p. 536.

¹² *Ib.*, p. 539.

¹⁵ *Ib.*, p. 539.

likewise bequeathed 13s. 4d. and also gave for the service of the altar 'one cope and one vestment with the apparel'.¹ In 1548 Dorothy Paver bequeathed 1s. 8d. for tithes;² and lastly the John Garatt, citizen and salter, mentioned above,³ gave 1s. and directed his executors to find yearly two tapers of wax weighing 2 lb. each, and when his *dirige* and mass of *requiem* were done the tapers were to be given to the friars to burn on the high altar before the sacrament.⁴ (The Blackfriars were not in possession until 1556.)

THE ALTAR OF THE HOLY CROSS OR JESUS ALTAR.

The altar of the Holy Cross is mentioned, as already seen, in the will of Alice, widow of John Mores (Morys or Moore), where she willed to be buried 'before the altar of the Cross' (*coram altare crucis*). Now the position of the altar of the Cross seems to have been invariably below the great Cross, that is on the west side of the rood screen between the two doorways which are always found in that screen. The usual dedication of this altar is 'the Jesus Altar'. At St. Bartholomew's there is no actual record of this altar being so called, but we know that there was an image of Jesus Christ in the nave because⁵ Richard Bellamy willed 'to be buried in the body of the church . . . between the font set there and the holy image of our Lord Jesus Christ', and it is reasonable to assume that that image stood by the altar of the Cross, which was in the nave; and therefore that that altar had the usual dedication, and that the *Altare Crucis* was also called the Jesus Altar. Where there was not a separate parish chapel, as there was at St. Bartholomew's, this altar was used by the parishioners as the parochial altar.

THE ALTAR OF ST. MICHAEL.

This altar is mentioned in the will of Katherine Lancaster in 1426, wherein she directs that a wax torch be given after her death 'to her usual altar of Michael';⁶ and Thomas Peerson bequeathed a taper priced 8d. to St. Michael, which no doubt was to burn before an image of that saint which would have stood beside the altar of St. Michael.

THE ALTAR OF ST. HIPPOLYTUS OR ST. IPPOLITE.

We find this altar only once referred to. In the Bodleian Rental of 1307 it is recorded that 'The Sacristan has the offerings which come

¹ Wills, App. I, p. 542.

⁴ Ib., p. 544.

⁶ Wills, App. I, p. 536.

² Ib., p. 543.

³ p. 544.

⁵ As mentioned above, p. 57.

during the year to the altar of Ippolitus which are worth £4 a year'. We have no record of the position of this altar, but it may have been in the sacristy, where the foundations of an altar still exist.

The dedication to St. Hippolytus is uncommon in England, though it is the dedication of the church of Ippollitts, near Hitchin, from which the place derives its name. The saint was the soldier in charge of St. Lawrence, and he himself suffered martyrdom by being tied to the tails of wild horses—hence his name. His relics were transferred from Rome to St. Denis in France, where he was a more popular saint than here.

IMAGES.

The only records of the images in the church before the suppression are contained in the wills. Agnes Tredehey in the year 1409 desired to be buried in the church 'beneath the image of the blessed Mary Magdalene which is on the wall on the north side of the church'.¹

Thomas Peerson, in the year 1485, who desired to be buried in the church 'before St. Christopher at the longe stall', bequeathed as follows—'to St. Christopher light 12*d.* also for a taper to St. Barthilmewe 8*d.* and another to St. Anthony price 8*d.* Another to the Trinity price 12*d.* and in our Lady's Chapel another 12*d.*; and another to St. Katherine of 8*d.* and 2 tapers in the worship of St. Thomas the Apostle and St. Thomas the martyr, price 16*d.*; St. John the Evangelist a taper price 8*d.* and St. Peter and St. Paul two tapers of 16*d.* and St. Michael another of 8*d.* and another in the worship of all Saints 2*s.*'²

An image of St. Ursula in the Parish Chapel has already been referred to.³

CHAPELS (WITH ALTARS).

Lady Chapel.	St. Anne's.
St. Bartholomew's.	St. Katherine's.
St. Stephen's.	Holy Trinity.
Parish Chapel.	St. John the Evangelist.
Walden's or All Saints'.	St. Edmund's.

ALTARS (NO CHAPELS RECORDED).

The High Altar.	St. Michael's.
The Holy Cross or Jesus Altar.	St. Hippolytus.

IMAGES (WITH ALTARS).

St. Mary the Virgin.	Holy Trinity.
St. Bartholomew (2).	St. John the Evangelist.
All Saints.	St. Michael.
St. Katherine.	

¹ Wills, App. I, p. 532.

² *Ib.*, p. 537.

³ Above, p. 98.

IMAGES (NO ALTARS RECORDED).

St. Anthony.	St. Thomas the Apostle.
St. Christopher.	St. Thomas the Martyr.
St. Mary Magdalene.	St. Ursula.
St. Peter and St. Paul.	

ALTARS NOW IN THE CHURCH.

	<i>Length.</i>		<i>Breadth.</i>		<i>Height.</i>	
	ft.	in.	ft.	in.	ft.	in.
The High Altar . . .	8	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	2	11	3	3
The Lady Altar . . .	8	0	2	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	3	3
The Altar of Sacrifice . . .	4	6	2	5	3	0
The Crypt Altar . . .	5	10	1	11	2	11 $\frac{1}{2}$

CHAPTER VII

EXTERIOR, TOWER, AND BELLS

EACH century, since the foundation, is more or less represented in the exterior of the church.

Of the twelfth century there only remain portions of two buttresses and of the wall of the south side of the quire and the lower part of the walls of the south chapel (pl. LXV, p. 126). On the north side there is a small portion of the wall of the east bay of the nave which was uncovered in 1914 (see pl. LIV).

Of the thirteenth century there is the clerestory window and an arch of the ground arcade in the same bay of the nave but formerly inside the church (see pl. LIV); also the south-west portal in Smithfield, with a fragment of the west front adjoining (see pl. XXIV *b*, p. 18).

Of the fourteenth century there are the buttresses and portions of the wall of the Lady Chapel (pl. LXIV, p. 122).

Of the fifteenth century there can be seen small portions of the ends of the square east wall on either side of the present apse and portions of the masonry between the clerestory windows.

To the sixteenth century some of the brickwork on the wall of the east end of the north ambulatory and of the south ambulatory may be attributed, as well as the lower portions of the wall of the prior's house.

Of the seventeenth century there remains the brick tower (see pl. XXI *b*, p. 14) and the brick wall of the north triforium.

Of the eighteenth century the rough coping of the quire alone remains, as the round-headed east windows were removed in 1885.

The greater part of the exterior is of the nineteenth century. At the west end there is the flint casing of the west front (see pl. LIV), and the west porch (see pl. LV, p. 107); the north transept and the north porch (see pl. LVIII, p. 118); the windows of the north quire aisle; the windows and the flint casing of the Lady Chapel walls between the buttresses (see pl. LXIV, p. 122); the south transept and south porch (see pl. XXI *b*, p. 14).

Of the present century there are the casing of the greater part of the east wall of the south quire aisle, parts of the south wall, the south chapel (see pl. LXV, p. 126) and the south triforium.



NORTH-EAST BAY OF THE NAVE
(see pp. 10, 106, 108, 109, 116)



WEST PORCH
(see pp. 106, 109)

Of the design of the exterior of Rahere's church nothing is really known, though it has been the subject of conjecture.¹ The seal of the priory used by Rahere in 1137 (Vol. I, pl. XIII, p. 318) represents a church which may or may not be intended for a representation of the church built by him.² Three towers are shown with conical roofs and projecting eaves. The central tower is larger than the others; it is surmounted by a large cross and has two windows. The western tower is shown on this side of the roof, the other two on the farther side of it; which may be intended to convey the idea of three western towers as at Ely, or a central tower at the crossing and two western towers. We know there were one or more turrets, as in 1914 the stones forming the upper portion of one were found on the site of the north transept. This may have been similar to that at Romsey at the north-west corner of the north transept, which was built at the same time as that of St. Bartholomew's. It gave access to the roof as does the present turret at St. Bartholomew's in the same position on the new transept.

The seal represents the south side of a church³ with apparently two or more windows and an eastern chapel lower than the rest of the church with one window only and a large cross on the gable. The eastern end is square, not apsidal. The roofs of both buildings are high pitched, hung with large tiles or stones, with overhanging eaves.

A later seal used in 1242⁴ also shows towers with conical roofs as in the first seal. These towers are built in three stories with windows in each story, and there is also a circular central tower with windows in the upper story. On the reverse of the seal a central tower is again shown; this time it is castellated and carries a crocketed spire surmounted by a cross (Vol. I, pl. XIII, p. 318).

The reader must form his own conclusions as to whether or not these representations of a church on the seals are entirely conventional, bearing in mind that it was customary to depict a building on a seal in the style in vogue at the time, so that the style of architecture on a seal is a more reliable guide to the approximate date when the seal was engraved than to the date when the building it depicts was erected. This custom was followed at St. Bartholomew's to the last, for the seal of the Dominicans, set up here by Queen Mary in 1556, shows a canopy supported by pilasters in the Renaissance style.

¹ See *Cassell's Almanack*, October 1893.

² See later, p. 318.

³ Parker, *Lecture*, 13 July 1863; and *Archaeologia*, xix, 49, by R. Powell.

⁴ See later, p. 319.

However, we have evidence that there was a south-west tower to the façade facing Smithfield,¹ and it is very probable that there was also a corresponding tower at the north-west corner, for that was the fashion in the twelfth century, as at Southwell, St. Albans, Durham, Ripon, and Tewkesbury. Wyngaerde's map shows small turrets also at the corners of what is probably intended to represent the quire (pl. LVI *a*, p. 110).

THE WEST FRONT.

The west wall of the present church was erected in the year 1543 and cased with flint and stone in 1893 (see pl. LIV, p. 106). We have already referred² to the payment made in the former year of £80 from the Augmentation funds by Henry VIII 'for repairs to the late priory', which would have been sufficient for building this wall and filling in the north transept arch; for the work was done in the meanest possible manner. The wall is probably built³ on the west wall of the pulpitum and composed of such pieces of the ruins of the nave as the king had not carted away to his works then in progress.

It has now a plain flat gable to correspond with the pitch of the roof, but at first it was battlemented and possibly of a higher pitch; for there is a bricklayer's bill of the year 1720, a year when much money was spent on the church, which includes⁴ 'for taking down and rebuilding of battlement wall at the west end of the church to the level of the beam that lies over the great window £12'. Then or at some previous time the wall had been plastered, for in the year 1836 a committee of the vestry reported⁵ 'that it was necessary for the west front to be stripped of plaster and cemented in compo.'

In the centre of the wall was one large window, divided into four lights by three plain unmoulded mullions, and one similar transome. Below the window was the west door which is shown in the engraving dedicated to Sir Hans Sloane in 1737 (pl. XXI *a*, p. 14); but there was a porch in the seventeenth century, for in the year 1620 Strype says 'the porch at the west end was rebuilt, and in 1632 it was repaired and beautified'.⁶ In 1715 the vestry 'ordered the churchwarden to pull down the church porch in the great churchyard and rebuild it',⁷ but no porch is shown in the Hans Sloane engraving.

In the year 1864 a square plain porch was built and an oak door set on the south side of it. There was a small two-light window beside the door, shown in the engraving, and a large buttress on the north end of the west face of the wall. When in 1864 an excavation

¹ See above, p. 67.

² Vol. I, p. 262.

³ Above, p. 45.

⁴ Belfry cupboard.

⁵ *V. M. Bk.* vii, 157.

⁶ Strype, *Stow*, i, Bk. III, 238 a.

⁷ *V. M. Bk.* ii, 52.

was made to form a dry area round the church, there was found below this buttress the base of the nave pier, which is still left exposed (see pl. XL, p. 45). It shows thirteenth-century work on its west side, though twelfth-century work on the east side.

In the year 1893, when the present porch was built, this west wall was faced with flint and stone and the large window was built up to strengthen the wall¹ (pl. LIV, p. 106). It has now, in the upper half, a mural arcade of three arches; the two side ones are pierced with narrow lancet windows to light the organ loft. Above the arcading is a circular traceried window set in a narrow band of stone work which extends from side to side. Below the arcading is a wide band of chequer pattern flint and stone work with a wide expanse of plain flint work below. The buttress already mentioned on the left and the porch built in 1864 are both faced with flint and stone in the same way.

THE WEST PORCH.

Adjoining this newly faced work and standing in front of the base of the seventeenth-century tower is the new west porch (pl. LV, p. 107). This was built by Sir Aston Webb in 1893. It is in two stories and is built in Portland stone and flint throughout. The lower story is of flint with stone dressings in which is placed an arched stone doorway, with a broad band of chequer work in the upper portion. On the jambs of this doorway are two short cylindrical shafts with finely carved projecting base mouldings; by the side of these and on the jambs the outer orders of the arch die away into the masonry. The hood mould rises from foliated corbels on which is carved the date of the building, '18' on the one and '93' on the other; it ends below the string of the upper story in a broad and heavily foliated finial.

The upper story is divided into seven panels. In the central one is a carved figure of Rahere holding a model of his church in his right hand. On the pedestal below the figure is a shield of the arms of the priory with angels as supporters. The canopy over the head of the figure is cusped, with open tracery above. It is then carried upward as a slender shaft and, penetrating the moulding above and passing through the cornice of the battlement, terminates in a foliated finial in the form of a Greek cross. This upper story forms a boldly battlemented gable in such a way that the other six panels which fill the gable decline from the central one. In two of the panels windows are inserted; the remaining four are blind with hollowed

¹ £800 of the Charity Commissioners' Grant was intended for this purpose.

backs decorated with bands of flint and stone. On either side of the outer panels is a square shaft, set at an angle, the base of which penetrates the string running between the two stories; the upper part penetrates the end of the string running immediately above the panels and also the end of the cornice of the battlement, above which it projects and terminates in a moulded conical-shaped cap.

The stone string between the two stories is ornamented with two shields midway between the centre panel and the sides of the porch; on one is the number '11', on the other the number '23'—being the date of the foundation. There is a handsome leaden hopper to the rainwater pipe on the south side.

THE TOWER AND BELLS.

As the present tower forms part of the west front of the parish church it may, together with the monastic tower and bells, be conveniently dealt with here.

It has been stated that there is nothing in the present building to show for certain that there ever was a tower over the crossing,¹ but the massive character of the piers of the crossing puts it beyond doubt that the original intention was to build a central tower, and that this was carried out is shown by the record, previously referred to,² that in the year 1264 'by a flash of lightning a part was struck down of the belfry of St. Bartholomew's, London';³ and that in the year 1409 the pope stated that he understood that the prior had rebuilt the bell tower. There is also in the Hastings MSS.,⁴ in the year 1442, a drawing of Sir John Astley's fight with Philip Boyle in Smithfield, in the background of which is shown a church which, though of the usual conventional type, is intended to indicate St. Bartholomew's church or hospital, and it is shown with a central tower (see Vol. I, pl. XIII, p. 318); no reliance, however, can be placed on drawings of this kind. In favour of the opinion that, if carried out, the tower was not rebuilt over the crossing in 1405, is the evidence of the great weakness of the north-east pier, which would have rendered such a proceeding dangerous: also that in Wyngaerd's panorama of London,⁵ c. 1543 (i.e. after the nave had been destroyed but the crossing left), no central tower is shown, whilst a central tower is shown to the church of the hospital; neither is there any reference to the demolition of the tower in the king's grant to Rich. Wyngaerde, however, does show a large tower standing on the north side of the

¹ *Report on State of Church*, by J. Hayter Lewis and Wm. Slater, 1863, p. 6.

² Referred to, Vol. I, p. 133.

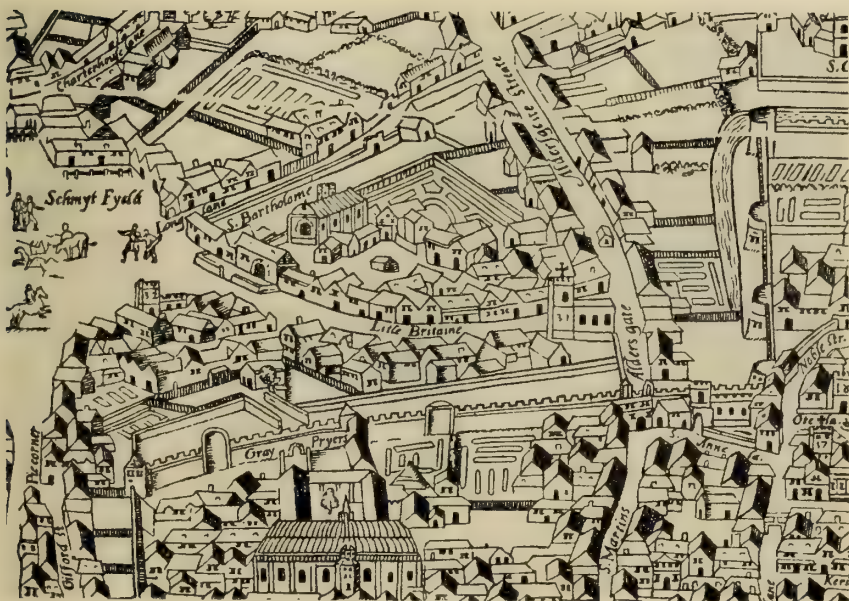
³ Riley, *Chronicles*, p. 13.

⁴ See Vol. I, p. 218.

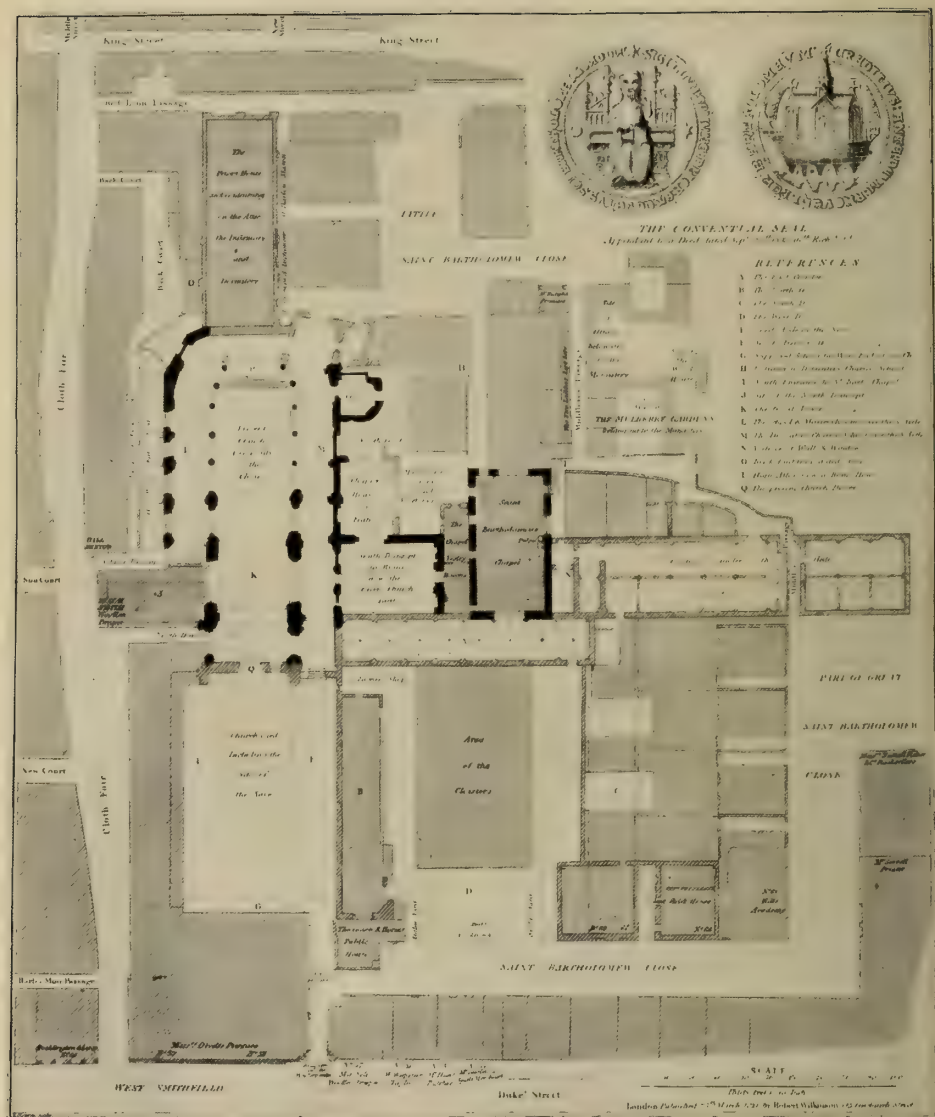
⁵ Bodl. Lib. *Sutherland Coll.*



6



AGAS'S MAP, *circ.* 1564
(see pp. 97, 111, 176, 178, 185, 201; vol. i, p. xlix)



WILKINSON'S PLAN, 1821
(see pp. 59, 120, 178)

church; and Agas's map (see pl. LVI *b*, p. 110), which dates from after 1563, also shows what looks like a truncated tower on the north side, but no central tower. This tower on the north side was evidently the parochial steeple, which Stow says was repaired in 1603, and which Strype in his edition of Stow¹ says was pulled down 'to the very foundations' in 1628, when the present tower was built.

The above evidence, though not conclusive, seems to justify the view that there was in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century a central tower; that it was damaged by lightning in 1264; that it was repaired and remained until towards the end of the fourteenth century, when it was either destroyed by the earthquake of 1382,² or taken down because of the settlement in the north-east pier of the crossing; that it was then not considered safe to rebuild the tower over the crossing, so a bell tower was built, as the pope said, not in its old position, but on the north side of the church, either as a monastic bell tower or as a parochial bell tower to Roger Walden's new parish church. In the former case the whole ring of eleven bells may have been hung there; in the latter case our present five parochial bells only may have been hung there, as already suggested,³ the monastic bells being hung perhaps in a tower of the west façade. If two arches of the crossing were rebuilt without the intention of replacing the tower that would be sufficient cause for there being now no signs left of an original tower.

The Augustinian churches of Bristol, Hexham, Oxford, and Waltham all have central towers. Evesham Abbey and Chichester Cathedral both have separate bell towers.

The rebuilding of the present tower at St. Bartholomew's in 1628 was due to the initiative of Sir Henry Martyn, judge of the Admiralty Court, who subscribed £50 to the work (pl. XXI *b*, p. 14). The Earl of Holland, Earl Bolingbroke, the Earl of Westmorland, Lady Saye and Sele, Sir Heneage Finch, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Sir Henry Wallop were among the subscribers, a full list of whom will be found in the Appendix.⁴ It is built over the east bay of the south aisle of the nave, that is at the south-west corner of the present church, and stands three feet in front of the west wall. It measures on the ground level 19 ft. from north to south and 24 ft. from east to west. It is 74 ft. 6 in. from the present church floor level to the top of the battlements, or 68 ft. from the churchyard level when the tower was built. It is built in brick with a stone string-course below the

¹ Strype, *Stow*, i, Bk. III, 238 b.

² Vol. I, p. 179.

³ Above, p. 97.

⁴ App. II, p. 535, from Reg. 2, p. 1, Parish Safe. The tower was repaired in 1720, 1750, and 1771. See *V. M. Bk.* ii, 216; iii, 296, 426.

battlements, and is in four floors with buttresses to the height of the two lower ones.

Internally the ground floor is occupied by the aisle. It opens into the cloister, the nave, the west porch, and the south transept. The first floor is the west bay of the triforium of the nave. The second floor covers the outer wall of the east bay of the clerestory of the nave, the window of which opens into it. The bells are in the floor above from which access is obtained to the roof. The ringing chamber is on the first floor.

Externally the ground floor and part of the first floor are concealed by the west porch, built in 1893. The earliest view that we have is the Hans Sloane engraving of 1737 (see pl. XXI *a*, p. 14).¹ It shows, on the ground floor, a central round-headed doorway in which the present cloister doors appear. In front of this is a small portico with a pediment. Above, on either side, are two small windows which used to open into the chamber of the first floor. Between these, during the restoration of 1864, a doorway was formed, approached by a wooden ladder from the church path.² Higher, but still opening into the same chamber, is a round-headed window divided into three lights by two debased mullions; there is a similar window in the second story. In the third, or bell story, there is a window very similar to the one below, but it is divided into four lights, and is unglazed. There is a stone string above the first, second, and third stories. The tower is surmounted by battlements with an open wooden bell turret on the roof. In the engraving the turret is shown supported by four braces, which have since disappeared. The bell there shown was probably the 'Saints' or *Sanctus* bell, mentioned several times in the churchwardens' accounts between 1687 and 1701. That bell was unfortunately replaced in the year 1815 by a heavier one on which the clock could strike the quarters. There is a vane shown on the turret, which was replaced in 1816 by a copper one, 9 ft. 6 in. high.

There is a clock immediately above the belfry window, the date of which is unknown, but in 1666 the churchwardens paid £4 2s. for mending it, and 'did take a bond of the clockmaker to make good the clock'.

THE BELLS IN THE TOWER.

With the exception of the *Sanctus* bell mentioned above, the bells of the parish church remain as they were at the time of the suppression of the monastery. Mr. H. B. Walters, who contributes the following

¹ p. 108 above.

² Withers, *Diary*, p. 14. The room in first story used as a temporary vestry. Fragments of mouldings found in wall when making the doorway.

account of the bells, says that there is only one other church in the whole of England (St. Lawrence, Ipswich) which possesses more than four pre-reformation bells, and that a ring of five medieval bells should have survived in London is most remarkable.¹

These five bells bear the following inscriptions :

1. ✠ Sancte Bartholemeo Ora Pro Nobis ☐ ✠
2. ✠ Sancta Katerina ✠ Ora Pro Nobis ☐
3. ✠ Sancta Anna ✠ Ora Pro Nobis ☐
4. ✠ Sancte Iohannes Baptiste Ora Pro Nobis ☐
5. ✠ Sancte Petre Ora Pro Nobis ☐

The inscriptions are in black letter 'minuscules', with Gothic capital letters as initials throughout. Each bell bears an initial cross, except the third, where the cross is placed in the middle of

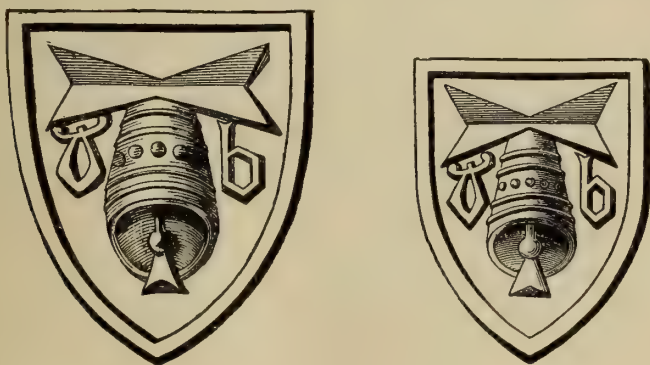


FIG. 4.

the inscription; and the first three bear in addition an ornamental 'stop', consisting of a pair of lozenges placed one above the other, flanked by two smaller lozenges. On the first this stop is at the end of the inscription; on the second, in the middle; and on the third it is in the place of the initial cross. The cross is not the same in each case; on the first, second and fifth it is in the form of a cross fleury in a square frame; on the other two bells it is in the form of a kind of double fleur-de-lis horizontally placed, rising from a stem which divides at the base in two curves. Further, each bell bears after the word *Nobis* a shield with the trade mark of the founder, a bell dependent from a transverse beam or stock, with the letters T b in the field.

These letters have been by general consent identified as the initials of Thomas Bullisdon, a founder of Aldgate, London, whose date is about 1500-1520. In the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary-at-

¹ St. Paul's Eccles. Soc. VI, pt. ii, 109; Walters, *London Church Bells*.

Hill¹ we find that in 1509-1510, 29s. 4d. was given in part payment for the 'grete bell' to one Bullisdon; and there are also items 'for wyn at the son when we comond w^t bollisdo' tochyng the bell' and 'for a soper for the arbetryng betwene the parish and Bullisdon for ye bells'. It will be noted that his Christian name is not given; but inasmuch as two or three existing bells in Essex bearing the T. B. trade-mark can be dated on other grounds about 1505-1510, the presumption is that they are the work of Bullisdon, and that his Christian name was Thomas. We may therefore assume that the St. Bartholomew's bells were put up about the year 1510.

This Bullisdon was one of a long line of London bell-founders, working in Aldgate, who can be linked together by the use of certain stamps during a period of nearly 100 years. Among these stamps are the two initial crosses which have already been described. The cross-fleury occurs on a large number of bells usually assigned to Henry Jordan (1450-1465), and the other cross was introduced by a contemporary founder, who also uses the cross-fleury in conjunction with it. This founder may have been John Danyell, who cast the bells of King's College, Cambridge, in 1460, but was more likely a successor, whose name we do not know. The letters used by Bullisdon were also used by these earlier founders.

It is interesting to note that the treble bell is dedicated to the patron saint of the church. It is by no means the rule that medieval bells were thus dedicated, and more often the choice of a saint was determined by the dedication of a chantry or altar in the church. Where the patron saint was honoured, the tenor bell is usually the one chosen, but exceptions, as here, are by no means infrequent.²

The dimensions of the five bells are as follows :

	<i>Diameter.</i>	<i>Height.</i>	<i>Circumference</i>	<i>Circumference</i>	<i>Thickness</i>
	<i>inches.</i>	<i>inches.</i>	<i>of crown.</i>	<i>of waist.</i>	<i>of sound bow.</i>
	<i>inches.</i>	<i>inches.</i>	<i>inches.</i>	<i>inches.</i>	<i>inches.</i>
1st	22	18½	39	43	1½
2nd	24	20	41	46	1½
3rd	26½	21½	43	50	2
4th	29	23	51	57	2½
5th	31	25	54	61	2¾

Before the Reformation St. Bartholomew's Priory apparently had two rings, a larger one of six,³ which was sold to St. Sepulchre's, and this one of five bells. Two rings of bells were not an unknown feature in monastic churches; for instance, Shrewsbury Abbey⁴ had

¹ Published by the Early English Text Society (Vols. 125, 128).

² See Walters, *Church Bells of England*, p. 264.

³ According to Stow, p. 141.

⁴ Owen and Blakeway, *Hist. of Shrewsbury*, ii, 63.

' five bells in the great steeple and five in the new steeple ', described as ' of one accord '. The weights of the five in the new steeple were 11 cwt., 8 cwt., 6 cwt., 5 cwt. and 3 cwt. respectively and these approximate to the five bells at St. Bartholomew's; whilst the five in the great steeple weighed 30 cwt., 25 cwt., 22 cwt., 20 cwt. and 15 cwt. respectively, which may correspond to those sold to St. Sepulchre's.¹

NORTH AND SOUTH SIDES OF THE CHURCH AND OF THE LADY CHAPEL
(IN BRIEF).

Of the three western bays of the nave wall nothing exists. Of the next six bays the wall remains up to the graveyard level only. The exterior of the north side of the church therefore now consists only of :

The Eastern bay of the nave uncovered in 1914.

The North transept built in 1893, with a large porch built at the same time.

Five bays of the quire, of which the ground story is in a sunk area which formed part of the Walden Chapel. The wall contains windows, and buttresses inserted in 1865 to support this quire wall. The triforium above is faced with brickwork of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, with five windows, and formed the parochial schoolroom until 1889. The clere-story above dates from about 1405, but the tracery of the windows was inserted in 1865. East of the five bays of the quire is the brick stair turret of the early seventeenth century which gave access to the schoolmaster's house.

East of this is the large window of the north ambulatory and the apse built in 1886.

East of this again is the Lady Chapel of four bays each with a window and a buttress, but of the western buttress only the base remains. Portions of the wall date from 1335; the tracery of the windows dates from 1897.

The east end of the Lady Chapel dates from the same time, with the exception of about one square yard of wall, and the bases of a central and north-east buttress.

The south side of the Lady Chapel is similar to the north side, with the exception of an entrance door to the crypt in the second bay, and one to the Lady Chapel in the fourth bay. The buttresses, with the exception of the upper part of that of the fourth bay, which has been rebuilt, date from 1335; all between the buttresses is a restoration of 1897.

¹ These were run out at the Great Fire in 1666 and recast.

The east end of the south aisle of the quire consists below of sixteenth-century brickwork by Prior Bolton, with a window of the year 1865.

In the first bay of the quire wall is Prior Bolton's door, inserted in a red brick wall of the same date, but now faced with flint work; in the corner is a fourteenth-century latrine from Dr. Mirfield's chamber. The next two bays are occupied by Rahere's South Chapel; the lower part of the walls only are of his time; the upper part was built in 1914 to form a choir vestry. The fourth and fifth bays contain remains of twelfth-century buttresses; the walls were covered with rough bricks; a consequence of the fire of 1830. The triforium above is a restoration of 1891. The clerestory is similar to that on the north side.

The south transept and porch are by Sir Aston Webb in the latter year.

The bay of the nave is occupied on the ground level by the cloister and above by the seventeenth-century brick tower. Any remains there may be of the rest of the south wall of the nave are hidden by the 'Coach and Horses' public-house and by stables.

A detailed description of the exterior follows below.

NORTH WALL OF THE NAVE (IN DETAIL).

The easternmost bay of the nave, i.e. the westernmost bay of the monastic quire, is still standing. It was exposed to view when the house, No. 9 Cloth Fair, which had covered it for 320 years, was taken down in 1914 (pl. LIV, p. 106). The wall consists of an arch of the ground arcade and an arch of the triforium above, both dating from the twelfth century and both filled in with rubble and stones from the nave. The outer wall of the aisle and its vault, and of the triforium and its roof, were pulled down with the transept and nave at the time of the suppression: the clerestory remains intact, though greatly weather-worn. The ground arcade is six feet below the churchyard level. The thirteenth-century rib of the vault of the aisle, which protruded through the floor of the twelfth-century triforium, is visible.¹ In the clerestory the thirteenth-century window, which has already been described,² still remains, though the central mullions and jambs have perished and disappeared as to half their thickness. On the level of the upper part of this window, on its eastern side, is the small thirteenth-century window described previously.³

¹ See above, p. 62.

² *Ib.* pp. 10, 61.

³ *Ib.*, p. 106.

THE NORTH TRANSEPT.

This extended northward probably to the middle of the road-way. As it was entirely destroyed at the time of the suppression, the north arch of the crossing had to be walled up at that time and a window inserted in the filling. This wall, with the arch of the crossing and its supporting piers, formed the outside wall of the church at this point for a period of 350 years (plan, pl. LXII, p. 120).¹

This patched ruin which served for a north wall until 1893, when the present shallow transept and porch were built, was only partly visible until then, because a small house, No. 9½ Cloth Fair, abutted on to the western pier of the transept arch; a shop and smithy, No. 10 Cloth Fair, obscured the lower part of the centre, and a third house, No. 11, obscured the eastern side.

A narrow passage—5 ft. wide—with Nos. 9½ and 10 Cloth Fair on the left side and with No. 9 on the right, gave access to the church after the suppression by a small narrow door (fig. 5, p. 128). No. 9 had thrown out a projecting window into this passage which at that point reduced the width to 4 ft.

The doorway itself only measured 3 ft. 10 in. It still remains inside the church and is referred to in Lord Holland's Rental of the year 1616 as the 'New Door'. Apparently it had a porch of some kind, for in the year 1713 the Vestry ordered 'the porch to be pulled down and rebuilt'.² When the church floor was lowered, in the year 1865, this doorway was lowered to the church floor level and approached by a flight of nine steps, at the top of which was a gate (fig. 5, p. 128).

The shop, No. 10 Cloth Fair, was on the north side of No. 9½ and projected in that direction some 15 ft. beyond the front of No. 9. The shop front, being at the corner, looked down the Fair to Smithfield, as well as facing the Fair on the north side (pl. LXXXVIII *b*, p. 238). Next to the shop window eastward was the entrance to the blacksmith's forge, which extended past the back of No. 9½ to the arcading under the north transept arch,³ at that time the external wall of the church. This house occupied part of the site of the north transept. It was purchased of Mr. F. G. Debenham in the year 1884 by the churchwardens and overseers of the parish for the sum of £1,120⁴ and conveyed to the rector and others for the restoration in 1887.⁵

No. 11 Cloth Fair stood upon a portion of the eastern side of the transept. Between it and No. 10 there was another narrow

¹ See above, p. 50.

² *V. M. Bk.* ii, 52.

³ Parish Safe, *Deed* 64.

⁴ See also above, p. 47.

⁵ *Ib.*, *Deed* 65.

passage, only 5 ft. wide, at the end of which a flight of nineteen steps¹ led up to the west end of the north triforium and so through a door² into the boys' school. In the year 1865 the approach to the school was removed to the east end of the triforium to enable the arch at the west end of the north ambulatory of the quire to be opened.³

Although the site of No. 11 Cloth Fair was not required for the new transept the house projected so close to the church that the transept could not be built without acquiring the rights of light. This was therefore done in 1892,⁴ and subsequently, the house being pulled down, the site was bought by the Corporation, together with such portion of the site of No. 10 as was not required for the new transept, and both were thrown into the public footway.⁵

The new transept (which is the work of Sir Aston Webb) was built in the year 1893, as already mentioned. It is in flint and stone in three stories. The ground story corresponds with the ground arcade of the church and projects 5 ft. to form a recess for the altar within. It has in front one short two-light window with cusplings.

The middle story corresponds with the triforium. The lower half is of flint and stone checker work; the upper is of plain split flints and does not project. It has two narrow one-light windows which light the triforium passage of the transept within. Both these stories are covered, as to their northern half, by the porch.

The third story corresponds with the clerestory and terminates in a gable on its north side. It has three lancet windows, with cusplings in the heads, and heavy hood mouldings which rise from floreated corbels. The centre window is longer than the others. The coping of the gable terminates at the apex in a Greek cross. Between the coping and the heads of the windows is a flat mural arcade declining on either side from the centre. It is built in Portland stone with a filling of split flints, and a similar but narrower band of arcading extends across the wall below the eaves.

THE NORTH PORCH.

The porch, which projects 13 ft. 6 in., is in two stories (pl. LVIII). The portal is a slightly pointed arch, recessed into three orders, of which the two inner members spring from shafts on the jamb; the plinths of the shafts die into the main plinth of the doorway. The style of architecture generally follows that already described inside the transept. The hood moulding, or label of the arch, is carried

¹ These are shown in the plan in Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata*.

² Now used for entrance to robing-room.

⁴ Parish Safe, *Deeds* 69, 70, 71.

³ Withers, *Diary*, p. 59.

⁵ Below, p. 420.



NORTH TRANSEPT, PORCH, AND TURRET
(see pp. 51, 106, 118)



BACK COURT, CLOTH FAIR, 1892
(At one time a burial-ground)
(see pp. 120, 239)

through the string-course above and then expands laterally and overlaps the base of a canopied niche.

The upper story of the porch is faced with stone and flint in a chequer pattern: within is a chamber with a fireplace. The north face terminates in a gable and has, at the angles, low octagonal turrets which, with the sides and gable, are battlemented. There are two square-headed windows in the face of the wall on either side of the canopied niche just referred to. The niche contains a figure of St. Bartholomew with the right hand raised in benediction, whilst in the left is the flaying knife. On a scroll is the promise spoken to Rahere in his vision, 'This spiritual house Almighty God shall ynhabite and hallowe yt'.¹

A slender shaft is carried from the rectangular hood mould of the canopy through the coping and battlement of the gable and terminates in a foliated cross for a finial.

Adjoining the west side of the transept is an octagonal turret containing a newel stair giving access to the transept roof. It has battlements, immediately below which are square-headed windows. On the east side of the turret is a slender stone octagonal chimney rising from the room over the porch, which forms a distinctive feature.

THE NORTH SIDE OF THE QUIRE.

The wall of the clerestory, though rough, is probably that of the early fifteenth century; the tracery of the four windows, as already seen, was inserted in 1887, the old work having entirely disappeared. The parapet above is of brick (pl. LXII, p. 120).

The triforium is faced with old brickwork of the sixteenth or early seventeenth century, in tiers alternately of all 'headers' or all 'stretchers'. In the two western bays are windows of three lights of Tudor character which lighted the schools. The next bay eastward is similar, but the window is narrower and has two lights only. Each bay has its own small hipped roof covered with tiles: between the second and third bays was a brick chimney-stack, with the flue from the schoolroom, since removed. Beyond, and adjoining the third bay, is the gabled house, known as the school-house, with a stair turret built in brick of the same period. It is built over the fourth and fifth bays of the triforium and consists of a first, a second, and a gable story; the last obscures the easternmost window of the clerestory. The roof of the gable is hipped back in the same way as that over the triforium.

¹ From the Middle English version.

Of the exterior of the twelfth-century north wall of the quire nothing remains; it was probably quite plain with pilaster buttresses, as on the south wall. At the eastern end St. Bartholomew's Chapel projected some 18 ft. northwards. The eastern apse of the chapel, a portion of the foundation of which can still be seen, extended under the site of what is now the turret stair to the school-house.

In the fourteenth century Roger Walden built his parish chapel against the north wall of the church. It probably occupied three bays in length; ¹ of its breadth we have at present no record. Excavations made on the southern portion of the site in 1911 revealed nothing. East of this chapel was, we assume, the chapel of St. Anne, ² possibly on the site of the twelfth-century chapel of St. Bartholomew. The latter, we have already suggested, ³ was rebuilt to the east, and further excavations may discover some foundations of which no traces were found in 1911.

In the fifteenth century, if our theory is correct, ⁴ the bell tower was built somewhere on the north side of the quire, but no foundations have been found.

In the sixteenth century, some time between the first year of Queen Elizabeth (1558) and the time when Stow wrote (1598), the Walden chapel was demolished; ⁵ the floor was levelled up and the site of the chapel was built upon. On the southern portion, against the church, were erected ten tenements or sheds; ⁶ on the northern portion were built the Cloth Fair houses, Nos. 12-16, or the backs of them, which overhung the narrow passage (only 3 ft. 6 in. wide) which gave access to the back doors on the one side and to the sheds against the church on the other (pl. LIX, p. 119).

In the seventeenth or early eighteenth century these sheds were taken down and the site used as a burial-ground, at first for the Quakers and later for the poor. In the years 1704-1706 the parish registers record burials in 'the Quakers' ground Cloth Fair'; in 1722 the Vestry ordered 'that the wall about the little churchyard adjoining to the Revd. Mr. Chas. Smith's house be repaired'; ⁷ Mr. Smith was then living in the school-house. In 1788 the Vestry ordered the wall of the little churchyard to be repaired and railings placed on the top, ⁸ and again to be 'repaired' in 1842; ⁹ and further, Wilkinson, in his plan of the parish, in 1821 marks this site as 'The poor's churchyard' (pl. LVII, p. 111). It was the retaining wall of

¹ Above, pp. 30, 99.

² Above, p. 99.

³ Above, p. 99.

⁴ Above, p. 111.

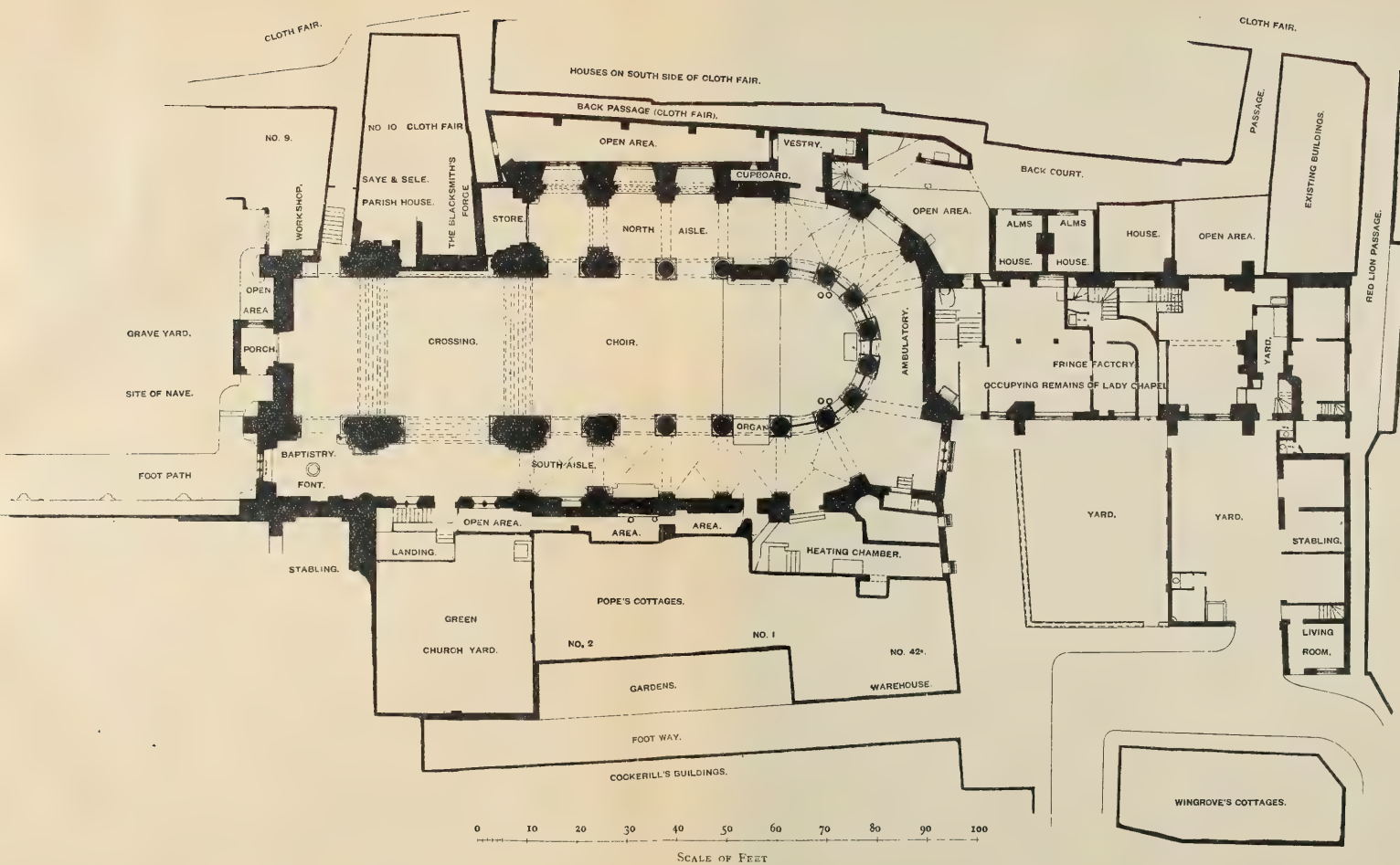
⁵ Above, p. 93.

⁶ Below, p. 202.

⁷ *V. M. Bk.* ii, 259.

⁸ *Ib.* iii, 542. See view in Morley, *Barth. Fair*, 96.

⁹ *V. M. Bk.* vii, 226.



ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT
GROUND PLAN AS EXISTING SEPTEMBER 1885
From a drawing by Sir Aston Webb

CHAPTER IV

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

PRIOR RICHARD

Here 1201, here 1206.

THE first reference to a prior by name, after Prior Roger, occurs in the *Curia Regis* Rolls in the year 1201, where there is an entry, which translated reads :

‘Richard the prior of St. Bartholomew’s puts in his place Andrew his canon against Henry del More concerning a plea of warrant of charter.’¹

Richard may have been prior many years before this, and, judging from his activity in the interests of the monastery, it is quite probable that it was he who, as just recorded, claimed the view of frankpledge in the year 1194. He may too have continued, for all we know to the contrary, until G. of Osney was elected in 1213, but he does not appear in the records by name, so far as we have been able to discover, after the year 1206. The following deed should help, but, unfortunately, like so many others, it is undated.

Translated from the Latin it reads :²

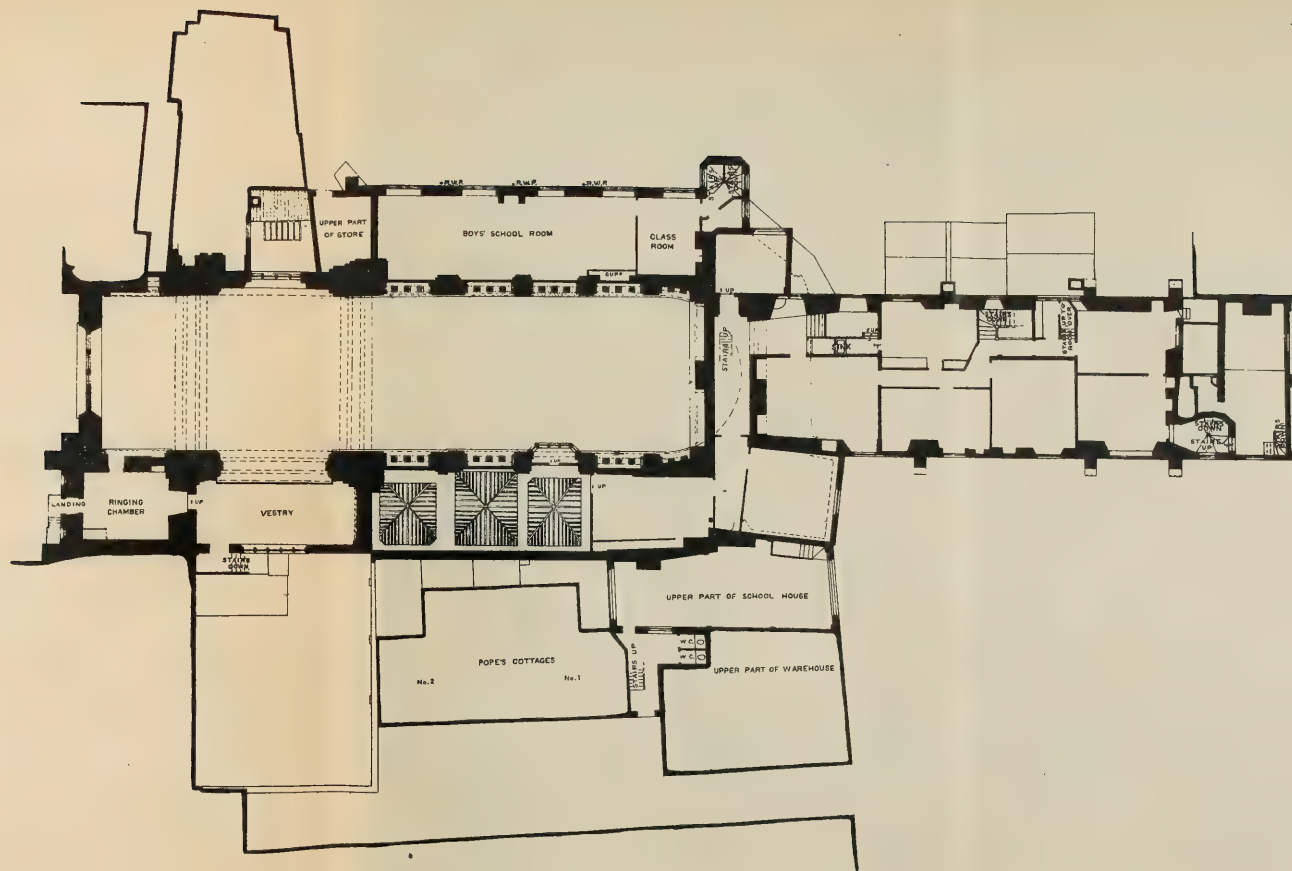
‘Richard the prior and the convent of the church of St. Bartholomew London to all the sons of Holy Mother Church : be it known that we have conceded and by this our charter we have confirmed to the present and future brethren of our hospital house that tenement which Roger Punchenall gave to our church in frankalmoyne to wit that tenement which John Bucuinte held of us TO HAVE AND TO HOLD to himself of our church for ever paying to us rent four shillings per annum at the feast of St. Michael and the other half at Easter, of which are witnesses Henry the Mayor of London (Henry FitzAilwin, mayor 1189–1212) ; Roger son of Alan (sheriff 1193)³ ; Robert le Bel (sheriff 1198)⁴ ; William son of Sabelina (William FitzIsabel, sheriff 1194) ; John Bucuinte (sheriff 1191) ; Ernulf son of Alulf (Arnold FitzArnold, sheriff 1199) ; Thomas, Alderman ; Michael de Valentin ; John the Burgundian ;

¹ Cur. Reg. Rol. 25, Michaelmas, 3 John, m. 1, App. I. (This was before the days of the professional advocate.)

² Hosp. Cart., 37 d.

³ Dates of sheriffs : Stow, p. 186.

⁴ Strype corrects Stow in this case.



0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
SCALE OF FEET

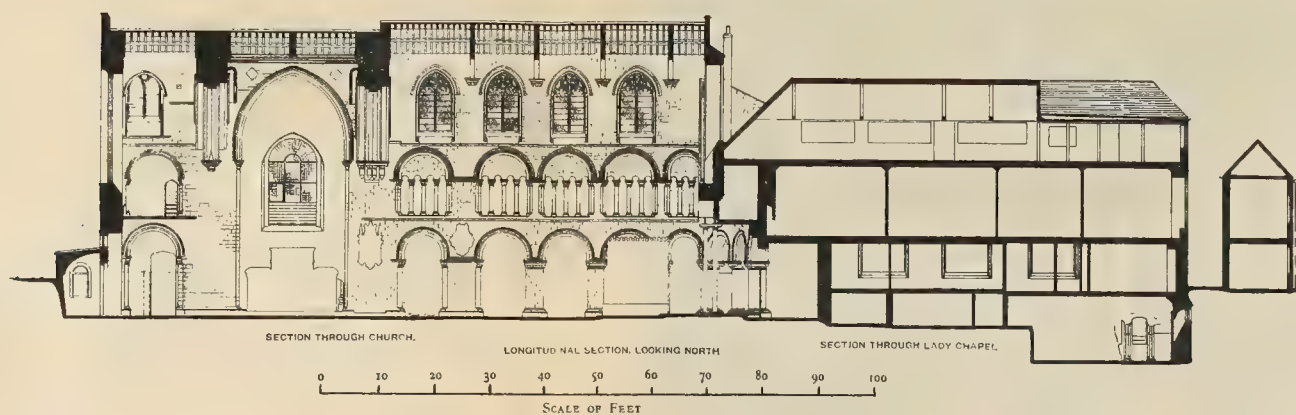
ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT
PLAN AT TRIFORIUM LEVEL AS EXISTING SEPTEMBER 1885
From a drawing by Sir Aston Webb

In the following year, 1191, the prior had to contend with the agitation on the part of the hospital for a separate burial ground, in favour of which the master (Alan)¹ and brethren had obtained a letter from the pope. As shown in the chapter on the disputes with the hospital,² this agitation for a separate graveyard was successfully resisted for nearly 200 years; it was temporarily parried at this time with the assistance of Richard de Ely, Bishop of London, who (as already mentioned³) issued an ordinance in 1197-8 to allay the quarrel, at which time the second Stephen had become master (1198).

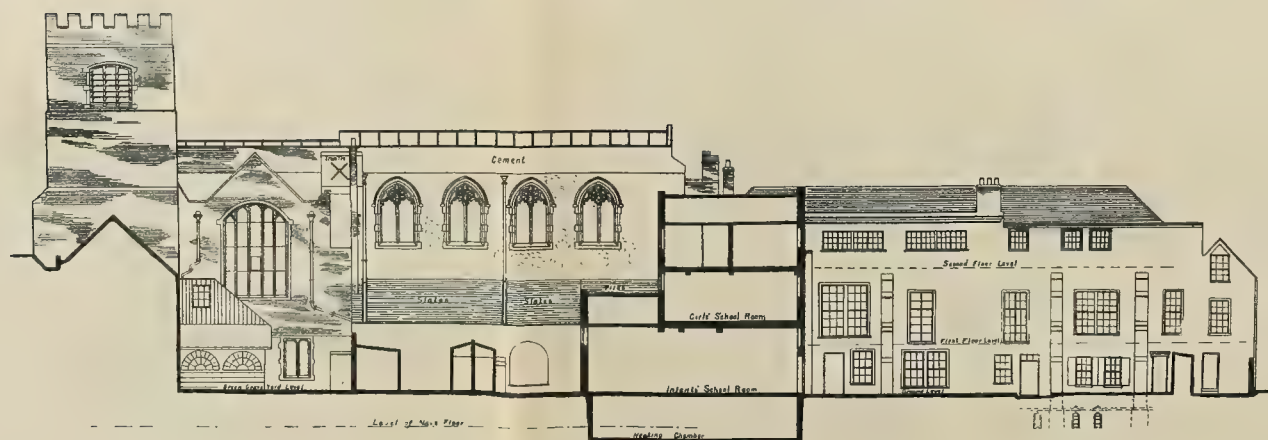
¹ Alan succeeded Stephen I, 1182-1198.

² Above, p. 87.

³ Above, p. 82.



ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT
NORTH ELEVATION AND SECTIONS AS EXISTING SEPTEMBER 1885
From a drawing by Sir Aston Webb



ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT
SOUTH ELEVATION AS EXISTING SEPTEMBER 1885
From a drawing by Sir Aston Webb

this graveyard that was used as a support for the overhanging stories of the Cloth Fair houses; its average distance from the church wall was only 8 ft. When the houses were rebuilt in 1893 their overhanging of the public footway was not allowed to be perpetuated, though a claim thereto was set up by one of the builders. In 1791 an attempt was made to close this alley,¹ but it was not accomplished until 1916, after the Corporation had bought the houses in Cloth Fair.

In the nineteenth century, in the year 1864, in order to make a dry area round the church, the burial-ground was removed, and in the following year the arches of Walden's chapel were opened out into the church and the wall of the church was supported by buttresses. The present small robing-room, 10 ft. by 9 ft., was erected at the eastern end at the same time. Beyond the entrance to the turret stair to the old school-house is the large window, the tracery of which was inserted in 1865 (already referred to). The wall here is faced with brick; below the window it consists of a rough filling without a plinth at the base. All this suggests that the twelfth-century window had been altered into a large opening leading into a chapel such as we should expect the refounded St. Bartholomew's chapel to have been. Beyond the window is a buttress, also faced with brick, between which and the Lady Chapel is the narrow arched opening to the church referred to in the description of the east ambulatory² (pl. XXXIV p. 28).

There was above this window and narrow opening, up to the year 1886, a small two-storied projecting building, erected probably when the Lady Chapel was changed from a dwelling-house to a factory; for it was entered from the Lady Chapel and not from the school-house (pl. LXI, p. 120). The angle of the building projected slightly beyond the outer wall of the ambulatory below, and was corbelled back, terminating in a wooden pendant (pl. LXXXVIa, p. 215). The window of the upper room faced east, that of the lower room faced north;³ both rooms were taken down in 1886 for the completion of the apse.

THE EAST END OF THE QUIRE.

Of the east end of the quire nothing is left of Rahere's work excepting the block of masonry on the floor at the north-west corner of the Lady Chapel, but there is evidence that it was apsidal. It must have been altered in appearance when the fourteenth-century Lady Chapel was built because of the greater height and width of that chapel. Rahere, too, may have built eastern turrets, as we have already suggested;⁴ these would have been taken down when the

¹ *Trustee Minutes*, 14 Oct. 1791.

³ See elevation drawing, p. 119.

² Above, p. 26.

⁴ Above, p. 28.

chapel was rebuilt and not re-erected; but of this there is no record. The appearance must have been entirely changed again when the apsidal end of the church was taken down and replaced by a straight wall with two large windows. All that remains visible externally of the fifteenth-century square east wall are small portions of the north and south ends on either side of the new apse. They can be seen above the lower roofs and beneath the string that runs under the clerestory windows of the apse. Internally the south-east angle of the wall can be seen in the south triforium within the triforium roof.¹ There is the corresponding angle on the north side, but it is not accessible.

The present apse, rebuilt in the year 1886, consists of five bays, in each of which is a clerestory window with double traceried lights set in a stone wall faced with split flints (pl. LXIV). Above is a battlemented cornice at each end of which rises an octagonal battlemented stone turret with a conical stone cap terminating in a stone cross. Each face of the turrets forms a panel with tracery in the head.²

EXTERIOR OF THE LADY CHAPEL.

Of the appearance of the exterior of Rahere's Lady Chapel we know nothing. The excavations of the year 1911 show that it was rectangular like the present one, with indications, as we have said,³ of an apsidal end, but much smaller both in length and breadth, for it only measured (externally) about 27 ft. by 18 ft. as compared with 64 ft. by 29 ft. of the later chapel.

The exterior of the fourteenth-century chapel must have been very much as we see it to-day, excepting that there probably were turrets at the north-east and south-east corners.⁴

On the north side the western buttress, and at the east end the central buttress only are lost. And this in spite of the fact that between the time of the suppression in 1539 and of the restoration in 1897 the character of the exterior was so much transformed that it was difficult to recognize the building as part of the church. The traceried windows were replaced by common ones of a domestic character; the walls and buttresses were thickly plastered; houses were built against the north and east walls and an additional story was placed on the top of the old walls for the factory (pl. L, p. 78).

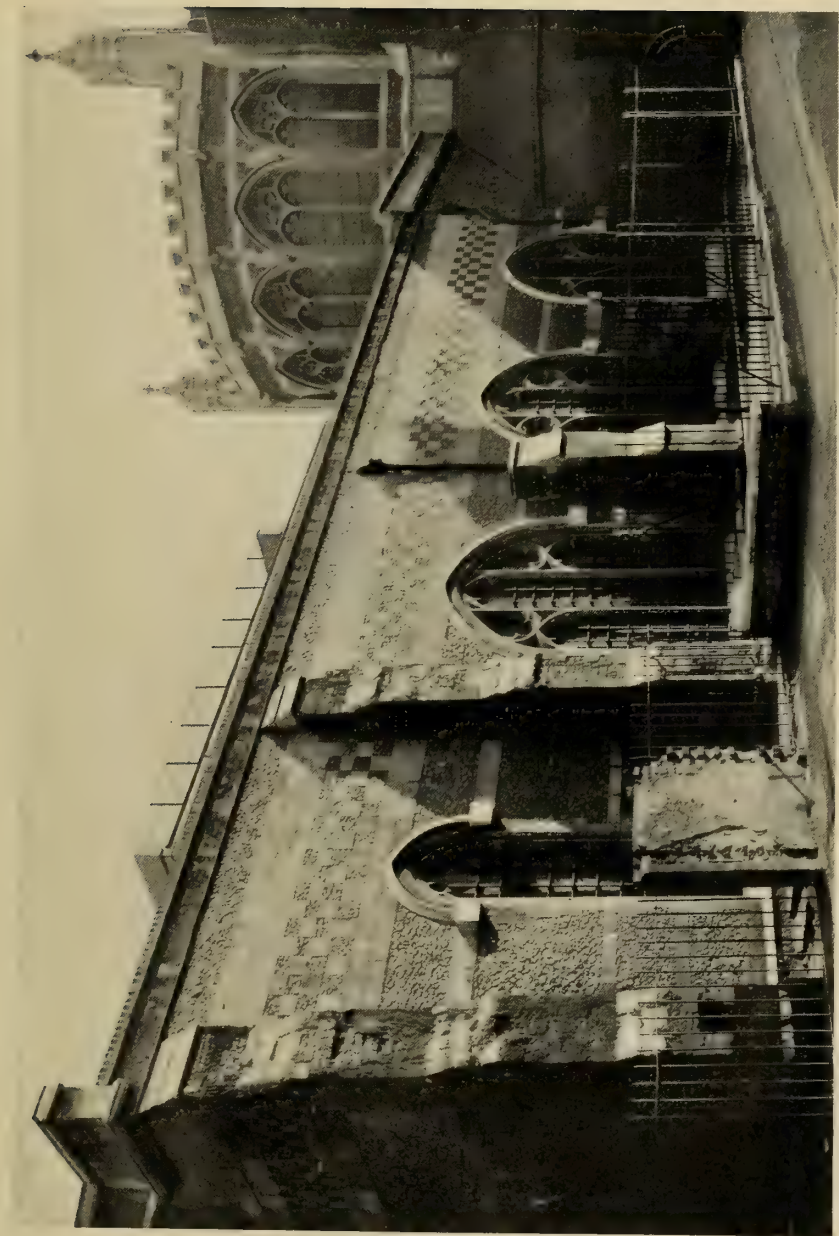
Against the north wall westward three almshouses were built about

¹ Above, p. 35.

² The stone coping over the elliptical arch in the sanctuary shown in the drawing was not carried out.

³ Above, p. 87.

⁴ Above, p. 79.



EXTERIOR OF APSE AND NORTH SIDE OF LADY CHAPEL
(see pp. 106, 122)

the year 1632 (pl. LXII, p. 120).¹ The westernmost, which stood in the angle between the Lady Chapel and quire aisle, fell in the year 1763 and was not rebuilt, but the site was subsequently used as a burial-ground for the poor.

Adjoining the almshouses eastward was an old cottage already referred to (pl. XC, p. 240),² known as '2 Back Court'. This house occupied the third bay; whilst the closet of an adjoining house was built against the wall of the fourth or easternmost bay.

When the restoration of the Lady Chapel was undertaken in 1896 the site of the third almshouse was considered to be church property, but that of the two remaining almshouses—though they had been twice rebuilt at the parish's expense—had to be purchased³ at a cost of £150 from the trustees under the City of London Parochial Charities' Act of 1883, by order of the Charity Commissioners.

As it was desirable to have complete access round the whole of the Lady Chapel building, a narrow strip of land outside the easternmost bay was purchased in the year 1896 of the trustees of Sir Daniel Gooch. Besides giving access from the north to the east side of the building, this purchase, which was facilitated in every way by the trustees, gave possession of the original north-west buttress of the church, which, unlike the other buttresses, had never been covered with cement. It also enabled a sunken area to be formed, which, covered with pavement lights, opened up two original windows of the crypt, and it enabled the closet referred to to be removed from the chapel wall.

When these properties were acquired in 1896 the almshouses were demolished, since the Charity Commissioners had decreed their disuse as such, and the earth was removed down to the church level, exposing the lower part of the wall, in which the original flint and stone work remains, together with the base of the westernmost buttress. The site of the third almshouse in the angle adjoining had already been excavated in the year 1865 in the process of forming a dry area outside the church.

The walls of the chapel above the present ground level were then restored and tracery inserted in the windows. The top story of the fringe factory having been removed, the parapet of the portion projecting over the east aisle of the church was replaced in stone, but over the remaining length the parapet had to be rendered in brick as funds had run short.

As the owner of No. 2 Back Court was not a willing seller at this time, the old tenement building had to remain. It fell in 1904, and

¹ Later, p. 244.

² Above, p. 83.

³ *Deed* 79, 6 Aug. 1896, Parish Safe.

in 1906 the site was purchased as already stated.¹ This enabled the window in the third bay of the chapel to be opened out,² the tracery of which had been inserted from the other side in 1896. The removal of the house also disclosed the eastern half of the second buttress and the westernmost window in the crypt.

As now seen, the north wall of the Lady Chapel is of flint and stone with a broad frieze of chequer pattern of the same materials. Of the four windows, the eastern one has a single light, but the others have three, with tracery and hood mouldings rising from corbels, still uncarved. In the westernmost bay is the small window already described.³

There are four buttresses: of the first the base only remains; all above-ground was taken down in 1823 when the almshouses were rebuilt; the second has lost its two upper divisions and its western side is a restoration, the original work having been hacked off, apparently for the building or rebuilding of the almshouses.⁴ The third and fourth buttresses are original throughout.

The east end of the Lady Chapel was also originally faced with flint, as shown by the small portion of the face on the east wall which still remains, and also by the faces of the two buttresses which are in line with the east front of the chapel, and by the wall of the crypt now below the ground level. There were also originally three buttresses against this east wall, the bases of two only of which now remain.

The present open space (29 ft. by 19 ft.) which formed the eastern part of 'Our Lady's Green'⁵ was built upon probably for the first time by John James, the letter-founder, in the year 1772.⁶ The building was incorporated with that of the Lady Chapel, with which it was purchased in 1885 and demolished in 1896. A monastic well, walled with stone 3 ft. wide, 20 ft. deep from the street level, was found here in 1921.

The east wall of the Lady Chapel, as now seen, is faced with flint with a band of chequer pattern in the upper half, through the centre of which a flat stone cross rises and is carried into the gable. Below the cross is a plain band of stone. The gable, which is depressed, has a broad stone cornice, from the apex of which springs a foliated Greek cross. There are no windows; but in the crypt wall, below the present ground level, there is a crypt window on the south side of the base of the central buttress and on the north side of the buttress a doorway, with a hood moulding, now built up in stone with a small light.

¹ Above, p. 83.

² Later, p. 428.

³ Above, p. 84.

⁴ Chwardens' a/c, 'cutting away abutment which projected from back front of church, 18s.'

⁵ Above, p. 240.

⁶ The building was known as No. 2 Red Lion Passage.

The south side of the Lady Chapel suffered more than the north side after the suppression; for either then or later the wall between the buttresses was removed almost entirely, and square-headed domestic windows were inserted (see p. 82). The second buttress was taken down to the ground level within four feet of its base,¹ but this probably occurred later, for it will be seen on reference to the elevation drawing of 1885² that the windows are so disposed as to allow of a buttress in the position that this second buttress would have occupied (pl. LXIII, p. 120; pl. La, p. 78). It will be seen from this drawing also that the gable front of the house No. 2 Red Lion Passage, just referred to,³ is so thoroughly incorporated with the front of the buildings occupying the Lady Chapel as to suggest that they are of one period, and as the turrets at the east corners of the chapel, referred to in Lord Holland's Rental, have disappeared, it is probable that Sir Percival Hart's house was very considerably altered when the dwelling-house, in the eighteenth century, was converted into business premises by raising the upper story.⁴

At the restoration in 1896-1897 the domestic encroachments of brick and stucco were removed entirely, together with the plaster facing of the buttresses. The second buttress was rebuilt on the old base, the walls were restored, and traceried windows were inserted. At the eastern end the crypt wall had been uncovered in 1895, at the time when the crypt was restored.⁵ The present approach to it is 6 ft. below the present church floor level. This was necessitated by the fact that when the new schools were built in the year 1889 it was deemed desirable by the rector at that time, the Rev. Sir Borradaile Savory, to build a basement for a men and boys' club (which he did at his own cost), and there was no other approach available than the one chosen in front of the crypt.

The south side of the quire of the church has fared as badly as the north side, though not as regards its eastern end until a somewhat later date, for Bolton's additions, with the walls of the transept, remained, more or less altered or damaged, until the disastrous fire of 1830, which seems to have swept away all the buildings on the south side, as well as the roof of the triforium. The church itself was so much damaged that the south wall had to be shored up,⁶ and breaches were made in the ruined walls of the transept, which had to be fenced round for safety. There is no view extant of the exterior to show the condition before the fire, but Knight⁷ has a view twelve years later,

¹ The base was found in 1897 and a new buttress built upon it.

² Above, p. 119.

³ Above, p. 124.

⁴ Above, p. 79.

⁵ Above, p. 88.

⁶ Belfry cupboard, *Receipted Accounts* for 1830.

⁷ Knight, *London*, ii, 42.

when the site of the chapter-house and the prior's house was lying waste. The triforium wall and the roof were destroyed, and were replaced, as already described,¹ by a temporary lean-to roof which lasted until 1891 when a new outer wall and roof were built, with a small external turret and a newel stair in the angle of the quire and transept to give access to the triforium from the church.

In 1846, four years after Knight's drawing was made, the devastated land was covered by a row of small houses, called Cockerill's Buildings after their builder,² and by two small dwellings, called Pope's Cottages also after their builder, backing on to the quire wall.

In 1911 Mr. Abbiss' school building and Pope's Cottages were secured for the church, so that in 1913 it was possible to free the south side of the church from all secular buildings. The wall was then put into a safe condition and a quire vestry erected on the ruins of the south chapel.

In the small portion of the south quire wall which faces east is the east window of the south aisle dating from 1864. It replaced the entrance made by Rector Abbiss when he closed that through Bolton's door to make room for his school-house in 1849. Below the window are remains of Bolton's brickwork. At the corner of this and the south wall is a flint and stone buttress erected in 1913-1914, as the wall required strengthening at this point. In the wall between this corner and the south chapel is Bolton's door, which led from the church into the prior's house. The wall was built of narrow red bricks, but, being only a thin interior wall, it had to be refaced in flint and stone when the school-house was taken away; a small panel, however, has been left on either side at the foot of the wall, the one to show the original brick face, the other to show the plastered face as left by Bolton. The sill of Bolton's door is on a level with the floor of the prior's house, a part of the east wall of which has been left running south at right angles to the church wall. In it are the stone jambs of a doorway with a Purbeck marble slab as a threshold, in which still remain the rivets which fastened a brass when it was used as a tombstone. This doorway probably dates from the time when Sir Percival Hart used this portion of the prior's house for a kitchen.³ At the lower level and against the chapel wall a small portion of the brick vault of the prior's cellars has been left; also the latrine which was connected with Dr. Mirfield's chamber in the triforium built in 1362 (pl. LXV).⁴

The remains of the walls of the south chapel have been left as found, showing the two apses and a straight west wall. Upon these has been erected the choir vestry, referred to above, the walls of which, as

¹ Above, p. 36.

² Later, p. 379.

³ See above, p. 77.

⁴ See Vol. I, p. 173



SOUTH CHAPEL, NOW A CHOIR VESTRY
(see pp. 14, 106, 126)

already said, are but little more than half the thickness of those of Rahere's building.¹ It is built in flint and Portland stone, with a broad band of chequer work as used in other parts of the building. The door is placed in the eastern apse, where the old wall had been destroyed to allow coals to be shot when the chapel was used as a boiler-house. On the north-east side of the chapel and above the latrine is a buttress erected in 1914 to take the thrust of the arch in the triforium, which gives support to the new sanctuary arch built in 1895. This support was rendered necessary by the demolition of the school-house.

Westward of the south chapel and up to the ancient sacristy door the quire wall is badly dilapidated. It was patched with brick and cement in 1830 in consequence of the fire. Here and there some of the original wall is visible. By the chapel is a small fragment of a Norman pilaster buttress; and near the sacristy door, which is still in a very rough state, there is another and similar buttress, on which still remains a shattered portion of a Norman moulded string similar to those to be seen at Waltham Abbey. These and many other stones are red from the effects of the fire. This latter buttress does not coincide with the arch of the vault in the aisle, the thrust of which it was intended to take, but is a little to the east of it, thereby furnishing additional evidence of some alteration in the plan when Prior Thomas took up the work at this point.

The south wall at the triforium level west of the chapel was built in 1891 in place of that destroyed in 1830. The portion above the chapel was restored in 1913-1914 when the school-house was removed. The exterior of the clerestory is, like that on the north side, early fifteenth-century work with tracery of 1864.

Nothing of the original south transept remains above ground, but the jambs of the door in the south wall remain below the churchyard level, much scorched by the fire of 1830. They can only be seen from the basement windows of the adjoining warehouse.

The rebuilding of the transept has already been recorded; ² externally it is built of stone faced with split flints (pl. XXI *b*, p. 14). Its south front is of two stories only. The wall of the ground story projects 6 ft. farther than that of the story above, and from the centre the porch projects a further 3 ft. The arch of the doorway of the porch is slightly pointed and has a hood moulding which rises from foliated corbels. The gable above it is ornamented with flint and stone chequer work. In the wall, on either side of the porch, is an oblong square-headed window with two cusped lights. The upper story of the transept has three long windows which were described when

¹ Above, p. 95.

² Above, p. 55.

dealing with the interior.¹ The wall of flint is relieved with a plain band of stone below and a band of chequer work at the springing of the window arches. This work is repeated in the gable as in that of the porch. On the top of the west wall a brick chimney appears. The explanation of this is that at some time, probably when the vaulting of the cloister fell in 1834,² the owners of the rooms over, in rebuilding, encroached some 3 ft. or more over the church wall, then in ruins, and thereon built a fireplace and chimney. When, in 1891, the new bay of the transept was built, possession could not be recovered of the full thickness of the church wall; the inner wall of the transept, therefore, had to be carried up only 12 in. in thickness until clear of the springing of the roof of the encroaching tenement when, by means of a small girder, the remainder of the wall was carried up of the proper thickness. This involved encircling the chimney as we now see it.³

¹ Above, p. 53.

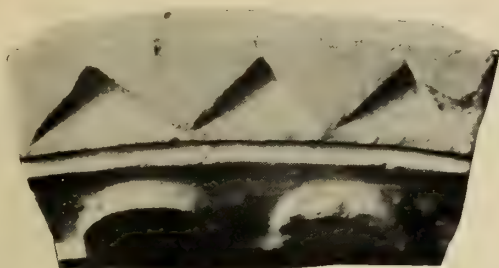
² M. Walcott, *St. Barth. Priory Church* (1864).

³ Later, p. 417.



FIG. 5. NORTHERN ENTRANCE FROM CLOTH FAIR, 1865.

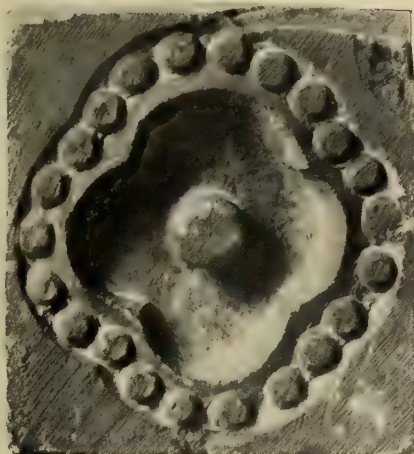
(See p. 117.)



1. (5" × 9")



3. (5½" × 6¾")



2. (8½" × 8")



4. (5" × 6")



5. (11" × 10½")



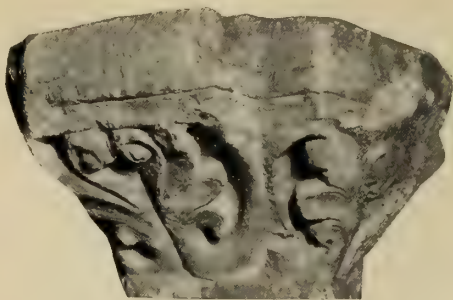
6. (13½" × 8")

FRAGMENTS FOUND DURING EXCAVATIONS

(see pp. 10, 40, 46)

No. 1, circ. 1150.

Nos. 2-6, circ. 1170.



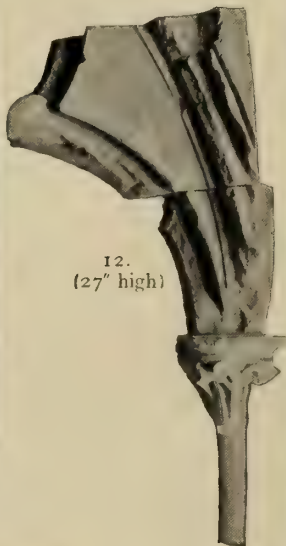
7. ($13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 18\frac{1}{2}''$)



8. ($7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$)



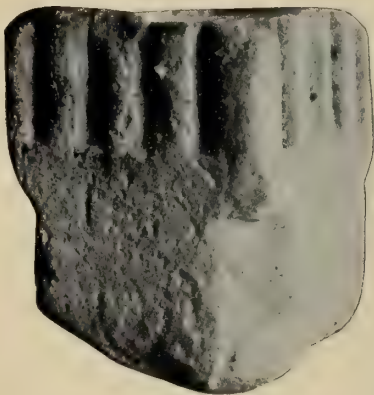
11. ($33'' \times 18''$)



12.
(27" high)



9. ($17'' \times 8''$)



10. ($9'' \times 10''$)



13. ($8'' \times 11\frac{1}{2}''$)

FRAGMENTS FOUND DURING EXCAVATIONS (*continued*)
(see pp. 139, 142, 146)

Nos. 7-9, circ. 1170.

No. 12, circ. 1240.

Nos. 10-11, circ. 1175-1200.

No. 13, circ. 1405.

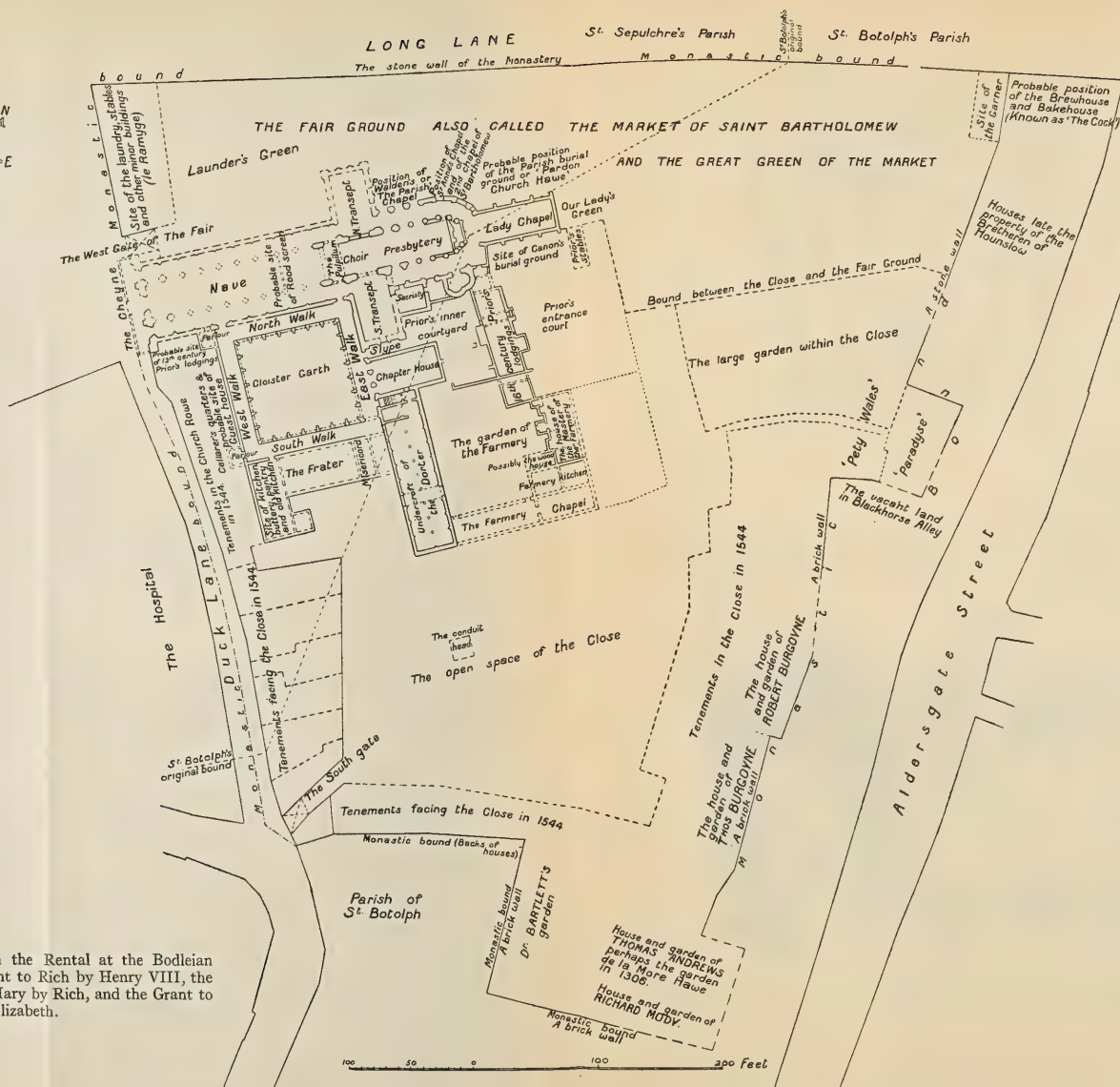
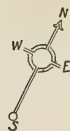
PART II
THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS



FIG. 6. IN THE MONASTIC PRECINCTS. A SKETCH BY
SIR T. G. JACKSON, BT., IN 1858. (See pp. 50, 143.)



FIG. 7. THE CLOISTER USED AS A STABLE, 1903.
(See p. 138.)



PLAN OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S PRIORY AT THE TIME OF THE SUPPRESSION, 1539
Firm lines indicate what is known. Dotted lines indicate what is conjecture.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS

RAHERE, we may assume, set out on his plan the position and arrangement of the conventual buildings as well as those of the church, but there is no evidence that any of them were built during his lifetime (pl. LXVIII).

The usual practice seems to have been, as pointed out by J. T. Micklethwaite, to build as much of the quire as was necessary for the services of the convent, then to proceed with the monastic buildings which were essential to the life of the monastery, and afterwards to complete the church. At any rate this course seems to have been followed at St. Bartholomew's, because the architecture shows that about sixty or seventy years must have elapsed between the completion of the conventual quire and the building of the nave; and also it shows that the cloister, chapter-house and dormer were commenced at the same time as the conventual quire was completed. Whether the frater, infirmary, guest-house, and other offices were built at the same time there is no evidence to show, but judging from the time before the nave was built they probably were so.

The arrangement of the monastic buildings, which were on the south side of the church, was on the usual Augustinian plan which resembled that of the Benedictines. The cloister was on the south side of the nave with a western processional door, as at Westminster and elsewhere; the chapter-house was on the east side of the cloister, separated from the south end of the transept by the slype. The dormer ran south from the chapter-house extending into the close with an undercroft beneath, the south end of which was probably used as the warming house; the frater was on the south side of the cloister, with a misericord at its eastern end and a library over. The great hall, or guest-house, we may assume was as usual on the west side of the cloister, with the cellarer's building below, combined with which was probably, at first, the prior's lodgings; new lodgings were built in the sixteenth century by Prior Bolton at the south-east of the quire. The farmery, or infirmary, was somewhere east of the dormer, as at Westminster, but the actual site is not determinable at present with exactness. The woodhouse and bakery are shown by the older plans to have

been near the farmery. The brewhouse was in Long Lane outside the walls, where the Manchester Hotel now stands. The garner is shown on Agas' map in the north-east corner of the Fair ground; the burying-ground of the canons was, as usual, on the south-east side of the church; that of the parishioners was on the north side.

The laundry was at the west end of the Fair ground, with the stables adjoining: Prior Bolton's own stables were, by tradition, on the east of the prior's house and built by him.

The present bounds of the parish were, with a small exception at the south-east corner, the bounds of the monastery; the wall on the north being of stone, that on the east of brick, where they did not consist of dwelling-houses, as they did on the western and southern bounds.

The main entrance to the monastic precincts was in the south-west corner in what is now Little Britain. The entrance to the Fair ground was on the north side of the church in Smithfield, as now; Agas' map also shows a small gate to the north-west into Long Lane.

In the year 1616 a survey was made for Henry Lord Holland of his possessions in the parish. Those houses which had been originally part of the church or of the monastic buildings are called in the survey the Capital Mansion House. The surveyor's description of them is very exact and it is evident that during the seventy years that had elapsed since the suppression, the walls of all these houses had remained unaltered, although they had been internally adapted for dwelling-houses. The survey is therefore a valuable record of the position of these houses and the purpose for which they were originally built. For this reason the 'particular' given of each house is here transcribed and can be followed on the plans given on pages 77 and 199.

Unfortunately the frater and the guest-house do not appear in the survey as they had already been sold.

THE CLOISTER

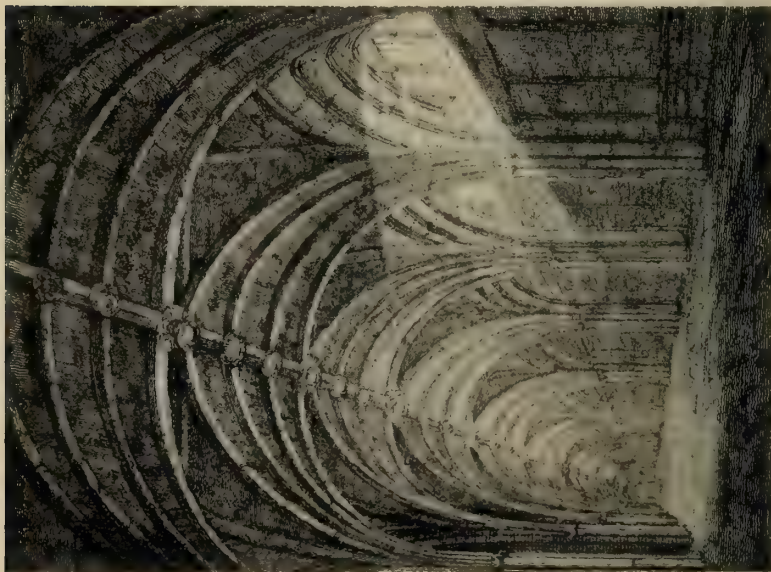
The Cloister (*claustrum*) was on the south side of the nave. It is now destroyed, excepting the east walk, of which three bays have been restored and six bays await restoration.

The entrance from the church is by the original twelfth-century doorway, in which now hang once more the pre-suppression doors of the fifteenth century. This doorway has shafts with scalloped caps and a base which indicates a date not earlier than 1160. It leads directly into the three bays of the east walk which were recovered and restored in 1905 (pl. LXIX).



EAST WALK OF CLOISTER, LOOKING NORTH
(see pp. 9, 14, 65, 132, 141)

a



EAST WALK OF CLOISTER, 1804
(see p. 133)

b



EAST WALK OF CLOISTER, 1904
(see p. 138)

That this east walk was built in the third quarter of the twelfth century is confirmed by a portion of the plinth remaining at the base of the east wall, and by the drawing of the doorway with trefoil cusping made by Sir Thomas Jackson in 1858 (if our assumption is correct that this represents the entrance from the cloister to the slype).¹

That this east walk was rebuilt early in the fifteenth century, as stated by the pope,² there is ample evidence remaining in the vaulting shafts, springers and ribs, and the work was probably done about the year 1405, as was the other work mentioned by the pope (pl. LXX); but there are indications that the rebuilding was in contemplation at an earlier date, for in the year 1387 John Royston, who—as already stated—bequeathed twenty pounds to be expended about the high altar, also bequeathed ten pounds to the fabric of the cloister.³

The north walk was probably not built until the nave and aisles were completed early in the thirteenth century. Archer⁴ certainly in 1851 speaks of a remnant then existing beneath the 'Coach and Horses' public-house⁵ containing 'the remains of a clustered column belonging to the transition period of the twelfth century', but as he also refers to a window of Early English character in that part of the cloister, and as the western processional doorway into the church was also Early English, it is highly improbable that this walk was built before the nave wall along which it ran; we must therefore conclude that it was of the later date.

The walk of the cloister next the church was not included in the Sunday monastic procession, and was sometimes enclosed at both ends to allow of study; there is evidence of this being so here, at any rate during the occupation of the Dominicans (1555-1559), because a brick wall was built at the east end of the walk in which still remains the stone jamb of a Tudor door.⁶

Of the south walk, Carter, when writing in 1809,⁷ said: 'the avenue on the south side of the cloister, lately destroyed (which I unfortunately neglected to sketch in 1791) if my recollection does not fail me, had arches and corbels corresponding to those in the chapter-house'. The work in the chapter-house here referred to was probably the thirteenth-century mural arcade, fragments of which were found on the site in 1912, and are now preserved in the cloister. Carter also described this south walk as 'an avenue of much rich work'. From

¹ Below, p. 135.

² Vol. I, App. I, p. 531.

³ Demolished in 1856. *V. M. Bk.* vii, 477.

⁶ See Vol. I, p. 279.

² *Cal. Pap. Reg.* vi, 151.

⁴ Archer, *Vestiges*.

⁷ *Gent. Mag.* lxxix, 327.

these statements the work would seem to have dated from the thirteenth century, but Hardwick's plan of 1791 at the Society of Antiquaries has a semicircular dotted line at the west end of this south walk, such as he was accustomed to use to indicate the groined vaults of the twelfth-century undercroft of the dorter. If his plan in this instance can be relied upon, this suggests that the south walk was of that date and points to the refectory (or frater) having been built at the same time, which for other reasons is highly probable.

It may be that the building itself dated from the latter part of the twelfth century and that the arches and corbels referred to by Carter were a thirteenth-century insertion, marking the site of the lavatory used by the canons for washing their hands before entering the frater. A lavatory is found in this position at Chester, and elsewhere.

Of the west walk there are no records other than the approximate plan indicated by the arrangement of the existing houses and that of the west processional door at its northern end which led into the church.

The internal dimensions of the cloister walks were 12 ft. 6 in. in width and about 108 ft. in length, as regards the north and south walks; and 112 ft. as regards the east and west walks: though Hardwick's plan of 1791 shows the length a little more in each case.

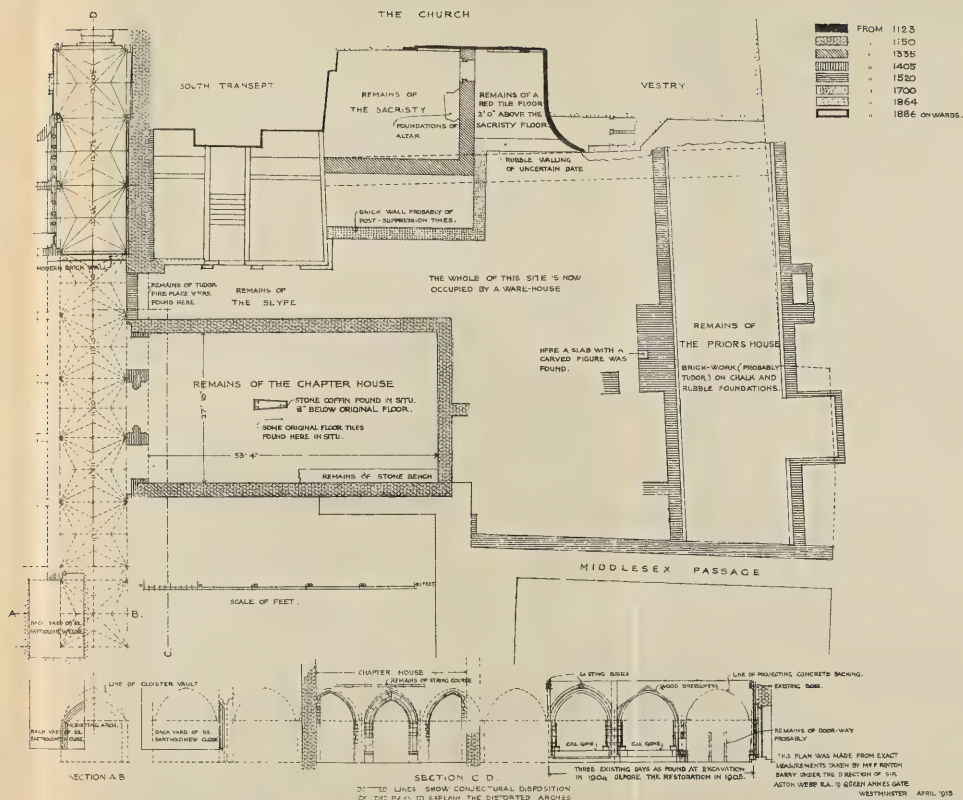
The length of the north walk is fixed by the position of the western processional door, the foundations of which remain in the church path, and which Hardwick's plan shows to have been central with the west walk of the cloister.

The south walk Hardwick shows of the same length as the north walk, the length being fixed by an old building at that time standing at the western end of it. The same building also fixes the south boundary of the west walk.

The length of the east walk at first presented some difficulty; for at the southern end of it there is, in the back yard of No. 62 Bartholomew Close, an arch which is not a transverse arch of the cloister vault, for its height, from the ground to the apex, is only 10 ft. 6 in. instead of 14 ft. as the arches of the vault; and its internal width is apparently (for one-half is still embedded in a wall of the house) only 10 ft. instead of 12 ft.¹ This arch is therefore an evident insertion. But on the supposition that the bays of the cloister all measured 12 ft. 6 in. in length, like the bays now in the possession of the church, this arch came very awkwardly in about the middle of the eighth bay (pl. LXXI).

When, in the year 1912, the chapter-house entrance was exposed

¹ This shows a splay of 1 ft. 7 in. and a flat soffit of 3½ in. There is no sign of a rebate for a door.



ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT
 PLAN SHOWING REMAINS OF THE SACRISTY, PRIOR'S HOUSE, AND CHAPTER HOUSE, ALSO THE RELATIONSHIP
 OF THE CHAPTER HOUSE ENTRANCE TO THE EAST CLOISTER WALK AS EXISTING IN 1912
 From a drawing by Sir Aston Webb. (Published in *Archaeologia* LXIV)

on the east side of the cloister wall, leave was obtained to tunnel from the base of the south jamb of the arch to the cloister side where the base of the vaulting shaft on the south side, and the remains of the other shaft on the north side, were found. By these and the arched openings on either side of the arch of entrance it was possible to prove that the width of the three bays of the cloister in front of the entrance to the chapter-house was less in length by 18 in. each than the other bays, which, when put on plan, brought the inserted arch—referred to above—immediately beneath the transverse arch of the vault between the eighth and ninth bays, instead of in the middle of the eighth bay. We may therefore assume that this arch was inserted to carry, as at Westminster, a gate to shut off the east walk, or to carry the wall of a building projecting over the cloister at this point.

The ninth bay thus occupied the whole of the yard of 62 Bartholomew Close, making the backs of the houses 62–65 Bartholomew Close conterminous with the south wall of the south cloister walk, and giving a total length to the east walk of 112 ft. Maitland in 1737, *Vetusta Monumenta* in 1784, and Malcolm in 1803, all stated that this east walk consisted of eight bays only; but Carter, in 1809, said that he was inclined to think there was a ninth bay to the south,¹ as has now been proved to be the case. Hardwick concurred with this and indicated a ninth bay with dotted lines on his plan, and this was copied by Wilkinson in *Londina Illustrata*.

The east wall of the three northern bays of the east cloister walk was conterminous with the south transept and had no opening, but the fourth bay before destruction contained the entrance to the slype. The sketch of what we assume to have been the doorway, referred to above, was made by Sir Thomas Jackson within the precincts of the priory in the year 1858. It shows a twelfth-century arch with trefoil cusplings of the same date as this part of the cloister (fig. 6, p. 130).² It is difficult to assign any other position for this doorway in work standing in 1858. There is corroborative evidence of the correctness of the assumption in the fact that previous to the year 1877, when this part of the cloister was again made into a stable, it was in the occupation of a timber merchant and portions of timber appear in the sketch.³

The next three bays were occupied with the entrance to the chapter-house and the windows on either side of the arch of entrance opening into the vestibule. In the eighth bay was the arched entrance to the dormitory stair, exposed for a few hours in the rear of the City of

¹ *Gent. Mag.* lxxix, 226.

² It is similar to the west door of Climping Church without the enrichment.

³ This can be determined when possession is obtained in 1923.

London Union Offices, 61 Bartholomew Close, in the year 1903.¹ Hardwick's plan shows a wall about 10 ft. south of the dormer stair in the undercroft, which may have formed a passage to the infirmary, as at Kirkstall, but we incline to think that the approach was by a passage farther to the south (Middlesex Passage), as at Westminster.

As to the roof of the east walk, it is evident that when built in the twelfth century it had a wooden lean-to, as was customary at that period, because there is still existing—though now hidden by the temporary roof over the three northern bays of the east walk—a Norman string on the wall above the north bay in such a position as to prove this. It is also evident that there was a groined vault over the portion rebuilt in the early fifteenth century, with bosses at the intersections, to the beauty of which all the writers testify.

Above the east walk was a gallery, probably added as a *scriptorium* at the time of the rebuilding in the fifteenth century; translated it is thus referred to in Lord Rich's grant to Queen Mary in 1555: ²

'All the enclosure or square ambulatory now or late called *Le Cloyster* with its appurtenances and the ground soil walls and buildings of the aforesaid enclosure or ambulatory with their Appurtenances parcel of the said late priory and all those four sides of the same enclosure or ambulatory with their appurtenances, and also all and singular the houses chambers places and erections with their appurtenances above and beneath the said enclosure or ambulatory and also a long chamber or corridor with its appurtenances being above the eastern side of the aforesaid enclosure or ambulatory.'

It is likewise referred to in the re-grant from Queen Elizabeth to Lord Rich in 1560: ³ thus:

'All erections chambers and buildings whatsoever erected and built above the said cloister.'

The reference in Henry VIII's grant to Rich, in 1544, is simply *les Cloysters le Galleries*,⁴ which may mean that there was only one gallery, but at the junction of the north and west walks there was a chamber or gallery which still existed in 1851, and then formed a floor of the Coach and Horses public-house (pls. LXXIV-V). It was thus described by Archer ⁵ at that time:

'It has originally been a noble apartment about thirty-four feet in length and upwards of twenty feet high with an arched roof, the ends of which being distorted by the pull of the strong timbers which help to support it . . . the wall is three feet in thick-

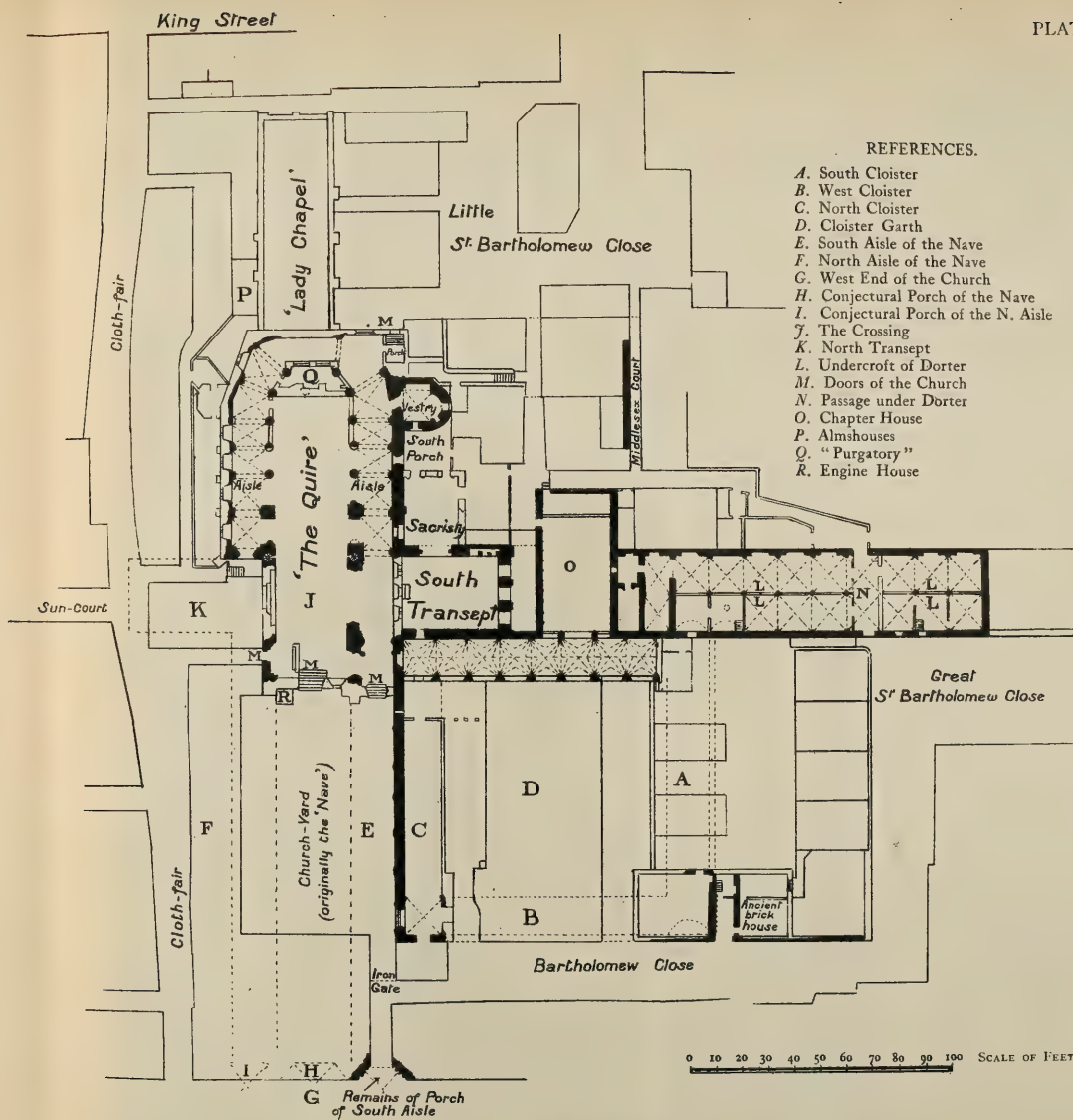
¹ Below, p. 149.

² See Vol. I, App. I, p. 522.

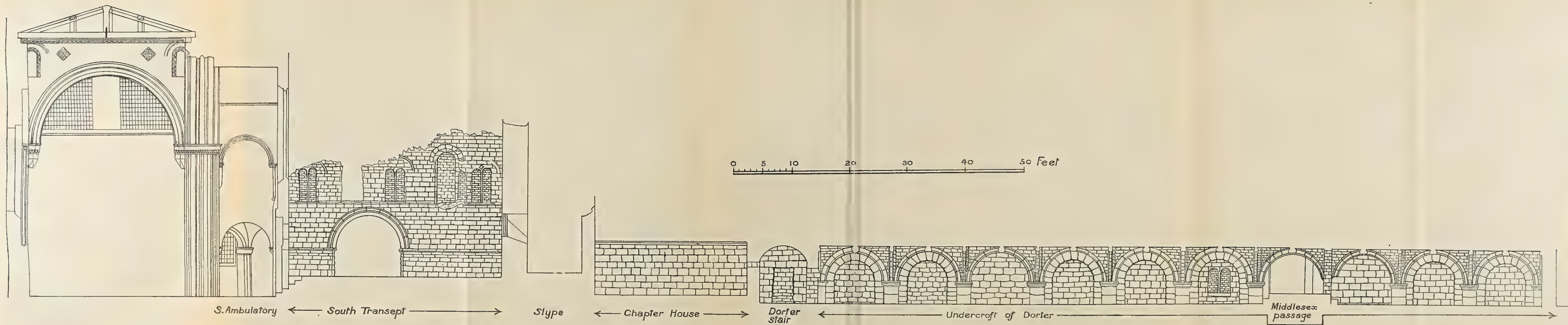
³ *Ib.*, p. 523.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 510.

⁵ Archer: *Vestiges*



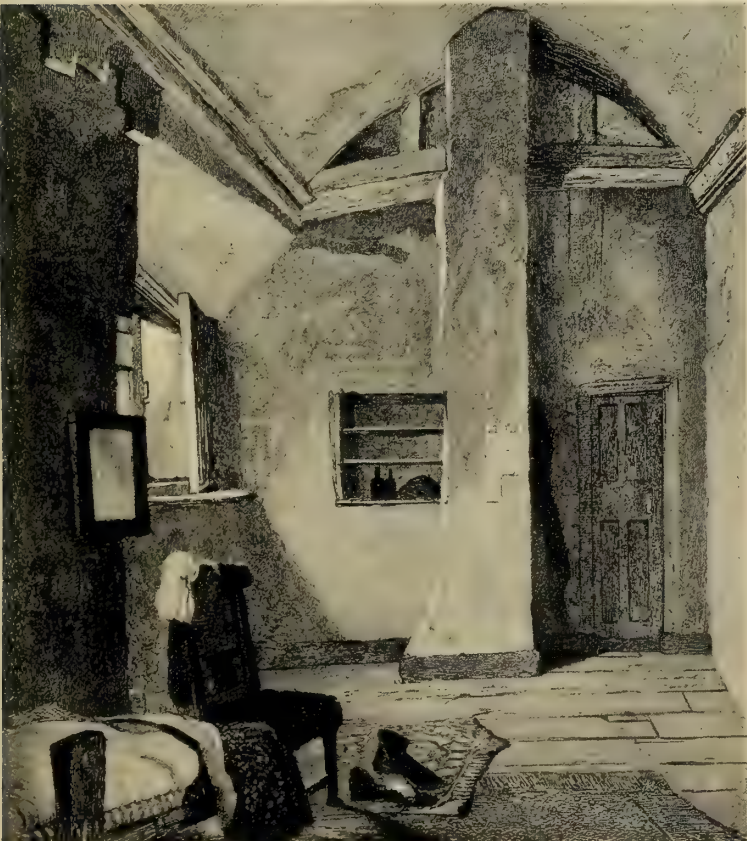
ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT
GROUND PLAN OF THE CHURCH AND CLOISTER BY THOS. HARDWICK, 1791



Section from North to South of the Ancient Priory of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, 1791 by Thomas Hardwick.



'COACH AND HORSES' PUBLIC-HOUSE, 1844
(see p. 136)



ROOM IN THE 'COACH AND HORSES'
(see p. 136)

ness. . . . A heavy cornice which skirts the spring of the roof belongs to the style of the end of the fifteenth, or beginning of the sixteenth century, and some indications of a small door which has been built seem to refer to about the same period.'

This room may have had some connexion with the guest-house. At Wenlock there is a large *scriptorium* in this position, but to what use this room was put at St. Bartholomew's we have no record.

The cloister garth measured about 83 ft. by 77 ft. It was used occasionally as a burial-ground, probably for the priors, because in 1851 two stone coffins were discovered by the Messrs. Palmer beneath their premises (No. 69 Bartholomew Close), which ran east and west across the middle of the garth. The coffins were about 12 ft. below the ground level; they measured 6 ft. 6 in., and each contained a skeleton but in one coffin there were two skulls.¹

At the time of the suppression and until Queen Elizabeth's reign the cloister apparently remained intact, for it was conveyed as a cloister by Rich to Queen Mary and by Queen Elizabeth to Rich. After the second suppression in 1559, the cloister was given up to secular occupation; but there is no direct record of what occurred, because the property was evidently sold by Rich quite early, no mention being made of it in the Rental of 1616. But it was probably owned by Sir Walter Mildmay, who lived in the parish, and with his wife lies buried in the church, for he addressed a letter on the 6th February 1560-1561 to Sir William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burleigh) dated from St. Bartholomew's; and although nine years later Lord Burleigh in his diary says that Sir Walter had his house in Paul's Wharf, still in the Subsidy Rolls of 1563-1564 Mildmay appears as owner of lands in the parish assessed at £100, which probably included lands which had been sold to him by Dr. Bartlett (as will be seen later); and among the MSS. of the House of Lords mention is made, in the year 1691, of 'the house in the cloister which had formerly belonged to Sir Walter Mildmay'. We consider that this house in the cloister was the frater, and that Sir Walter purchased the frater and cloister from Rich, and was succeeded there by William Neale and later by Sir Thomas Neale. Further, indirect evidence that Mildmay owned the cloister is contained in the fact that the present 'Coach and Horses' public-house was, up to the year 1746—and later—called the 'Flying Horse Inn'² and the stable-yard the 'Flying Horse yard'.³ Now Mildmay, in the year 1552, had a new coat of arms

¹ *Arch. Assoc. Journal*, vii, 83.

² *V. M. Bk.* ii, 424. *Churchwardens' Accounts*, 1737.

³ Rocque, *Plan of London*, 1746 (pl. LXXX b, p. 174).

granted him consisting of a winged horse on a bend,¹ and nothing is more likely than that the public-house should have taken its sign from the arms of the owner of the property. The name of the inn was changed before 1755, for in April of that year the vestry resolved that the parish stocks 'should be fixed in the churchyard by the wall of the Coach and Horses ale house'.²

We have no other record of the cloister until the year 1739, when Maitland says³ that the east walk was 'reduced to the mean office of a stable'. In the year 1784 we are told that it served as a stable to the Black Horse Inn⁴ (which, by the way, was in Long Lane),⁵ and it may have been so used by Mildmay and Neale.

In the year 1809 Carter calls the east cloister 'a very comfortable eight stall stable' (fig. 7, p. 130, and pl. LXX *b*, p. 133). This probably refers only to the three northern bays, for Knight, writing in 1841, thus describes the condition of the eight bays, beginning at the southern end:⁶

'Much of this beautiful part has been lost of late years by the fall of the roof and part of the wall on one side. Climbing, however, as well as we can, and on the double or treble row of great barrels which fill the entire space, we find that on the opposite or eastern wall are five arches, more or less entire, yet remaining, and one on the west' . . .

These five arches in the east wall there can be little doubt were those of the entrance to the slype, of the entrance to the chapter-house, of the windows on either side of it, and of the entrance to the dorter stair.

Knight's description then continues :

'Further north the space is walled up with an arch. . . . The space within, extending to the church, which was entered by a fine Norman arch still existing, includes the remainder of the cloister; and one can only lament that, as it not only possesses the arches on both sides but (also) the groined roof, it should be completely walled up. We had ourselves to break a hole in another part of the wall to obtain admittance, and then to reclose it. Here the delicacy and proportion of the style, the fine finish of the groins and keystones, and the elaborate workmanship of the many curious devices and historical subjects carved in different parts are alone visible in their natural combination. Over this part is now built a house in a line with and joining to the tower of the church.'

Vetusta Monumenta, in 1784, states that 'The key stones are richly carved with scripture histories, animals, &c.'

¹ Howard, J. J., *Misc. Genealog.* ii, 261. Also below, p. 456.

² *V. M. Bk.* iii, 329.

³ Maitland, *London*, ii, 1070.

⁵ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 479.

⁴ *Vet. Mon.* ii, 8.

⁶ Knight, *London*, ii, 50.

Carter¹ speaks of the bosses as having 'a variety of historic basso-relievo shields and foliage'.

Malcolm² (1802) describes them as 'most delicate and exquisitely proportioned'.

Five bosses are reproduced by Malcolm, but in whose possession they may now be is not known. They represent: the Legend of St. Nicholas and the three Children; the Emblems of our Lord's Passion; the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence; three Fleur-de-lis on a shield, but what the fifth boss represents is not clear.

Three other bosses are now preserved in the cloister: one—a mermaid with the usual mirror and comb (pl. LXVII (13), p. 129); another, an angel with a lyre; and another, an uncouth head. These, in the middle of the nineteenth century, came into the possession of Mr. E. B. Price, F.S.A., and in the years 1852 and 1854 two were reproduced in the publications of the Antiquarian Etching Club.³ Price's original drawings of all three are in the Gardner Collection. The three stones later came into the possession of Mr. Alfred White, F.S.A., and were inherited by his son Mr. Paul Thomas White, who, in the year 1911, presented them to the writer, who restored them to the church.

The vaulting of the east cloister is said to have fallen on the 8th August 1834, with the upper gallery and part of the wall, but from the above it would seem that the vault of the three northern bays was standing in 1841. The house above was destroyed probably in the fire of 1830, but, whatever the date was when it was rebuilt, it was made to encroach upon the west wall of the south transept, as already described.⁴ It was not the first encroachment, for in the year 1726 Thomas Hunt, the publican, was granted leave by the vestry 'to break a window or two out of the vault into the green churchyard',⁵ the closing of which, by the way, gave great trouble at the restoration of the transept.

The North cloister, after the suppression, suffered as much as the eastern walk; for it too was used in part as stables and in part as a blacksmith's smithy; also in part by the public-house already referred to. The latter was rebuilt in 1856⁶ and all the remains of the cloister destroyed. The south end of the west cloister walk was used as a cowshed, and in 1791 the south cloister was in part used 'as a broker's shop'.⁷

¹ *Gent. Mag.* cxxxiii, p. 228.

² Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* i, 282, 288.

³ Vol. iv, plate 63; vol. v, plate 48.

⁵ *V. M. Bk.* ii, 327.

⁷ Parish Safe, *Deeds*, Nos. 84, 85.

⁴ Above, p. 128.

⁶ *Ib.* vii, 477.

To return to the east cloister : ¹ the five southernmost bays were demolished about the year 1886, and the present stables erected on their site. The cloister walls doubtless still exist below the ground. The three northern bays were—at some time unknown—filled with earth up to the ground level (about 7 ft.) and continued to be used as stables until the year 1904. In the year 1900 the Restoration Committee of the church opened negotiations for the purchase of the freehold of the site of these three bays. The matter proved to be very complicated so that possession was not obtained until Michaelmas 1904, and even then the leasehold interest in the western portion had to be left to run out until June 1926.²

There being 7 ft. of earth on the floor of the cloister, the horses' manger was at that time on a level with the crown of the twelfth-century doorway leading into the church. In 1905 the earth was excavated, the vaulting restored and tracery inserted in the cloister windows. The excavation brought to light the twelfth-century door jambs and the lower portions of two slender shafts attached (measuring about 2 ft. in height). The capitals of these are still in position ; that on the east side shows the scallop ornament, but that on the west is much mutilated. The bases also remain, but the one on the east side only is in good condition with mouldings almost Early English in character.

The round-headed arched doorway had a hood mould, a fragment of which remains on the west side. A portion of the Norman wall also remains in the north-east corner with a small portion of the original floor tiles and about 10 ft. of the Norman plinth. For some reason the face of the twelfth-century wall in the north-east bay was not followed in the fifteenth-century rebuilding but a new face was brought forward some $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, as is seen in the lower part of the centre bay of the east wall where the original face remains. The fifteenth-century rebuilding is well seen in the transverse rib above the north door and in the shafts with caps and bases from which the rib springs. There is also a fairly perfect cluster of shafts on the west side at what was the south-west angle of the north and east walks.

Fragments of other shafts and the springers of the vaulting, all much damaged, also remain and, having been left in the same condition as they were found, they are easily distinguishable from the restored portions. The only window arch in good condition is the southern one on the west side, which retains its original boss. The tracery of the windows is entirely the work of 1905. The wall below

¹ *Select Views.*

² *Parish Safe, Deeds, 80-89 a.*

the windows is original and part of the stone bench remains, but the sills have all disappeared.

The new vaulting corresponds with that of the fifteenth century, the setting out of which was found on one of the springers in the centre bay. The portions of the original ribs, found during the excavations, have been re-used, some being placed in each bay. Five small original bosses have also been refixed, two in the north bay and three in the south. The new bosses bear shields emblazoned as follows :

In the north bay the royal arms (King Henry I having granted the site) and the arms of the diocese.

In the centre bay the arms of the priory surrounded by the emblems of the four Evangelists; and the arms of the then rector, the Rev. Sir Borradaile Savory, Baronet.

In the south bay the arms of the City of London.

The new floor tiles correspond with the old portions found by the north door. There are also other portions in the north-west bay, at a level $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches below those by the door. The matrix of a brass, found during the restoration of 1865, and a seventeenth-century head-stone, the inscription on which is illegible, have been inserted in the flooring.

The entrance doors were taken down at the suppression in 1539, and the opening built up with rough fragments of stone. When this filling was removed in 1905, a wooden lintel was found therein in such a position as to suggest that a temporary entrance had been formed in it by the Dominicans in 1555. There was also found a piece of finely worked stone of Early English date, which has the appearance of having formed a canopy to a tomb.¹ It is preserved in the cloister.

The doors at the time of the suppression had been used for the entrance to the west porch. These were taken down at the restoration of 1864, to make room for a window, and were stored in the triforium. When it was found, in the year 1905, that they exactly fitted the cloister door they were once more hung in their original position (pl. XVIII, p. 10; pl. LXIX, p. 132).

Outside the west wall of the cloister the excavations exposed the lower portion of the angle buttress at the junction of the north and east walks, and of the two buttresses between the bays southward.

The site of the remaining bays of the East walk of the cloister was purchased in 1919 with possession in December 1922, when the number of bays, now conjectural, will be settled.

The glass case at present in the cloister contains the matrix of the priory seal used during the occupation of the priory by the Dominicans

¹ *Rest. Min. Bk.* ii, 266.

in Queen Mary's reign, and a manuscript copy of a book of Spiritual Exercises written by William Perrin, the prior at that time. There is also a portion of a leather sandal from the foot of Rahere, a portion of his wooden coffin, some late twelfth-century carved stones, and several fifteenth-century bosses from the cloister vaulting. On the bench against the wall is a twelfth-century stoup or mortar from the infirmary; an arm of the prior's chair from the chapter-house dating from the thirteenth century (pl. LXVII (13), p. 129); an incised grave slab with a French inscription of the fourteenth century, and other worked stones of different periods found from time to time in the church during excavations. There is also a badly damaged seventeenth-century almsbox (pl. XXXII *b*, p. 26). On the floor is a stone coffin from the chapter-house believed to be that of Prior Thomas; also twelfth, thirteenth, and early fifteenth-century fragments from the same place. These have all been referred to in previous chapters.

In the parish safe are plans ¹ made by the architect in the year 1906, at the suggestion of Sir Borradaile Savory, for building a dwelling-house over the cloister, the rent of which it was intended should be applied to the cost of the maintenance of the services of the church; but, as counsel's opinion was that it was impossible to separate the rent of a building so situated from the glebe of the rectory, it was decided, in the meanwhile, only to erect a temporary roof over the cloister.

When fixing the roof some stones were removed from the wall of the tower, but they were numbered and stored beneath this temporary roof.

The observations in the *Observer* of August 21st, 1703, as to the cloister of St. Bartholomew's being used at that time as 'a market of lewdness' do not refer to the cloister of the priory ², ³.

¹ Parish Safe, *Plan* 31, and *Rest. M. Bk.*, iii, 2.

² B. and B., *Beauties E. and W.* x, pt. iii, p. 434.

³ Malcolm, *Anecdotes* (1808), p. 313.

CHAPTER IX

CLOISTER BUILDINGS

EASTERN RANGE

SLYPE, CHAPTER-HOUSE, AND DORTER

THE SLYPE.

THE slype is shown in Hardwick's and other plans in the usual position between the south transept and the chapter-house. The lower parts of its walls were exposed in 1912 when the chapter-house site was excavated for secular building purposes. It measured 10 ft. in width and probably extended 32 ft. in length, which was the breadth of the transept. No entrance from the cloister is shown in Hardwick's plan, but doubtless there was one as at Norwich and elsewhere, because the slype formed the passage from the cloister to the burying-ground. What is believed to have been the entrance doorway has already been described when dealing with the cloister (fig. 6, p. 130).¹

It was usual for the slype to be vaulted, but whether it was so here we have no record. It was entered by a door in the centre of the south wall of the transept, as at St. Albans and elsewhere. The jambs of this door, which still remain to the height of the present graveyard level, were exposed during the excavations in 1912, and can be seen from the basement window of the great warehouse erected in that year. The stones of the jambs are red from the scorching of the fire of 1830, which destroyed the slype. This doorway is shown in Wilkinson's plan and in Malcolm's engraving of the ruins of the south transept.

After the suppression, the entrance from the cloister was filled in with a brick fireplace of Queen Elizabeth's time, similar to the one still in the guest-house at Lanercost, placed there in 1586. In 1616 the slype was probably used in connexion with Lord Abergavenny's house in the dorter, as will be shown later on.²

In 1809 Carter tells us that it was being used as a sawpit: in 1819 Wilkinson's plan shows it as occupied by two vestry rooms in connexion with the chapel which then occupied the chapter-house.

¹ Above, p. 135.

² See p. 151.

CHAPTER-HOUSE.

The chapter-house (*capitulum*) adjoined the slype on the south side and is so shown on Hardwick's and Wilkinson's plans. It was built—as already said—about the year 1160, and was rectangular in form, as was usual in monasteries of the twelfth century. It measured 53 ft. 4 in. by 27 ft. 10 in., being rather smaller than that at Holy Trinity Aldgate, which is shown as measuring 58 ft. by 33 ft. Its west front occupied, as was usual, three bays of the east cloister walk;¹ and it had the usual three arched openings already referred to² and described below.³

There is no evidence that there was a vestibule to the chapter-house to carry the usual night passage from the dorter to the church; there is a straight stone string on the inner face of the west wall of the chapter-house 15 ft. 5 in. above the floor (exposed in 1912), but this is at too great a height to indicate a passage on a level with the dorter floor.

There is no mention of the chapter-house in the king's grant to Rich, nor in Rich's grant to Mary, but the grant by Elizabeth to Rich mentions chambers and buildings built above the cloister 'and above the buildings called *le Chapter Howse* and *le library*'; these buildings above the chapter-house may refer to a passage-way over it to the church. On the other hand, it has been pointed out by Mr. F. H. Greenaway, who has minutely studied Lord Holland's Rental in connexion with the internal arrangement of all the monastic buildings, that Lord Abergavenny's withdrawing room, lodging rooms, kitchen and larder were on a floor probably inserted in the chapter-house on a level with the dorter floor, and with a cellar below on the ground floor; and that Arthur Jarvis's cellars were also in this lower part of the chapter-house as shown on the plan.⁴ He therefore suggests that at the time of the suppression the lead was taken off the roof of the chapter-house, as was done with the south transept, and it was so rendered uninhabitable, which would account for the fact that there is no reference to it either in the grant by the king to Rich, or in that by Rich to Mary; but that the Dominicans in Queen Mary's reign inserted these buildings in the upper part of the chapter-house, possibly for a prior's lodging, and repaired the roof, which would account for the building being mentioned in the grant from Elizabeth to Rich. This suggestion seems feasible when it is remembered that the late prior's house was then occupied by Sir Richard

¹ Above, p. 133.

³ See p. 147.

² See above, p. 135.

⁴ See plan of dorter, p. 77.

Rich, and the rooms in the chapter-house, being next to the dorter, would have made a convenient prior's lodging for Prior Perrin.

During the excavations in 1912 no foundations for a support of any kind for a vestibule were found, nor was there any sign of a stair leading from a passage over a vestibule to the door shown by Carter to the west of the south wall of the transept (pl. XLV a, p. 54). If there was such a passage the church may have been entered by the opening on the triforium level above the door shown by Carter, from which a stair may have descended from west to east to the transept floor, as at Bristol, or from south to north, as at Hexham: in fact, Carter's drawing shows what Malcolm's does not, a thickening of the wall at this point to support a stair-head. The twelfth-century chapter-house at Birkenhead has no vestibule, but the approach there was by a passage over the chapter-house which was stepped up from the dorter on one side and down on the other and thence by a stair to the transept. At Gloucester the approach to the transept is by a newel stair in the north-west angle of the chapter-house; but at St. Bartholomew's direct evidence as to the night approach is wanting.

The chapter-house building, or what then remained of it, is thus described by Carter in his survey of 1809: ¹

'Immediately proceeding from the east cloister (though not directly in the centre of the line) is the chapter-house: style Henry III reign. It is an oblong building. The walls now show no higher than the dado: and it is turned into a store place for sawn timber . . . The Walls ² are left on the east, north, and south sides to a height from whence it may be inferred the windows took their rise, comprehending the dado part of the design. On the west side are three entrances (stopped up) from the cloister: on the north and south sides a series of arches supported by ornamented corbels: the corbels have most pleasing and chaste tracery.'

The pope, in his grant of indulgences in 1409,³ mentions that the then prior had 'rebuilt the chapter-house'; but that this was not an entire rebuilding is shown by Carter describing the style as that of Henry III, and by the fact that Norman, as well as Early English work, was found there during the excavations in 1912, in addition to the fifteenth-century work.

In 1912 the houses known as Cockerill's Buildings were cleared away, and the entire sites of the chapter-house, the sixteenth-century prior's house and other monastic buildings were excavated to a depth of 8 ft. for the erection of the lofty warehouse, already referred to, now known as 43 Bartholomew Close. During the operations, the

¹ *Gentleman's Mag.* lxxix, 226.

² *Ib.* 327.

³ *Cal. Pap. Reg.* vi, 151.

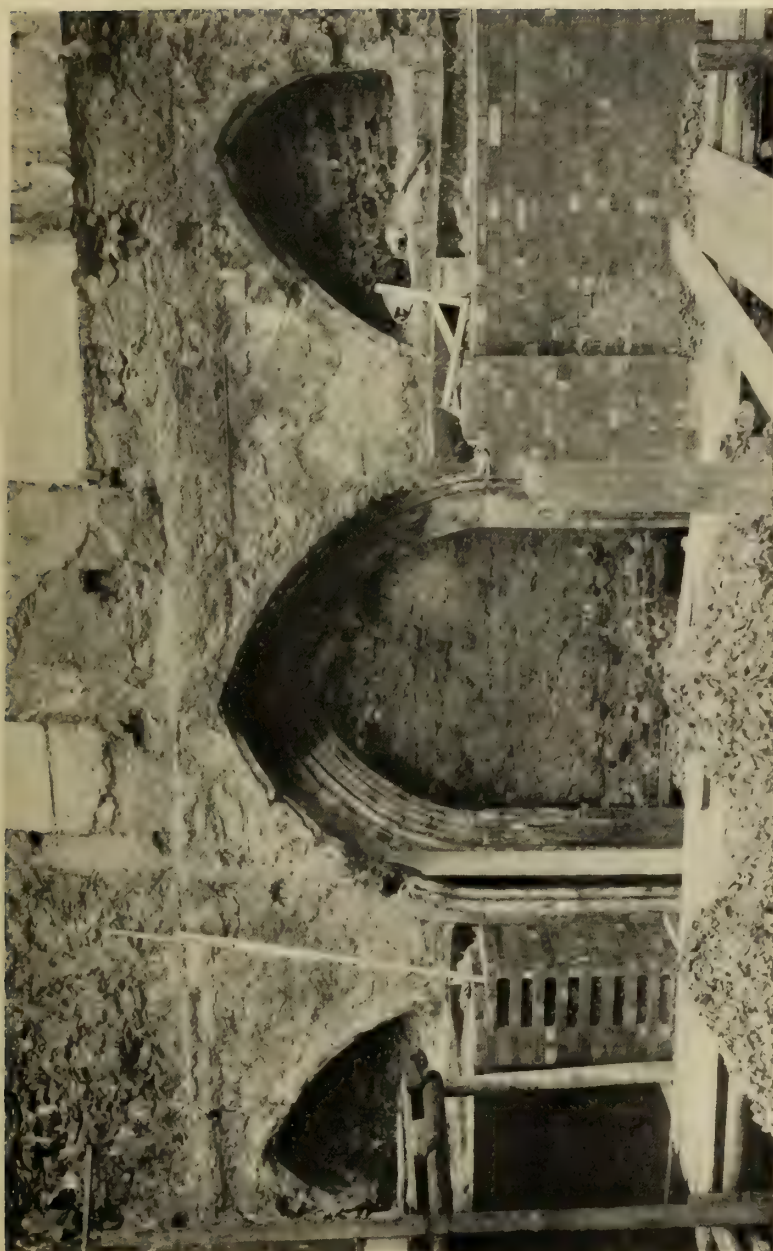
whole of the west walls of the chapter-house and of the slype were uncovered, and the bases of the four walls of the chapter-house were found standing to the height of about five feet (pl. LXXI, p. 134). On the south side there were indications of a stone bench.¹ The floor was covered with plain red tiles measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches square. In the centre of the floor was found, 8 inches below the floor level, a stone coffin, now in the cloister, which had at some time been rifled. It was lying 19 ft. 6 in. from the west wall, and equidistant (14 ft.) from the north and south walls. As the chapter-house was first built by Prior Thomas it is not unreasonable to assume that the coffin was his, for in the twelfth century it was the custom to bury the head of the house in the chapter-house; at Durham three bishop-abbots were so buried. A twelfth-century cap and base of Prior Thomas's time, now in the cloister, were recovered from the débris, together with portions of a thirteenth-century mural arcade, which is probably what Carter saw in position when he described the work as being of the time of Henry III; it is similar to that in the chapter-house at Westminster (pl. LXVII (12), p. 129).

There was also found, during the excavations, but east of the chapter-house, a block of Purbeck marble, the upper part of which is triangular (pl. LXVII (11), p. 129). On it is carved the kneeling figure of an Augustinian canon in his habit and it evidently dates from the thirteenth century. This stone Mr. W. R. Lethaby, surveyor to Westminster Abbey, identifies as the arm of a chair and there can be no doubt that it is so; probably it is the left arm of the prior's chair from the chapter-house, similar to the stone chair at Durham, which, however, is quite plain. On the sloping arm are stumps which Mr. C. R. Peers considers the remains of connecting pieces which attached an otherwise completely undercut carving worked out of the solid block of the rest of the slab. The carving probably took the form of a shaft expanding at the top into foliage, or some device, this being indicated by the pair of stumps just below the roll at the top of the arm.² Below the figure there is a small slab of the main stone 1 ft. 5 in. long and 9 in. wide. It projects $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. and has on its front edge a thirteenth-century moulding which would have been continued on the stone bench which ran round the chapter-house. On the reverse side to the carved figure the stone has a plain face with a chamfered edge. The seat of the chair was apparently independent of the sides as there are no marks of attachment.

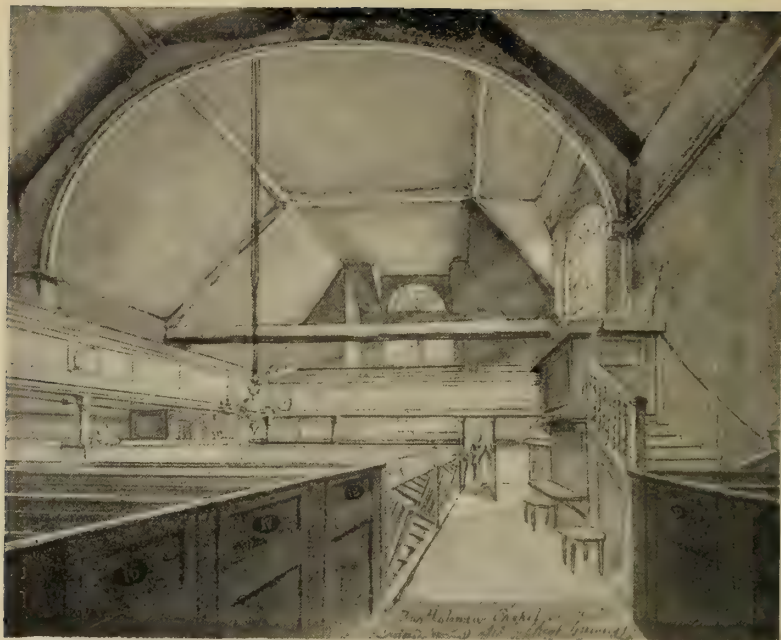
A considerable quantity of early fifteenth-century carved stones

¹ For fuller details of this excavation see *Archæologia*, lxiv, 165.

² Exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries, 20 Feb. 1919.



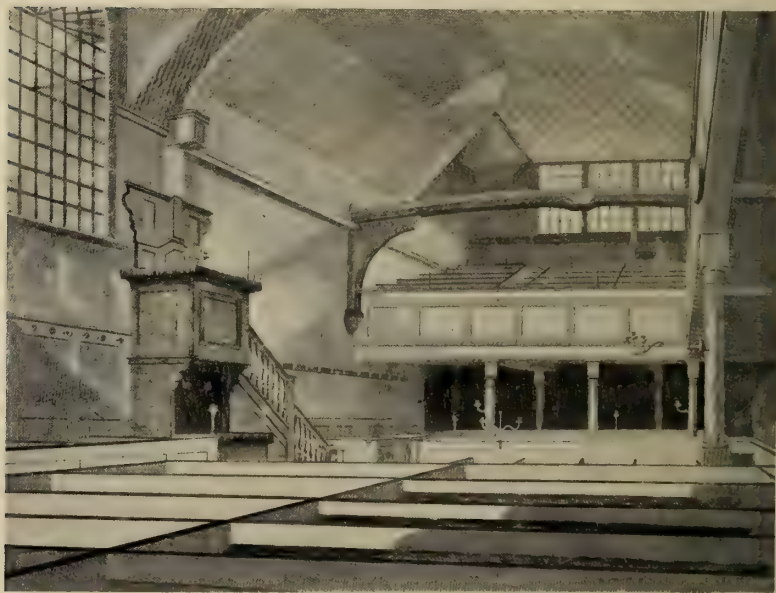
WEST END OF THE CHAPTER HOUSE
(see p. 147)



BARTHOLOMEW CHAPEL, ON THE SITE OF CHAPTER HOUSE,
LOOKING EAST, 1819

b

(see p. 148)



THE SAME, LOOKING WEST, 1822
(see pp. 148, 343)

was found on the chapter-house site, now in the cloister, verifying the statement of Pope Alexander that there was at any rate a partial rebuilding at that time. The coffin, the arm of the chair, and the fragments of three periods were presented to the Rector and Churchwardens by the building owners.

The west wall of the chapter-house measures 4 ft. thick. On it was found, 15 ft. 5 in. from the chapter-house floor, the stone string referred to above.

On this wall, below the string, were uncovered the three arched openings from the chapter-house into the cloister; the central one being the entrance doorway, the side ones the usual window openings (pl. LXXV, p. 146). The doorway measures 11 ft. 10 in. in height to the crown of the arch and 7 ft. 2 in. in width. On the threshold some of the original plain red tiles remain. The apex of each of the two side arches ranges with that of the central arch, but the outer sides are compressed to bring them within the chapter-house walls; for the three bays of the cloister, with which these three arches are concentric though shortened, are still wider than the chapter-house.¹ The width of these arches at the springing on the chapter-house side is only 6 ft., whilst on the cloister side it is 8 ft. 4 in. The work is of the early fifteenth century, and that the arches had to be compressed in this queer way still further shows that the walls of the chapter-house were not rebuilt at the same time.

The central doorway has been left, by the courtesy of the owners, more or less exposed within the warehouse, but the side openings have been bricked up. On the cloister side these arches are not at present visible, for they are either below ground or built into the stable walls. Examples of similar west fronts to chapter-houses occur at Norwich, Haughmond, Wenlock, and many other places.

Reference to the chapter-house occurs occasionally in the records before the time of the suppression, thus :

In the 'Book of the Foundation' it is related² how it was *in capitulum* (about the year 1170) that a merchant, who had been saved from shipwreck by the apostle, was brought to tell his tale; it was here that an indenture entered on the Close Rolls was dated in 1357.³ The agreement with the hospital in 1433 concerning the water supply, and Prior Fuller's appointment of a launder to the monastery in 1539 were both sealed 'in the chapter-house'.

As to the use the building was put to after its regrant to Rich the records are silent : we have already suggested above that it was used

¹ See above, p. 135.

² *Bk. of Found.*, Lib. II, cap. xvi.

³ Close, 30 Edw. III, 20 Jan. 1357.

by Lord Abergavenny as part of his house in the dorter. In 1804 Wilson¹ mentions that Thomas Madden, one of the Methodist clergy from the meeting-house in the triforium of the church, had, in the middle of the eighteenth century, 'removed to a large room which he fitted up for a chapel'; and we show later that John Wesley, in 1763, began preaching 'in a large commodious place in Bartholomew Close'. These are probably references to the chapter-house, as Wilkinson's plan and view² of the interior (pl. LXXVI, p. 147) show the building so fitted up and he calls it 'St. Bartholomew's Chapel'. Wilkinson wrote at the same time 'The chapel of St. Bartholomew is of equal antiquity with the priory. It is neatly pewed and has a very commodious gallery, also vestry rooms at the back of the north wall' (i.e. in the slype), 'from one of which a small window looks into the green churchyard, fronting the doors to the south entrance to the church'; this is shown by Malcolm as a post-suppression opening.

Knight³ says that a door of the undercroft of the dorter opened into a cellar beneath the chapel where the fire broke out in 1830. From this we assume that the floor of the chapter-house had been raised some 6 ft. to the street level when the building was converted into a chapel, thus forming a cellar below. It was probably this low portion that Carter referred to when he wrote that the walls showed no higher than the dado. Wilkinson's engraving and the drawing in the Gardner Collection (pl. LXXVI, p. 147) show a heavily timbered roof to the chapel, which was probably the roof before the suppression: if so, the chapter-house was not stone vaulted, as was the case at Lacock and elsewhere.

There was much confusion among the writers of the early nineteenth century between the nonconformists' meeting-house in the south triforium of the church and the chapel in the chapter-house. Thus Malcolm, writing in 1803, speaks of a dissenting place of worship 'called Bartholomew chapel'; but as he proceeds to say that 'it was set against the east end of the priory not far from the quire' he is evidently referring to the old meeting-house in the triforium and sacristy. Allen, however, copies Malcolm's words but publishes Wilkinson's plan showing St. Bartholomew's chapel in the chapter-house. Wilkinson also, after correctly describing the latter chapel in the chapter-house, proceeds to say that 'for upwards of a century it served as a meeting-house for presbyterian dissenters', which must refer to the old meeting-house.

¹ Wilson, *Dissent. Church*, iii, 387.

² Wilkinson, *Lond. Illust.*, 1819.

³ Knight, *London*, 1841.

THE DORTER.

The dorter or dormitory (*Dormitorium*) adjoined the chapter-house on the south side and extended southward into Bartholomew Close, occupying the whole of the site of No. 61, now the City of London Union Offices.

It measured externally 135 ft. north to south and 35 ft. east to west. The dormitory proper was on the first floor and was reached by the dorter stair, the entrance to which was from the bay of the cloister immediately south of the chapter-house. On the ground floor was a large undercroft, used, we may assume as to one part, as the 'common room' (*locutorium*) and 'warming-house' (*calefactorium*) where the canons warmed themselves before an open fire, this being the usual arrangement; the southern portion probably formed the lower part of the rere-dorter.

The question as to whether there was a night approach from the dorter to the church has already been discussed.¹

The dorter with its undercroft remained in its entirety until 1870, when it was demolished, and the City of London Union Offices were erected on the site. Knight, writing in 1842, says there were then two or three stories but that it was evident that the whole had been open from the first floor to the roof. The latter, he says, was of oak and after the style of Westminster Hall. He writes: ²

'The complicated and yet harmonious arrangement of the timbers . . . their finely arched form rising airily upward towards the centre of the building and the vertical supports which they appear to have sent down to the floor of the hall below—all appear to show that there was but one story and one room; and a glorious room it must have been; measuring some 40 ft. high, 30 ft. broad and 120 ft. long.'

Malcolm, in 1803, describes the roof ³ as

'full of timber and remains nearly as it was when used as the refectory'.

(Both he and Knight called the dorter the refectory in error. Carter unfortunately did not describe it.)

The doorway from the cloister to the dorter stairs is still standing, but it is bricked up on both sides. Its eastern side was uncovered in December 1903 when the City of London Union authorities were making alterations to the yard at the north end of their premises. It is a stone arched doorway measuring 7 ft. in width and 9 ft. in height from the original floor level to the crown of the arch. From the floor to the springing of the arch is 7 ft. 9 in. The floor of the

¹ Above, p. 144. ² Knight, *London*, ii. 51. ³ Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* i, 289.

undercroft at the north end was exposed at the same time and was found to be composed of $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. brick laid flat. The walls of the dorter were underpinned on the north and east sides, and the footings were found to be 5 ft. 6 in. wide, 1 ft. 6 in. deep, and composed of chalk. The wall above the footings measured 3 ft. 3 in. in width and was of Kentish rag up to 4 ft. and above that of brick, probably a rebuilding by Prior Bolton in the fifteenth century. The undercroft extended under the whole length of the building. It was divided longitudinally into two aisles by a central row of octagonal columns, with plain moulded capitals. Hardwick's plan shows seven out of eight of these columns as being in position in the year 1791. The work dated from the latter part of the twelfth century. Carter says of it :¹

'in its lines rather plain as the mouldings to the capitals of the octangular columns (bases buried) and ribs of groins are but few.'

Hardwick's section (pl. LXXIII, p. 136) shows an arcade on the north wall of ten round-headed mural arches springing from twelfth-century circular piers with circular moulded capitals. The height shown is 10 ft., which probably means 11 ft. from the original floor level as the bases were covered. The arches are shown with a spacing of 10 ft. 9 in. and the piers with a diameter of 2 ft. 8 in., and a springer of the transverse arch above the abacus of the capitals. The northernmost bay, being under the stairs, is shown without a mural arch or pier on the east wall; but in the year 1903 remains of two piers were removed from the north wall; probably these were connected with the doorway shown by Hardwick and Knight as leading into the chapter-house.

In the fifth bay from the south Hardwick shows a window of two lights, 5 ft. high and 4 ft. wide, the outside of which is shown in a wash drawing by Whichelo in 1803 (pl. LXXVII *a*). This was apparently inserted in the fifteenth century. In the adjoining bay southward is shown the opening for the passage-way across the undercroft, now known as Middlesex Passage (pl. LXXXI *b*, p. 182). This passage we assume to have been there in monastic times and to have given access from the cloister to the infirmary, the infirmary kitchen, the mulberry gardens, the wood-house, and other domestic offices. It corresponds in position with that at Westminster Abbey which leads from the dark cloister into the little cloister, originally the infirmary of the monastery. This passage at St. Bartholomew's is shown on Wilkinson's plan with a thick wall on the south but a thin modern one on the north side. At Lanercost the passage is quite open to the undercroft on both sides.

¹ *Gentleman's Mag.* cxxxiii, 327. See also Knight, *London*, ii, 53.



DORTER AS A WAREHOUSE
(see pp. 150, 218)

b



UNDERCROFT OF THE DORTER
(see p. 150)

At Westminster the uses of the undercroft of this range varied from a royal treasure-house to a prison.

After the suppression the dorter probably escaped secular occupation for twenty years or more because it was still referred to as Le Dorter in Elizabeth's regrant to Rich in 1560. For four or five years previously it had been in occupation by the Dominicans as the dorter. Rich in his grant to Mary thus describes it :

'Also a great building chamber erection or place with its appurtenances now or late called Le Dortour late the Dormitory of the said late Priory. And also the steps with their appurtenances leading from the aforesaid enclosure or ambulatory up to the said great building chamber erection or place called the Dortour.'

The building was later converted into a private dwelling, for in the Rental of 1616¹ we find that Lady Scudamore (the second wife and then the widow of Sir Philip Scudamore) had a lease of two portions of the priory buildings (or 'Mansionhouse of Lord Rich' as it was called). One of these was the dorter which she held by lease for three lives at an annual rent of £12 (the date is omitted) and then worth £50 (probably because she had spent money on converting it into a dwelling-house), and which at this time was in the tenure of Lord Abergavenny. The dorter is described as being in 'the north-west corner of the close'² 'with entrance thereto near Sir Thos. Neale's', whose house, as will be seen presently, is assumed to have been the frater with the misericord and library.

The 'particular' continues 'and so ascending up a paire of stairs over the vault or dorter' (i.e. the undercroft of the dorter) 'we enter into a faire lardge hall, on the south side whereof is a greate chamber and studdy and 7 chambers and a garrett over the same for servants and other uses'. We are not told the position of the stairs but they were probably the monastic stairs and we have so shown them in the plan (see plan, p. 77). The 'faire lardge hall' probably extended right across the building, and the same applies to 'the greate chamber' which was at its southern end. The 'studdy and 7 chambers' were apparently farther south over the rere-dorter.

The 'particular' continues 'from the northwarde of the hall, about the middle part, passeth a narrow darke entry, on the east side whereof are two little lodgings and a wth. drawing chamber; on the west side a little pantry and a larder; at the end of the entry is a convenient kitchen and a yard beyond the same paved with free-stone about which by the sides thereof are necessarie rooms for woode,

¹ *Rentals and Surveys*, R.O. 11/39, 16 James I, *part of inheritance of Sir Hy. Rich.*

² i.e., of the entire close; see plan, p. 131.

coales, etc., and a faire cellar under the pantry larder and parte of the kitchen'. All these rooms would fit into the chapter-house, with those for wood and coals and the fair cellar occupying part of a lower floor. This division of the chapter-house into two floors would explain why it is not described otherwise as having been converted into a dwelling. The 'yard paved with freestone' may well have been the slype if its roof had been destroyed at the suppression, in which case a newel stair in the corner of the chapter-house, as at Gloucester, would have afforded a ready access from the kitchen to the yard.

The 'particular' continues 'under part of the hall and great chamber in the dorter there is one vault or rather part of a cloyster contayning about by estimation in length 24 yardes and 4 in breadth in the tenure of a stone cutter' (this describes half of the undercroft north of Middlesex Passage). 'On the south side of the entrance through the vault is one lowe room divided in two contayning haulfe the bredth of the vault in the tenure of Richard Woodhouse currier.' This describes the western half of the undercroft south of Middlesex Passage; the eastern half we shall see later belonged to Lady Scudamore's other house, let to Sir Edward Barrett. The second half of the northern part is not mentioned; it may have been owned by Sir Thomas Neale; if so, that would account for no mention being made of it. The survey concludes, as already said, with 'all of which is worth per annum £50'.

In a later survey made in 1641 Lady Scudamore still held two houses in the parish 'and the vaults under the private house'.

After the aristocracy left, about the middle of the seventeenth century, there is no record of the fate of the dorter until the year 1803, when Malcolm thus describes it: ¹

'Not a vestige of ancient architecture is visible, that part which projects into the close being faced with brick. The windows are transformed into large ones of the present fashion. The length is 120 ft. by 30 in breadth. Some idea may be formed of its original state by the northern half, now a calico glazier's shop; but the south part is a suite of very good apartments inhabited by the worthy rector Mr. Edwardes . . . the cellar of Mr. Edwardes cannot be paralleled in London for coolness and durability.'

(referring no doubt to the undercroft which was in his occupation).

Who the calico glazier was we are not told, but in 1801 the wholesale tobacconist Abraham Crofton was paying rates ² at No. 61 Bartholomew Close: in 1816 the style of the business had become Crofton and Rippon and so remained until the year 1870, when on the

¹ Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* 289.

² Belfry cupboard, *Rate Books*.

29th September the City of London Union authorities purchased the property and laid ruthless hands upon the whole pile, demolishing the beautiful timber roof and the undercroft with its vault, its arches, and its piers.

The rere-dorter (*Necessarium*) is not referred to in any of the grants and there are no other records to establish its position. It always formed part of the dorter building at the end farthest from the church, either in line with the main building or at right angles to it.

It was generally of considerable dimensions. That at Beaulieu measured about 69 ft. by 22 ft., say 1,500 ft. super: that at Lacock 48 ft. by 15 ft., or 720 ft. super. At St. Bartholomew's it may have extended south of the dorter, covering the site of No. 60 Bartholomew Close, in which case its internal area would have been about 1,300 ft. But there is no evidence that this was the case, and we incline to the opinion that it was contained within the four walls of the dorter building proper and that it occupied that part which was south of Middlesex Passage.

There was usually a stream of water directed through the building, as at Canterbury, Fountains and other houses, but there is no evidence of what the arrangement was here, unless the water from Canonbury was used for the purpose.

THE SOUTHERN RANGE

THE REFECTORY OR FRATER.

The frater (*refectorium*), the parlour (*locutorium*), the misericord, the kitchen (*coquina*), with its pantry and buttery, formed the southern range and may be considered together, as the only records we have are common to them all (see plan, p. 77).

King Henry VIII in his grant to Rich in the year 1544¹ simply refers to 'le frater', 'le ketchyn', 'le botry' (buttery), 'le pantry', and 'le old ketchyn'. But Rich in his grant to Mary in 1555² describes their position and mentions other buildings in addition; thus he mentions

'a long building or erection with its appurtenances on the south side of the said enclosure or ambulatory' (i. e. the cloister) 'now or lately called "le frater" late the refectory of the said late priory. Also a building now or lately called "le old kitchen", late the cookhouse of the said late priory, lying and beeing at the west end of the aforesaid building called "le frater"'. Also a building or a room (*senacleum*)³ now called a parlour and lately called "le misericorde" at the east end of the same building called "le frater", and a building now or lately called "le library" being above the

¹ See Vol. I, App. I, p. 510.

² *Ib.*, p. 522.

³ *Sic* for *cenaculum*.

said building called a parlour on the west part of the said building called "le fratre", and all that building land or soil with its appurtenances where is the passage from the aforesaid building late "le fratre" to the said building lately called "le old kitchen".

On the authority of these descriptions we show on the plan (see plan, p. 77) the frater on the south side of the cloister (now Nos. 64 to 66 Bartholomew Close), which was the usual position, being the farthest from the church. The parlour, buttery, pantry, and old kitchen are shown at the western end (No. 67); the misericord, with the library over, at the eastern end (Nos. 62 to 63).¹ The other kitchen mentioned in the Henry VIII grant was probably a special meat kitchen, such as for example the Cistercians built when meat diet was eaten more frequently. It must have been at the western end of the south side of the frater (No. 66, where that part of the house still projects southward from its neighbours) because Hardwick's plan of 1791 shows the west wall of that building as being ancient. At Aldgate the great kitchen occupied just such a position. A passage from the frater to the old kitchen, referred to above, was the usual arrangement, since the kitchen was considered monastically as external to the cloister.¹

The entrance to the frater would have been from the south cloister, probably towards the western end, as at Westminster, Norwich, Peterborough, and elsewhere, with the lavatory beside it.²

The great dining-hall of the frater was probably on the ground floor, as at Aldgate³ and Westminster, though there were probably a few steps up, as at Worcester and many other monasteries.

We have no direct evidence of the dimensions of the building now being described; it is necessary, therefore, to rely upon various indications and upon the dimensions of the site which we know that it occupied. The external width of the frater we show as 35 ft., that being the width of the present houses (Nos. 62-65 Bartholomew Close) standing on the site, the north walls of which are known to be in the position of the north wall of the frater. The internal length shown is about 60 ft., independent of the width of the misericord at the one end, and of the kitchen offices at the other. That measurement compares with 130 ft. (estimated) by 38 ft. at Westminster, 70 ft. by 30 ft. at Aldgate, 109 ft. by 31 ft. at Beaulieu, 23 paces by 10 paces at Bridlington, and 98 ft. 10 in. by 34 ft. at Chester (where the height is 32 ft. 3 in. to the underside of the principals).

The misericord (or flesh-frater where meat was allowed to be eaten) we also place on the ground floor with the library over, as Rich says.

¹ Thompson, *Engl. Mon.*

² Above, p. 134.

³ See *Plan in Home Counties Mag.*, Jan. 1900.

If the height of the frater was about the same as at Chester, or even less, the roof of this building might well have been a continuation of that of the frater. We have some indication of the dimensions of the misericord in a passage by Malcolm in which he says : ¹

‘ At the south end of the east cloister there *was* a space 53 ft. by 26 ft., probably a court through which the brethren passed to and from the refectory.’

(Dorter intended ; though the brethren approached it from the cloister.) Malcolm emphasizes the word *was* in his statement by italics, from which we gather that the space had existed to his knowledge but did not exist when he wrote in 1803. But the length he gives of 53 ft. coincides with nothing within our knowledge ; if, however, the figures have been reversed and 35 ft. was intended, then the length of his space coincides with the width of the frater building. His width of 26 ft. we accept and so show on the plan where a division for a passage to the Close, corresponding to the dark cloister at Westminster, is suggested.

There is no indication of the size of the buttery, or of the parlour, or of the pantry, or of the old kitchen. The dimensions of the existing house, No. 66 Bartholomew Close, are 28 ft. by 23 ft., which are probably those of the other kitchen. The dimensions shown on the Aldgate plan are 27 ft. square, and at Lacock Abbey they are 33 ft. by 21 ft. The size of the old kitchen would probably have been larger than the new one.

The forecourts or gardens of the present houses, Nos. 62–65 Bartholomew Close, may have formed part of the kitchener’s garden, which, allowing for the 10 ft. passage from the cloister at the east end, would have measured 86 ft. by 28 ft. ; whilst the garden at Aldgate, part of which was a green, measured about 57 ft. by 35 ft.

The only description extant of any of these buildings is a very brief one of the interior of the frater by Bishop Grindal. This is in a letter ² to Sir William Cecil in the year 1563, after the destruction by fire in the year 1561 of the spire and roof of St. Paul’s. The bishop wanted to strip the church of its lead for the cathedral, and to make the frater serve as a parish church in its place, as was done at Beaulieu in Hampshire. He says : ³

‘ There is an house adjoynynge which was the Fratrie (as they tearmed it) a verie fayre and a large house, and in deede allreadye, iff it wor purged, lacketh nothing butt the name off a churche : well buylded off free stone, garnished within rounde abowte with

¹ Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* i, 289.

² Lansdowne MSS., No. 6, Art. 55.

³ The letter is given in full on p. 303 below.

marble pyllers, large windows, &c. I assure you without partialitie, iff it wor dressed up, it wer farre more beautifull and more conveniente than the other. It is covered with good slate.'

Fortunately the future Lord Burleigh did not see eye to eye with the bishop and so the church escaped.

From this description it is evident that in the year 1563 the frater was much in the same condition as it was left by the Blackfriars in 1559, and that it was not then occupied as a dwelling-house. After 1563 Rich probably sold it at once to Sir Walter Mildmay (as stated in the cloister chapter),¹ who only remained there until 1567, when he bought Dr. Bartlett's house and garden (now Albion Buildings) and apparently sold the frater to his friend William Neale, who was the first witness to Sir Walter Mildmay's will, and with whom he served as churchwarden from 1574 to 1578. William Neale was succeeded in the frater by Thomas—later Sir Thomas—Neale (probably his son) some time before 1616. The records on which we rely for this occupation by the Neales are first, the will of Anne, the wife of William Neale, dated 1597, in which she refers to a 'great chamber' in her husband's house, indicating, we consider, the great dining-hall of the monastery; secondly, Evan Meredith,² in the year 1601, willed to be buried 'in the churchyarde betwixte my late wieves tombe and Maister Neale's wall, in the partwaye neare unto my saide tombe', that is to say in the present church path, beside the north cloister wall, showing that William Neale occupied the cloister on the north side of the frater, as has been seen Sir Walter Mildmay did before him;³ thirdly, the Rental of 1616, where it is stated—as already seen⁴—that the entrance to the dorter was 'near to Sir Thomas Neale's' and there was no house that could be so described other than the frater and misericord. That Sir Richard Rich disposed of the property is sufficient reason why it is not mentioned in the 1616 rental.

WESTERN RANGE

GUEST-HOUSE AND CELLARER'S QUARTERS.

The great hall, guesten or guest-house (*hospitium*) must have been of considerable proportions. Pope Alexander V in his grant of indulgencies in 1409⁵ said:

'The monastery being situate in a very famous place of the realm, very many resort thither from the realm and from divers other regions to its great burden.'

¹ Above, p. 137.

² App. I, p. 551.

³ Above, p. 137.

⁴ Above, p. 151.

⁵ *Cal. Pap. Reg.* vi, 151.

In the year 1321, when the Earl of Hereford led the barons to London to denounce the Despensers,¹ it was at St. Bartholomew's that the meeting was held to receive the reply of the citizens of London. It was in the *domus hospitium* that those from the realm and divers other regions were nightly lodged: it was in the 'guesten' or great hall where such meetings as that of the barons were held.

Of its position or dimensions we have no record whatever. It is only mentioned once in the grants, in that by the king to Rich in the year 1544. It is there called *le hall*. In the conjectural plan we have therefore placed it in the usual position on the west side against the west wall of the cloister and there it seems it must have been of necessity, as there is no other position available in which to place it, neither are there other buildings to place in that position. That is the position it occupied at Aldgate, and also at Norwich and elsewhere. The site is now in part a public footway leading from the Close to the Smithfield Gate: in part it is a carriage way (though not a thoroughfare) for the convenience of those occupying houses on the site of the west cloister, Nos. 68, 69, and 70 Bartholomew Close, and the 'Coach and Horses' public-house. As the 'Hall' is not mentioned in Rich's grant to Mary, nor in Elizabeth's to Rich, it was probably demolished at an early date so as to give access to these houses in the west cloister, or it may have been sold before Mary came to the throne.

On the west side of the guest-house facing Duck Lane (now Little Britain) was a row of houses which in 1544 was known as Church Row and at that time occupied by various tenants. Before the suppression they would probably have been occupied by tenants of the monastery, but they were not part of the guest-house because they were valued separately in the 'particulars for grant', whilst 'the hall' or guest-house was included in the valuation of all the monastic buildings under the head of the 'capital mansion house of the monastery'. In the thirteenth century it is probable that the prior's house was in this western range with the guest-house and that Bolton built a new prior's lodge partly to make room for the increasing number of guests and partly to gratify his own great building propensities. The fact of the cloister building being on the east side of the guest hall and dwelling-houses on the west would have necessitated the guest hall being raised, as usual, on an undercroft to obtain the necessary light, beyond the fact that the undercroft was required for the cellarer.

It was customary to have a parlour where the buildings of the western range abutted on to the church; the lower part of the jambs

¹ *Annales Paulini*, Rolls Ser., 16, p. 295.

and the threshold of a doorway were found in such a position, in the year 1904, when tunnelling under the public footway to trace the nave wall into Smithfield. This doorway is shown on the plan (p. 131); also a second doorway leading into the north walk of the cloister, as shown on Hardwick's plan (p. 136). There is a similar doorway from a parlour to the cloister at Westminster, Norwich, and Bridlington. At the south end of the guest-house there was another parlour, if we have rightly placed the one mentioned in Rich's grant to Mary when dealing with the frater.¹ The position of the frater kitchen as described was apparently such as to enable it to equally serve the guest-house and the frater.

The cellarer's quarters are not mentioned in any of the records, though the cellarer and the rents that he handled are referred to many times in the Bodleian Rental. His buildings were probably under the guest-house.

¹ See above, p. 153.

CHAPTER X

THE OUTER COURT

THE PRIOR'S LODGING

THE position of the prior's lodgings or house (*Camera prioris*) at St. Bartholomew's before the sixteenth century is, as already stated, unknown. The usual position was to the west of the cloister adjoining the church, as at Bridlington and St. Osyth's,¹ both Augustinian houses. We have suggested that they were originally in that position at St. Bartholomew's, though probably not until the nave was built in the thirteenth century; before then the prior probably slept in the dorter. In the sixteenth century, however, the prior's lodgings were rebuilt by Prior Bolton in a range of buildings adjoining the east end of the church and so forming, with the infirmary, the outer court of the monastery (pl. LXVIII, p. 131). Stow refers to the rebuilding when he says that Bolton 'repaired . . . the offices and lodging to the said priory belonging and near adjoining'.²

The lower part of the walls of this range of buildings was uncovered in 1912, when they were found to be of thin bricks with chalk and rubble foundations. They extended from the church, where Bolton's door still remains with his rebus in the spandrels, to the east end of Middlesex Passage. The excavations of 1912 also uncovered the foundations of walls running west nearly to the chapter-house; but whether these were an extension of the prior's house, or some other building is not known. A court was thus formed on the west side of which were the south transept, the slype and the chapter-house, and on the north the church with the sacristy and apsidal chapel. On the church side, as was seen when describing the triforium,³ Bolton built a gallery at the triforium level (possibly of wood as at the Leicester Hospital, Warwick), which extended west as far as the sacristy and, together with the triforium, was in connexion with, if it did not form part of, the prior's house. From the triforium he projected the window opening to the church, on which he also placed his rebus.⁴ From this window he and his household could see the celebration of mass without coming down to the church.

¹ M. E. C. Walcott, *Invent. St. Osyth's*.

² Above, p. 34.

³ J. Stow, *Survey*, p. 141.

⁴ Described above, p. 33.

We have no reference to this house in the records in monastic times. It remained standing, more or less altered, until it was destroyed by the fire of 1830. Rector Abbiss told J. H. Parker in 1863 that aged parishioners were able to testify to the remains of it.¹ However, by inference it is evident (as will be seen in the next chapter),² that the prior's lodging was connected with the infirmary by a way passing over Middlesex Passage at the point where the latter is still vaulted. Thereby the prior was enabled to pass through the infirmary, dormer, and guest-house, and back through the church to his own house without going out of doors (see plan, p. 77).

The exact survey of the house—made in the year 1616—shows that it was then in the occupation of Mr. Arthur Jarvais, and it is probable that the main rooms and arrangements were not very different then from what they had been in monastic times, because the time which elapsed between the suppression and their occupation by Rich was too short to allow of any extensive alterations. From this survey, detailed below, it is clear that in front of the prior's house was a large courtyard, probably extending to the eastern end of the present isolated block of houses in Little Bartholomew Close, called Fenton's Buildings. These buildings are traditionally known as the prior's stables,³ but they are not shown in Ogilby's map,⁴ and we can find no authority for the tradition. The forecourt was enclosed by a brick wall and either the court or the house (it is not quite clear which) had 'a handsome entrance or gate covered with tyle' (plan, p. 77).

The inner court may have been entered, as Ogilby's map seems to suggest, by a way through the undercroft of the prior's house, which would have been a direct way from the slype to the burying-ground of the canons, which apparently came up to the east wall of the house, as remains of three interments were found there in February 1914. On the ground floor towards the northern end there was the large hall (vaulted no doubt in the usual monastic manner), the prior's kitchen, a large scullery, pantry, and other offices. On the first floor was a large dining-room, with large windows, occupying the centre of the building. There was a buttery and servants' hall at the southern end, and sleeping-rooms at the northern end, together with access to the gallery, the prior's chapel, and the triforium of the church.

After the suppression Sir Richard Rich gave up his residence at the Austin Friars, as has been seen,⁵ and took up his abode at St. Bartholomew's, and there is no doubt that it was the prior's house that

¹ J. H. Parker, *Lecture* (1863), p. 5.

² J. H. Parker, *Lecture* (1863), p. 5. Also below, p. 178.

³ See below, p. 162.

⁴ Below, p. 173.

⁵ Vol. I, p. 263.

he occupied. For when on the 6th May after the suppression the king made the life-grant to Prior Fuller, he included 'all buildings which had belonged to the priory except "the chief messuage" of the priory then in the tenure of Sir Richard Rich'. The monastic buildings were called collectively—as has been seen—'The Capital Mansion House', and there is evidence to show that 'the chief messuage' was the prior's house. Thus, when the king made the grant to Rich in 1544, he enumerated all the other monastic buildings of the priory except the prior's house; presumably because Rich was already in possession. And because he was in occupation of the building as his town house, Rich did not include it in his grant to Queen Mary in 1555; and because he had not so granted it, it was not Queen Elizabeth's to regrant to Rich in the year 1560. Then again, when Rich came to an agreement with the Corporation of the City to allow the hospital to continue to enjoy the late priory's water supply from Canonbury, the watercourse is described as having 'served continually the house of the late priory . . . wherein the said Lord Ryche doth now lye and inhabit at his coming to London'; and mention is also made of the 'cesterne . . . situate in the kytchen of the said Lord Ryche'. Again, in the year 1616, in Lord Holland's Rental, the forecourt of Sir Percival Hart's house in the Lady Chapel is described as extending ¹ 'from the house of the said Lord Rich unto the side of the Cloth Faire', which can refer to no other house than the late prior's lodging. The rental describes Sir Percival Hart's 'small kitchen' as being 'on the west side of the courte taken out of the great kitchen, into which cometh by a pype of leade, conduit water the quantitie of so much as may passe therroughe a goose quill'. This describes what must have been the back kitchen, or scullery of the prior's great kitchen, taken out of the kitchen of Lord Rich wherein was the conduit water cistern referred to in the Corporation's agreement.

By whom the prior's house was occupied after the death of Rich in 1567 we have no record, but in 1612 his grandson, the third Baron Rich, granted an eighteen years' lease of it to Arthur Jarvis, Esquire, clerk of the pipe. The following particulars are given in Lord Henry Holland's Rental of 1616 ² (see plan, p. 77):

'Arthur Jarvis Esquire houldeth one parte of the Mansion house of the Lord Rich situate in the close of Great St. Bartholomew's nere West Smithfield by lease from the Right Honble. Lord Rich dated 16^o Junii a^o R^{is} Jacobi 10^o (1612) for tearme of 18 yeres from the feast of All Saints then last past yielding therefor yearly on the first of May and first of November by even porcions in toto LXX^{li}.'

¹ See above, p. 77.

² *Rent. and Surv.*, R.O. 11/39.

(The year 1612 is that in which Robert Lord Rich settled the property on his son Henry. It was the father, Robert, who granted this lease, since Henry, created Baron Kensington in 1622 and Earl of Holland in 1624, was never Lord Rich.¹)

Then follows 'The particular'—²

'One faire hall opening to the east into a faire square court or garden before the dore walled about wth. bricke and a handsome entrance or gate thereinto covered over with tyle, also one larder and kitchen on the north side of the hall.'

On the conjectural plan (p. 77) the hall is shown in the southern half of the building with windows and a door opening to the east into a square court; we have shown the northern end of the hall screened off and a porch before the door. Such a screened space or lobby at the entrance end was not an uncommon arrangement and a porch so placed would account for the lesser block of projecting foundations discovered in 1912. This porch may have been the handsome entrance covered with tile referred to, for the 'particular' can read that way; and Strype, in 1720, whilst referring to the courtyard 'inclosed within a wall'³ makes no mention of a handsome entrance thereto. The porch and lobby are placed on the plan where the passage through the building to the inner court is indicated by Ogilby, and where, until 1912, was the entrance to Cockerill's Buildings and Pope's Cottages.

The larder and kitchen are shown on the north side of the passage, and Sir Percival Hart's kitchen on the north again. Under these offices were brick vaults, one springer of which still remains.

'One other court inward on the north side whereof is one fair lodging room with another room also for lodging or other use within the same on the lowe floure.'

This inner court was the space west of the prior's lodging shown on the plan; the fair lodging room would have been the space between the sacristy and the south chapel, the floor of which in 1912 was found paved with large square red tiles some 2 ft. above the church floor level. The other room 'within the same' on the lower floor it is difficult to place elsewhere than in the south chapel, to which this description exactly applies. This south chapel, however, was used until the middle of the nineteenth century as a vestry room of the church, and if Rich alienated it from the church and it was subsequently recovered, the fact is not recorded in any Vestry Minute Book now extant (that is since 1662).

¹ See p. 293 below.

² N.B.—These descriptions can easily be followed if the reader will keep before him the plans from p. 77.

³ Strype, *Stow Survey*, Bk. III, 284.

‘And neare unto is one washhouse, one very faire large cellar with a large room over the same wherein the office of the Pype was lately kept.’¹

The wash-house may have been under the stair to the gallery (plan, p. 77). The large cellar with a large room over was in the sacristy, the floor of which—being at the church floor level—would have had to be raised but a few feet only above the level of the ground outside to form a good cellar; and a large room over it, approached by a few steps, would have made a good office for keeping the Pipe Rolls.

‘Out of the last mencioned room up a paire of stairs on the north side are two pretty chambers one within another for lodging or other use.’

The pair of stairs are shown on the plan, but the two pretty chambers cannot be shown because they were in a mezzanine. The cellar and rooms over, &c., have already been dealt with when describing the sacristy.² Though occupied by Jarvais, together with the prior’s house, the sacristy was not so occupied by the prior nor by Rich, because the latter granted the sacristy to Queen Mary.

‘In the south-west corner of the said inner court are two larders and a cellar for bear and a small convenient room for wood and coales.’

These offices, we assume, were on the floor of the chapter-house, which had become a cellar by a floor being formed above the dorter floor level.

The surveyor then commences to describe the first floor of Jarvais’ house thus :

‘Out of the hall first mencioned there is a fair staircase wynding up 24 stepes to the dyning room (under which is a comely neate counting house or studie) with large lights, and on the southend thereof a little room used for a butterie, one other little room for servants to dyne in.’

The stair, it is assumed, was on the larger block of projecting foundations found in 1912, and is so shown on the plan with the counting-house under the south part of the stair. It is probable that this staircase was enclosed by half timber work, for the thickness of the walls indicated by the foundations is insufficient for brick walls of any height. The other large block of foundations on the west side of the hall was probably that of a large fireplace in the hall (shown on the plan) and possibly repeated in the dining-room above.

¹ Jarvais was Clerk of the Pipe 1603–1624.

² See above, p. 59.

On the south side of the latter are shown the buttery and servants' dining-room.

'Thence descending a staire of some few steps is a convenient lodging chamber and above it two garretts to lodge servants.'

Hitherto the description has applied to the north of Middlesex Passage, beyond which the prior's house probably did not extend. The prior's house being built after the house of the farmerer on the south side of the passage, the floors were on a different level so the prior had to make a few steps down to connect the two buildings. This was necessary to enable the prior to make a perambulation of all the monastic buildings without going outside. Jarvais, however, and probably Rich also, added these three little rooms of the farmery to their own dwelling-house, leaving the rooms on the ground floor of the farmery, as will be seen, in possession of the tenant of that building (Sir Edward Barrett). The survey continues :

'Northwards from the dyning roome there is a faire lodging chamber, with another little chamber for servants and a faire closett and above them two chambers for servants.'

These are set out on the plan with the stairs leading up to the two chambers for servants in the attics.

'Between these lodgings and the east wall from the dyning room there is a reasonable large passage to a faire gallerie having at the end of this passage or entry a paire of back stairs into the kitchen and about the middle of them a roome for wood and coales.'

These also are shown on the plan with the back stairs to the kitchen, except the room for wood and coals which was between the floors and under the fair closet.

'At the west end of the gallery cometh up a paire of staires out of the inner courte at the head whereof is a faire closet a faire lodging chamber with a chimney beyond the same and beyond that a staire ascending to two chambers with chimneys.'

The stair from the inner court is shown on the plan in the same position as a stair is shown in Wilkinson's and other old plans, ascending to the Dissenters' Charity School. This stair was possibly like that at Leicester Hospital (referred to above),¹ which is in an exactly similar position and of about the same date. The fair closet is shown at the head of the stair, and the fair lodging with a chimney is shown westward of the gallery, also the stair ascending to the two chambers with chimneys which were in the roof above the sacristy.

¹ Above, p. 34.



LIONEL CRANFIELD, EARL OF MIDDLESEX (*ob.* 1645)
(see p. 165)

'From the foresaide gallery northward there are two chambers called chappells with large windows opening into the church over against the pulpit, one of which is used as a lodging room without a chimney but thother having a chimney for use if need require. All which is well worth per ann. £100 o. o.'

This was a higher value than any other house in the survey.

The gallery has already been explained in the description of the south triforium.¹ It occupied the same position and was of approximately the same dimensions as the first floor of Rector Abbiss' girls' school, demolished in 1912. It extended southward to the same depth as the south chapel, which it overhung. Of the two chapel chambers, one with the chimney comprised the two eastern bays of the south triforium, in one of which is Bolton's window, and was in the eighteenth century occupied by the Dissenting Charity School. The other chapel chamber occupied the two western bays in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and, until 1830, formed the gallery of the old meeting-house as shown below.

This description of Arthur Jarvais' house has here been given at length because of the light it throws on the arrangement of the prior's lodging, and of the same house, adapted after the suppression with but slight alteration, as the town house of the Lord Chancellor of England, where, as such, Rich resigned the great seal in 1551. The description bears a remarkable resemblance to that given by Bloxam of the prior's lodgings at Bridlington and at Wenlock.

Jarvais' lease expired on November 1st, 1630; his wife Anne was buried in the chancel of the church on the 30th December 1626.

He was succeeded immediately by Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex (pl. LXXVIII, p. 164), for there is an entry in the Parish Register on the 27th December 1631, that the earl's daughter Susanna was baptized in the church, and an entry in the churchwardens' accounts that on the 15th March 1631-1632 they 'recd. of the Lord of Middlesex in part of his license for Lent 6/8d.' After 1635 the house is called in the rate-books Middlesex House, and the fore-court and inner-court, Middlesex Court. The passage through the dorter² and the three dwelling-houses in the Lady Chapel were, from 1789 to 1880, all known as Middlesex Court,³ and in a recent deed Cockerill's Buildings were described by the same name.

That it was the prior's house that was occupied by the Earl of Middlesex is proved by Nightingale, who wrote in 1815:

'In Middlesex Court, entering from 61 Bartholomew Close, is a large old building known by the name of Middlesex House.'⁴

¹ See above, p. 34.

² V. M. Bk. iii, 448.

³ Parish Safe, *Deeds*, Nos. 39, 54.

⁴ B. and B., *Beaut. E. and W.*, x, pt. 3, 434.

Lionel Cranfield was born in 1573, and was created Earl of Middlesex in 1622. He was committed to the Tower for corrupt practices in 1624 but released the next year. Letters from him are preserved dated from St. Bartholomew's in 1634 and 1639, and letters addressed to him at his house in Great St. Bartholomew's in 1636 and 1640. He died in 1645 and we may assume that he continued to dwell here until that date. The property was in his wife's name, for, in a survey¹ of the liberty of St. Bartholomew's in 1642, there is an entry 'the countess of Middlesex her house . . . the old house £83/6/8d.' In the year of his death there is an entry in the churchwardens' accounts 'received of the countess of Middlesex for the poor 13/-'. She died in 1647. They were both buried at Westminster Abbey in St. Benedict's chapel, where they are commemorated by a large table tomb.

The earl was twice married. By his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Shepherd, he had two daughters; one of whom married Sir Henry Carey,² who succeeded his father as the second Earl of Monmouth and lived apparently in the monastic infirmary of St. Bartholomew's. By his second wife Anne, daughter of James Brett, he had three sons and two daughters. The eldest, James, succeeded to the title and was married at the parish church in 1646³ to Lady Anne Bouchier, daughter and co-heiress of Edward, Earl of Bath. He died childless, so he was succeeded in 1651 by his brother Lionel, who was the third and last earl, and married Rachel, the daughter of Francis, Earl of Westmorland, and widow of Henry, Earl of Bath. Francis, Earl of Westmorland, who died in 1628, had lived in the parish and is commemorated there by the name of the houses known as Westmoreland Buildings.⁴

The third Earl of Middlesex continued to live in the parish. Among the House of Lords MSS.⁵ of the year 1675 there is 'a copy certificate (but with no date) to the Lord Mayor from the Constables and Churchwardens of St. Bartholomew the Great, of clergy or laity who made any stay within this parish after the time limited by His Majesty's proclamation'. The names given are 'Lionel, Earl of Middlesex, Edward Lord Herbert, Sir Christopher Nevill, Lady Mary Woolton, and two others'. The earl died 26th October 1674, and he also was buried in Westminster Abbey.⁶

We find by the rate-books that the house, though subdivided into several dwelling-houses (as Strype tells us),⁷ continued to be inhabited

¹ *Rentals and Surveys*, R.O., 1/23.

² *Parish Reg.* i, 112.

³ *Hist. MSS. Com.*, vii, 256.

⁷ Strype, *Stow Survey*, Bk. III, 284 b.

² See later, p. 269.

⁴ See later, p. 211.

⁶ *The Complete Peerage*.

by Cranfields and there are numerous entries in the parish registers concerning them.¹ There are also entries of Campfield, Camfield, Canfield, and Carnfield, but we shall be justified in assuming that they are of one and the same family, because in 1682 Jacob Canfield appears in the rate-books as occupying the north part of Middlesex House, and in 1693 his name is spelt Carnfield and in 1698 Camfield. Then, in the southern end of the same house, made no doubt into a separate dwelling, we have Francis Camphield (assessed at 9 Hearths in 1674),² and paying rates in 1682, who becomes Canfield in 1687, Carnfield in 1693, and Camfield in 1698 and 1705. In 1709 and 1710 'Widow Camfield' occurs, and then the name appears no more. The successor in the house was Elizabeth Bristow, but there are no records concerning her.

THE MEETING-HOUSE.

We have shown thus fully how the old prior's house was occupied in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; we must now show the position of the nonconformists' meeting-house, which was in the rear portion of Middlesex House (see plan, p. 77).

In Cromwell's time Westminster Abbey was at first in the possession of the Presbyterians. In the year 1654 they were succeeded by the Independents, when John Rowe was the preacher. At the Restoration in 1660 the Independents had to leave the Abbey, and Calamy says³ that after that Rowe preached often to his congregation in Bartholomew Close. Wilson, writing about this Bartholomew Close meeting-house in 1810, says: ⁴

'This meeting-house, which is still standing, is situated in Middlesex Court, and was part of a large old building called Middlesex House. In its present appearance it wears the evident marks of great antiquity.

He thinks it probable that before this, during the Commonwealth, it had been 'occupied by one of the numerous sects that abounded in that period'. He continues:

- ¹ William Cranfield, married 1650.
Sarah Cranfield, baptized 1663, buried 1667.
Thomas and Mary Cranfield, buried 1665.
Richard Campfield, baptized 1638, buried 1639.
Ann Camfield, baptized 1662.
Sarah Camfield, baptized 1663.
Patience Canfield, baptized 1661.
Philadelphia Canfield, buried 1664.

² *Hearth Tax*, Lay Sub. R. 252/23, 26 Car. II.

³ Calamy, *Non-Con. Memorials*, 1802, i, 18c.

⁴ Wilson, *Diss. Chs.* iii, 369.

'During the persecuting reign of Charles II, on account of the obscurity of its situation, it was admirably adapted for purposes of concealment. In several parts of the building there is every appearance of private doors, supposed to have been made to facilitate the escape of the worshippers.'¹

'In former times there was a window which opened from the meeting-house into the adjoining church. It was situated directly opposite to the pulpit, in the latter building; so that a person in the gallery of the meeting-house could clearly discern the congregation in the church and watch the different parts of divine worship.'² . . . Underneath (the meeting-house) appear several vestiges of an antique chapel,³ though now used for no higher purpose than a cellar.'

'The meeting-house is a small inconvenient building and is accessible by a flight of several steps. There are three galleries of tolerable depth, and the roof is supported by large beams, after the old manner. The whole building appears in rather a ruinous condition, and evidently wears the marks of a venerable antiquity.'

It is evident that that part of the prior's house which ran south from Bolton's door in the church is not here indicated because the rate-books show that portion to have been occupied by the Cranfields. Arthur Jarvais, however, as shown, in addition to occupying the prior's house, had—as part of his premises—the dismantled sacristy, and we assume that the Earl of Middlesex had the same and that it was the sacristy with part of the south triforium which was referred to in Wilson's description. It was certainly admirably adapted for purposes of concealment, being in the secluded inner court of what had been the prior's house. The private doors, to which Wilson refers, were probably those which at one time had connected with the other parts of Jarvais' house. Hardwick's plan shows three doors on the ground floor in addition to the one into the south aisle of the church and the large entrance in the west wall to the south transept.

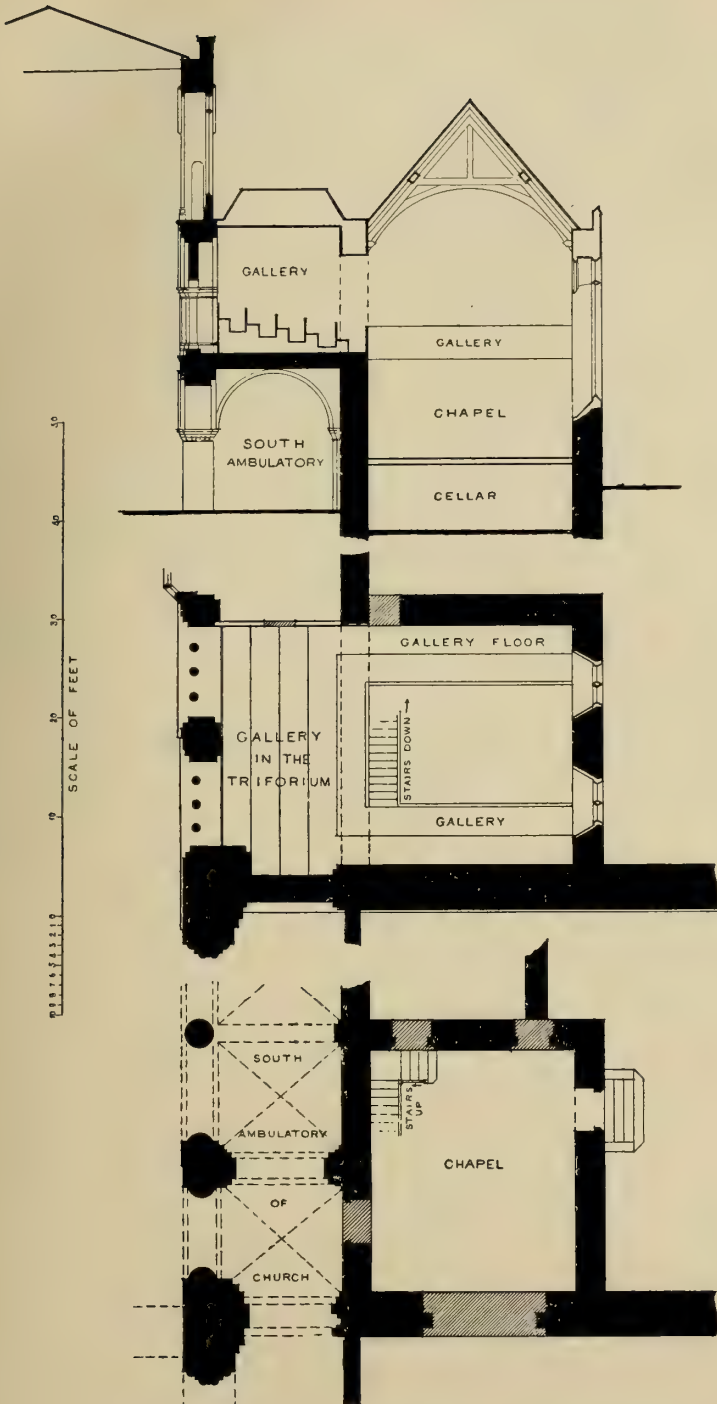
There were many other dissenting places of worship similarly placed in the city during the reign of Charles II; such as the Meeting-house Yard in Silver Street, Sempringham House in Cow Lane, and Salisbury Court in Fleet Street.

It has already been explained that the sacristy and western end of the south triforium of the quire were probably adapted to form part of Jarvais' house, and we now show by a plan (pl. LXXIX) and section how they may have been subsequently altered to form the meeting-house as described by Wilson. In the section, the triforium is drawn to correspond exactly with that on the other side of the quire, as it probably did before the fire of 1830, and the roof is shown over

¹ Wilson, *Diss. Chs.* iii, 370.

² *Ib.*, p. 371.

³ See also above, p. 60.



MEETING HOUSE IN TRIFORIUM AND SACRISTY
(see p. 168)

the sacristy with a high ridge running east and west as indicated by the remains shown in Knight's view taken after that fire. It was probably this roof that Wilson described as 'supported by large beams, after the old manner'.

It has been assumed that the wall between the two western bays of the triforium was wholly or in part removed to provide an opening into the sacristy building.

The cellar referred to by Wilson was doubtless the 'very faire large cellar' described in Lord Holland's rental of Jarvais' house. The floor of the meeting-house was the floor of the 'large room' over the cellar described in the rental; and the two western bays of the triforium, which, as has been seen, were probably one of the chapel chambers in Jarvais' house, formed the gallery described by Wilson as having had a window which opened into the church immediately opposite the pulpit.

The other two galleries mentioned by Wilson were probably on the east and west sides of the sacristy (or by three galleries it is possible that he may have intended to describe stepped seats at three levels in the triforium).

The floor of the meeting-house being over a cellar accounts for its having been 'approached by a flight of several steps', and it is possible that the 'pair of stairs on the north side' which were mentioned in Lord Holland's rental were retained as a way to the galleries. The window or windows from the triforium into the church had probably been closed up in 1772, for at that date the corresponding windows in the adjoining Dissenting School were closed by arrangement, and skylights opened out in place of them.¹

We have no record as to who was the Independent Minister here after John Rowe, nor of the application for a licence for the building as a place of public worship, nor for the minister as a teacher for the congregation (under 'the declaration of indulgences' of 6th March 1672). But in 1681 the Rev. John Quick, the ejected minister of Brixton, the famous author of *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, took the meeting-house and remained here until his death in 1706. He was succeeded by Thomas Freke, who in turn remained here until his death in 1716.

The meeting-house first appears in the rate-books in the year 1705; from then, until 1711, it was referred to as 'Quick's meeting-house'; in 1716 it is called 'Freak's meeting-house'. (It seems to have been customary at this time to name the chapels after the names of the preachers in the absence of a more suitable dedication!) The

¹ See later, p. 353.

last of the Presbyterian divines here was Dr. Caleb Fleming, who so greatly reduced the congregation that when, in 1753, he succeeded Dr. Foster at Pinner's Hall, it dissolved. Wilson says the congregation was never large 'nor indeed would the size of the meeting-house admit of it'.

After this there is a blank of about ten years until December 26th, 1763, when, says Wilson,¹ John Wesley² took the meeting for the Methodists in the room of 'the Bull and Mouth'; but inasmuch as Wesley himself says in his journal³ under that date, as has been seen,⁴ that he 'began preaching in a large commodious place in Bartholomew Close', and as no mention is made of 'the Bull and Mouth', which was not in Bartholomew Close, and as he cannot have meant the 'small inconvenient' old meeting-house, we are inclined to think from subsequent events that the commodious place was, as already stated, the chapter-house.⁵

John Wesley was succeeded by James Relly,⁶ who founded a religious sect known as Rellyanists (Wesley had termed him an Antinomian). In 1766 he refused to pay parish rates, claiming exemption under the Act of Toleration,⁷ but Counsel's opinion was against him and, on the expiration of the lease in 1769, he removed to Crosley Square.

In 1769 a Mr. Best, and in 1770 a Mr. Wilfrid Bell (neither of whom is mentioned by Wilson), and from 1771 to 1784 a Mr. John Towers were all rated for the meeting-house. Towers was an Independent who, Wilson says, was ordained at the meeting-house in 1769,⁸ and, 'that he might not be burthensome to his friends, he opened a day-school in the vestry room of his meeting'. This must be the Dissenting school next to the gallery of the meeting-house in the triforium of the church, for the year Towers was rated—1771—coincides with the date when the patron of the church granted a lease to the trustees of a dissenting school in the triforium; though, as was seen when dealing with the south triforium,⁹ it had been used for a school since the year 1748. Towers removed, in 1784, to the Barbican.

We have no record for the years 1785 and 1786 in the rate-books, but Wilson says¹⁰ Towers' place was occupied for a short time by John Cartwright, and that he 'was followed by Thomas Cannon who

¹ Wilson, *Diss. Chs.* iii, 385.

² In 1739 and 1747 had preached in the church.

³ Wesley, *Journal*, iii, 152.

⁴ The 'Bull and Mouth', originally a Quaker meeting-house, was west of St. Martin's le Grand and at this time occupied by the Sandemonian Society. Wilson, iii, 365.

⁵ See above, p. 148.

⁶ Wilson, *Diss. Chs.* i, 360.

⁷ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 397.

⁸ Wilson, *Diss. Chs.* iii, 224.

⁹ Above, p. 35.

¹⁰ Wilson, *Diss. Chs.* iii, 386.

preached here several years' and left in 1788, and later carried on the employment of a schoolmaster. In the rate-books T. Cannon was rated at £4 for the meeting-house, but against the entry is written 'on a school': the Dissenting school was separately rated, as heretofore, at £13; so it would appear that Cannon's proclivities were more in favour of schooling than preaching, and that he used the meeting-house as a school.

In the year 1790 the premises are reported as empty, after which the meeting-house no longer appears on the rate-books. But Wilson says Cannon was succeeded for a few years by William Holland, and Holland for several years by Thomas Davies, and Davies in the year 1798 by William Braithwaite, who, says Malcolm,¹ writing in 1803 (the year Braithwaite left), 'preached in a place called Bartholomew Chapel, set against the east end of the priory, not far from the quire; a ragged old building, not worth a description; approached through an alley on the right hand of which is the entrance to the Protestant Dissenting Charity School'.

Braithwaite was succeeded by Madden, who preached apparently in the old meeting-house 'for about a twelve month' when, says Wilson,² 'he removed to a large room which is fitted up as a chapel with an organ and prayer reader, and other requisites'. This large room was undoubtedly the ancient chapter-house as shown in Wilkinson's plan published in 1821.³ Madden was followed by Joseph More, and More in 1806 by John Latchford, who was ordained on January 30th of that year. He was still there when Nightingale wrote in 1815.⁴

In 1830 the meeting-house came to an end, being entirely consumed by the fire of that year, and with it the prior's house, Bolton's gallery, and the Bartholomew Chapel in the chapter-house.⁵ But, thank God, the church was saved.

The site of the prior's house is now occupied by the large six-storied warehouse erected by Messrs. Israel & Oppenheimer in 1912.

THE INFIRMARY.

The Infirmary (*infirmaria*) commonly spoken of as 'the farmery' of a monastery, was one of the extra-claustral buildings in the outer court. Its position varied very considerably. Its use was for such of the brethren as had become old or infirm, and for those who had undergone the periodical bleeding (which with Augustinian canons

¹ Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* i, 289.

² Wilson, *Diss. Chs.* iii, 387.

³ Wilkinson's plan, p. 97.

⁴ *Beauties E. and W.* x, pt. 3, p. 437.

⁵ See above, pp. 36, 53, 60, and below, p. 377.

was every seven weeks); the latter stayed in the farmery by day but returned to the dormer to sleep.

The more usual position of the infirmary was east of the dormer, where we have placed it on the plan at the time of the suppression (p. 131); it was approached by a passage leading usually from an extension of the east walk of the cloister through the dormer undercroft, as at Westminster and elsewhere. The infirmary consisted of a hall, a chapel, and a kitchen. The simplest form was an oblong aisleless hall similar in plan to a modern hospital pavilion, with a chapel projecting eastward from the end or side according to the position of the hall. If the hall was too wide for a single span it was furnished with aisles and a stone arcade like a church, as at Canterbury, Ely, Gloucester, and Peterborough; or else with wooden posts, as at St. Mary's Hospital, Chichester.

We have only come across four references to the infirmary of St. Bartholomew's in the records, viz. in the year 1250 when, as we are told by Matthew Paris, the subprior 'was carried groaning to the infirmary' after the attack on him by Archbishop Boniface;¹ in 1382 when the episcopal register² states that the announcement of the election of William Gedeney as prior was made to him *in quâdam capellâ dictâ capellâ infirmarie dicti prioratus*; in 1433 when Bishop Fitzhugh ordained³ 'that the rent of the infirmary to wit 44/- be paid each year and expended upon the infirm and ailing canons' (what this rent of the infirmary means is not clear unless a portion of the infirmary building or of the farmer's house was let for economy's sake); and, in 1532, on the occasion of the election of Prior Fuller, when it is stated that 'the sacristan being ill and therefore unable to vote he appointed a procurator in the infirmary situated within the precincts of the priory'.⁴ The infirmary is first among the monastic buildings mentioned in the king's grant to Rich,⁵ but it is not mentioned in Rich's grant to Queen Mary nor in Queen Elizabeth's to Rich; from which we should infer that it had already been converted into a dwelling-house.

The evidence for placing the infirmary where we have on the plan (p. 131) on the east side of the dormer is: first, the existence of a passage (now known as Middlesex Passage) which formerly passed through the undercroft of the dormer, a not unusual position for an approach to an infirmary; secondly, the discovery in 1910 of a wall (shown on the plan) on the north side of the house No. 54 Bartholomew Close;

¹ See Vol. I, p. 123.

² See Vol. I, p. 205, and App. I, p. 493.

³ See Vol. I, p. 268.

⁴ *Reg. Lond.*, Braybrook, 264.

⁵ *Reg. Lond.*, Stokesley, 65.

and thirdly, the discovery on the north side of this wall of other foundations suggestive of an infirmary kitchen (also shown on the plan).

Archer, writing of the house No. 54 in 1851, says :

‘ The house of Mr. Vanderplank close by ’ (he lived at No. 54) ‘ was the monastery kitchen from which a subterranean passage communicated with the church, persons having passed through it to the knowledge of the proprietor.¹ In this house the remains of late pointed arches are visible in walls of great thickness. It likewise contains two fine panelled rooms, one of which has a vaulted roof and a carved mantelpiece.’

Knight, writing in 1842,² also refers to these two ‘ beautifully wainscotted large rooms ’, but speaks of the room with a vaulted ceiling as the upper one. The wall discovered in 1910 now exists up to the ground level only. It stands a few feet from the north side of the present house (No. 54) and nearly in a direct line with the north side of Middlesex Passage. At its eastern end it returns at a right angle and carries part of the east wall of the present house. It is 2 ft. 9 in. thick, is built of rubble and chalk, has no set off, and shows no sign of ever having been rebuilt. The ground westward of this wall was excavated many years ago, and if any foundations were discovered they were not recorded.

We conclude that this wall was the north wall of the infirmary chapel, that it had windows, described by Archer as ‘ late pointed arches ’ and that the wainscoted rooms had been inserted in the chapel, which was a lofty vaulted building such as still remains, though in ruins, at Haughmond Abbey, Shropshire. We consider that the infirmary hall extended westward in line with the chapel to the south-west end of the dormer, as shown on the plan.

The foundations discovered on the north side of the wall of No. 54 also consisted of rubble and chalk, but the presence of some sixteenth-century bricks, fragments of an arch rib, and portions of a stone mortar (now preserved in the south triforium of the church) point to a rebuilding by Prior Bolton (see plan, p. 77).

We conclude that this was the site of the house of the master of the farmery (*infirmary*) and of the farmery kitchen. If this conclusion is correct then the prior's house would have been in direct communication with the farmery by means of the way over Middlesex Passage already referred to, where that passage is vaulted. Micklethwaite's plan of Westminster Abbey³ shows the remains of such a building on the north side of the infirmary chapel (St. Katherine's),

¹ As Archer had not been in it himself this statement is of no importance.

² Knight, *London*, ii, 54.

³ *Archaeolog. Journal*, xxxiii, 15 (1876).

which may also have been the farmery kitchen. This position of the farmery does not clash with Ogilby's map of 1677 (pl. LXXX *a*), though no part of the building is shown there; on the other hand, neither is Middlesex Passage shown, which was there long before Ogilby made his map. He shows two garden plots which may have been the vegetable garden of the farmery. Wilkinson's plan marks this kitchen site as that 'of offices belonging to the monastery', westward of it, the angle formed by the turn of Middlesex Passage, he marks as the site of the mulberry gardens, and midway between the two, on the southern side, is shown the woodhouse. All these would thus have been within the farmery court, which, Malcolm states in 1803, was entered by 'a gateway which was standing within the memory of man leading to the wood-yard, kitchens, &c.'

After the suppression *le Fermery* is mentioned, as stated above, in Henry VIII's grant to Rich, but it is not mentioned in Rich's grant to Mary nor in Elizabeth's regrant to Rich, and there is no direct record as to how these buildings were occupied; but in the rental made for Sir Henry Rich there are two houses described that cannot be located elsewhere than in the infirmary: one is a house occupied by Sir Henry Cary for which he paid a rent of £7, but the house at the time of the rental was valued at £40; the other was another of the houses held by Lady Scudamore, but occupied by Sir Edward Barrett, who paid a rent of £10 a year, but the house was valued at £31 a year.

As both these buildings are described as 'tenements part of the mansion house of Lord Rich' they were certainly part of the monastic buildings. Sir Henry Cary's house was valued at the same figure as Sir Percival Hart's in the Lady Chapel, and we consider that it was the infirmary. Sir Edward Barrett's house adjoined that of Arthur Jarvais and also that of Sir Henry Cary, and we consider that it was the house of the master of the farmery and the kitchen of the infirmary.¹ Sir Edward Barrett's house is thus described: (plan p. 77)

'Lady Scudamore, widowe, holdeth one tenemt. of the mansion house of the said Lord Riche in the occupacon of Sir Edward Barrett Knight by lease to hould for 2 lives rent per ann. li x.'

'The perticuler. One tenement wth. an entrance thereinto through the Dorter or vault under part of the Lo. Abergavenie's house' (i.e. through Middlesex Passage) 'having one little greene courte before the dore impaled with boordes, one little hall, one kitchen, a larder and scullery beyond the same, one dyning roome over the hall and one lodging and pallet chamber on the southside thereof over the kitchen. Upon the second flour over the dyning roome and lodgings before menconed are four small lodgings for

¹ Mr. F. H. Greenaway pointed out this.

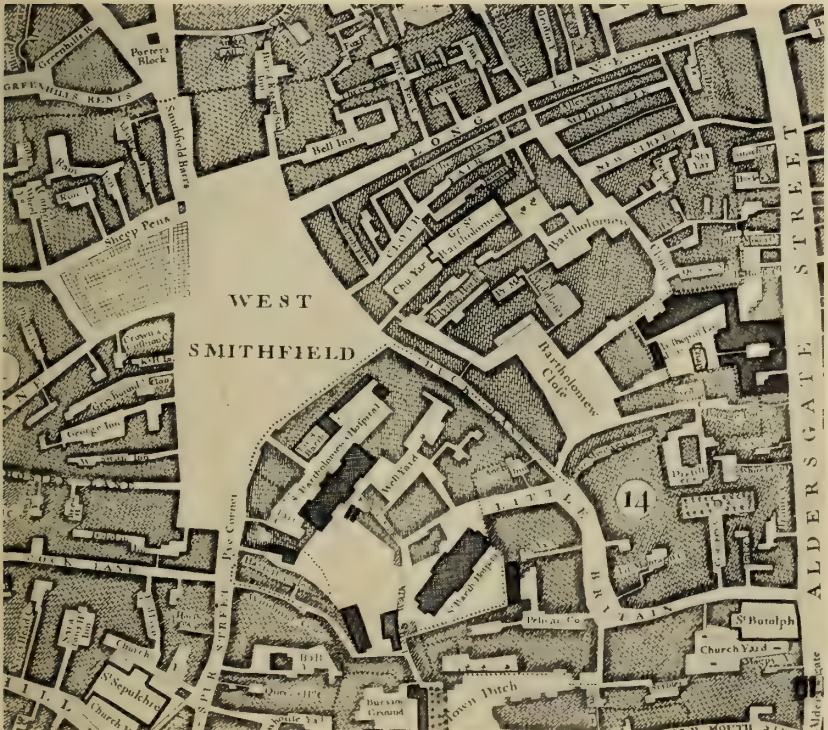
a



OGILBY'S MAP, 1677

b

(see pp. 174, 340 ; and vol. i, p. 1)



ROCQUE'S MAP, 1746

(see pp. 137, 216, 340 ; and vol. i, p. 1)

servants. On the north side of the hall below there is a faire cellar and buttery under part of Mr. Jarvais his buildings. On the south side (of) the entrance thorough the vault there is a room belonging to this tenement half the bredth of the vault and equal to the two roomes in the tenure of Woodham the currier. All which is worth per ann. £31.¹ Margaret Sherwood is the tennant' (apparently of the room in the undercroft).

As the house described had a cellar and buttery under part of the late prior's house, and as the hall was to the south of the cellar and buttery, and, by inference, the kitchen, larder, and scullery were to the south of the hall, this building must have run north and south and have connected with the south end of Jarvais' house, that is at Middlesex Passage where it is vaulted. It is over this vault that we assumed, in describing Jarvais' house, that the stairs to the garrets and the steps down to a room beyond called 'a convenient lodging chamber' came. It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the ground floor under this room was the space occupied by the 'faire cellar and buttery under part of Mr. Jarvais his buildings', described as part of Barrett's house. If such were the case the rest of Barrett's house would have extended southwards covering the foundations of the infirmary kitchen, which foundations themselves when discovered had low brick vaults superimposed upon them, pointing to a subsequent building above. The south wall of Barrett's house (the base of which still exists) would have abutted against the wall which we assume to have been that of the infirmary chapel. The building of the farmerer's house, not being so lofty as that of the prior's house, would explain the steps down to the 'convenient lodging chamber' mentioned in the particulars of Jarvais' house.

The hall here described as 'little' would have been so only in comparison with the halls in Jarvais' and Sir Percival Hart's houses. The 'little greene courte impaled with boordes' would have been part of the garden ground west of the house and previously the kitchen garden of the farmery.

Sir Henry Cary's house is thus described in the rental :

'Sir Henry Cary Knight houldeth one tenement part of the said mansion house by virtue of a lease granted to Nicholas Saint Cleere bearing date 20th November 1602 for 20 years from Michael then past, yielding therefor per ann. li. vii.'

'The perticuler. One tenement within one small triangular court between the last menconed tenement and the Lo. Abergavenie's joyning to both of them, contayning one hall, one kitchen, one laundry room, a lodging parler, a room for trunckes, one pantry,

¹ Sir Edward Barrett was assessed in the Lay Subsidy Rolls of 1623 at £50 (20 James I, 147/505).

one buttery, all on the ground floor. At the stairehead is a narrow entry leading to a faire dyning roome out of which entry openeth a dore into a lodging chamber with a pallet chamber within the same. At the other side of the stairehead westward there is one reasonable faire chamber and two lesser chambers with a room for billets and coals. In the storey above them is one for servants, the other for persons of better qualitie and a studdy. All which is worth per ann. *li.* 40 *o.* *o.*'

If the position assigned to Sir Edward Barrett's house is correct, then Cary's house must have extended from Barrett's house to Lord Abergavenny's in the position we have assigned to the infirmary (plan, p. 77) in order to comply with the 'particuler'.

The fact of there having been ground, first and second floors shows that, if this was a house converted from the infirmary building, that building was, as already pointed out, a lofty one with a roof probably higher than that of the Lady Chapel.

The 'lodging parler' on the ground floor mentioned in the 'particular' would, if our assumption is correct, have been in the lower part of the infirmary chapel, and the 'faire dyning roome', in the upper part of the chapel, would have been the vaulted room mentioned by Archer. The attics did not extend over the vault of the chapel.

The 'small triangular court' referred to in the 'particuler' may have been that at the north-western end of the infirmary, as shown on the plan, which now forms part of the warehouse 60 Bartholomew Close.

THE GARNER OR GRANARY.

The only record we have of the granary (*granarium*) of the monastery is in the 'particulars for grant' made by the Augmentation Office in 1544 before the sale to Rich.¹ It is there referred to (translated) as 'a certain granary building (*domus granaria*) called a garner situate within the great green of the market'. 'The great green of the market' was the eastern part of the Fair ground which extended along the entire length of the northern boundary of the monastery in Long Lane. It is well shown in Agas' map (pl. LVI *b*, p. 110), where is also shown in the north-east corner of the green a building which there can be but little doubt represents the garner. It is a barn-shaped building running north and south with gable ends. It has a door in its southern end and is covered with a ridge roof. It was not included in Rich's grant to Mary nor in Elizabeth's to Rich.

¹ *Aug. Off. Partic. for Grants*, R.O., No. 927.

THE BREW-HOUSE.

The brew-house (*bracinum*) is not mentioned in the records with the other monastic buildings or offices, but Henry VIII granted a lease, in the year 1543, of a brewery in Long Lane called 'the Cöck', which was at that time, as mentioned in the lease, within the parish and had been part of the possessions of the monastery. The terms of the lease were as follows : ¹

'This indenture made between the most excellent prince and lord Lord Henry the eighth by the Grace of God (&c.) of the one part and Richard Watts of the other part witnesseth that the said Lord the king by advice of the Council of the Court of Augmentations of the revenues of his crown has delivered granted and to farm demised to the aforesaid Richard Watts one tenement with its appurtenances called the Cock situated at the northern end of the lane called Long Lane in the parish of St. Bartholomew without Aldrishgate London and all those four tenements adjoining the same tenement and all the utensils of our lord the king being within the aforesaid tenement, to wit, one vessel of lead called a brewing vessel in which six quarters of malt can be baked, another vessel called a mash tun, two old vessels called the yielding tuns and twenty old vessels called the kemnels, one horse mill with two mill stones and one wheel called a cog wheel and one hopper together with other things necessary in respect of the said mill which premises now are or lately were in the tenure and occupation of James Paynter, brewer, and are parcels of the possessions of the late monastery of Saint Bartholomew London, to have and to hold (&c.) . . . Dated at Westminster the tenth day of April in the 34th year of the reign of the said lord the King' (1543).

Although this brew-house was in the parish of St. Bartholomew it is not mentioned in the grant to Rich. This would be because it was leased direct by the king before the particulars for sale to Rich were drawn up, and because there was no rent reserved for Rich to purchase, as was the case in the house and garden in the close granted by the king to Sir John Williams and Sir Edward North in 1543. Long Lane has no north end, but we learn from the agreement with the corporation ² that 'the Cock', belonging to the priory, stood at the corner of Long Lane and Aldersgate Street where the Manchester Hotel now stands.

It is a fair inference that the brew-house here described was the monastic brew-house which the prior and convent had let to James Paynter, the brewer, who probably brewed the beer for the convent and sold it to them, which is what was apparently being done in 1445 when there was the dispute about the heavy bill for beer already referred to. ³

¹ *Aug. Off. Misc. Bks.* 215, f. 81 b.

² See Vol. I, p. 305.

Ib., p. 215.

THE BAKE-HOUSE.

The bake-house (*pistrina*) usually adjoined the brew-house. It may have been one or more of the four tenements referred to by the king as adjoining the Cock brew-house. It is not referred to in any way in the records.

Agas's map (p. 110) shows in outline a long building at the north-east end of Long Lane, east of the garner, which may represent the brew-house and bake-house, though it was not within the parish bounds described by the king in 1544, nor is it now in the parish.

THE WOODHOUSE.

The woodhouse was in the garden of the farmery, where the site of it is shown in Wilkinson's plan (p. 111); otherwise it does not occur in the records.

THE STABLES.

There were two sets of stables; one for the prior required for his riding horses, and one for the convent probably for the horses employed in carting provisions and such-like uses for the monastery. The former are thus referred to in the 'particulars for grant'¹—'a certain stable called "le Priours Stable" situate within the precinct of the said close'. The exact position is not known but, as already stated,² tradition places them where Fenton's Buildings now stand, in what was the fore-court of the prior's house. The other stables were between the entrance to Cloth Fair and the corner of Long Lane: they are thus referred to in the king's grant to Rich³ in the year 1544 (plan, p. 131):

'We grant unto the aforesaid Richard Riche Knight all those our five messuages and tenements and two stables with all their appurtenances now or late in the separate tenures of John Chese-weeke (this was the launder), Joan Davy widow, Thomas Hyley, Mathew White, Robert Chidsey⁴ Esquire and Richard Silvester together situate and being in West Smythfeild aforesaid in a place "le Range" between the lane called Longlane on the north side and the western gates of the markets of Saint Bartholomew on the south side and abutting on the fair of Smythfeld towards the west and on vacant land of the fair of St. Bartholomew within the said close towards the east, which messuages tenements and stables belonged and appertained to the said late monastery or priory of St. Bartholomew and were parcel of the possessions thereof.'

The stables were entered from within the monastery, not on the Smithfield front, which latter in the Bounds of the Close⁵ is described

¹ *Aug. Off. Partics. for Grants*, No. 927.

² Above, p. 160.

³ *Orig., R.* (36 Hen. VIII), p. 4. *Rots.*, 147, 148 (1544).

⁴ *Alias* Chideley.

⁵ *Aug. Off. Partics. for Grants*, No. 927.

merely as 'outer sides and walls of houses and tenements' and thus took the place of the monastic wall.

Cheseweeke or Cheswyke occupied the house next to le Cheyne (i.e. the corner one at the entrance to Cloth Fair), Robert Chideley held one of the stables at 13s. 4d., and John Bodeley, 'smyth,' held one at 5s. and William Bodeley, 'smyth,' had two at 60s.¹ John Cheswyke was granted a 21 years' lease of his house by the king in the year 1542.² It is therein described as a 'tenement near the "Cheyn" in Smythfeld, in St. Sepulchre's parish,³ late owner St. Bartholomew's'. And in 1545⁴ the 'stable in tenure of William Bodeley, farrier, in St. Sepulchre's parish, on the south side of the western end of Longlane, towards West Smythfelde', was sold by the king, with other monastic property, to William Beryff of Colchester, cloth worker, and John Mutton.

It is noteworthy that these few houses, which for some unknown reason were in St. Sepulchre's parish (as shown later on),⁵ were not included in the grant to Rich but sold separately elsewhere.

THE LAUNDRY.

We have only met with one record of the laundry of the monastery. It occurs in 1539, the same year as the suppression, when Prior Fuller, probably to secure a permanent pension for the holders of the post, appointed by a long formal charter,⁶ John Cheswyke of London, yeoman, and Alice his wife to the office of launder or washer of all the linen clothes of the church and convent during their lives. They were to be responsible for any clothes lost or stolen and to receive £10 a year with a house, rent and repairs free, also a gallon of ale and one 'caste' of bread every Friday; they on their side giving a bond of £20. On the 20th October 1541, John went to the Court of Augmentations with the deed which was allowed to be *bona fide*, and it was decreed that the man and his wife be allowed in full recompense 40s. a year and all arrears of 40s. from the time of the dissolution of the monastery.

John Cheswycke, as shown, occupied the house in Cloth Fair next to the west gate: apparently his laundry was there also and the

¹ *Rentals and Surveys*, R.O., portfolio 27, No. 18 (30 Hen. VIII), described as in St. Sepulchre's parish.

² *Cal. State Pap.* xvii, p. 694. *Aug. Bks. Leases*, 33 Hen. VIII (1541-2).

³ See below, p. 202.

⁴ *Cal. State Pap.*, ib. xx, pt. i, No. 1335 (18), *Grants* in July 1545.

⁵ Later, p. 202.

⁶ *Aug. Off. Misc. Bk.*, No. 93, f. 184 d. 'Sealed by prior and convent and J. Chesewick, Feb. 28, 1539.

western end of the fair ground was used as a laundry green (other than at fair time). In Sir Henry Rich's rental of 1616 a square court of eleven houses and a number of tenements in the occupation of 'Thomas Rogers, Builder' are described as being in a place called 'Launders Green'. The former can be identified as having been in the space between the Sun Court and New Court, which space, in the poor rate book for 1636, was called Launders Green Square, and the latter occupied the land between New Court and Barley Mow Passage, which in the Trustees' Minute Book of July 12th, 1769, was called 'Launders Green or Barley Mow Passage'. Launders Green must not be confused with Lady's Green, which is described later on.¹ Both greens are referred to in a book of accounts of the profits of the fair made in 1629.²

¹ See p. 239.

² See later, p. 311.

CHAPTER XI

THE MONASTIC CLOSE; FAIR GROUND; GARDENS; GRAVEYARDS AND WATER SUPPLY (see plan, p. 131)

THE MONASTIC CLOSE

THE close of a monastery was the land enclosed by the monastic walls, but outside the range of the monastic buildings. At St. Bartholomew's there was, in addition to the close, a market or fair ground belonging to the monastery, also enclosed by the monastic walls. This fair ground was always held as distinct and apart from the close. Before the suppression it was the close only that the king declared had always been accepted as a distinct parish,¹ and, although after the suppression the fair became part of the parish, it formed a separate precinct from that of the close and retained the separate entrance from Smithfield.

The close was entered by a gate at the southern angle of the monastic land, known as the south gate. It still forms, now widened, the principal entrance to Bartholomew Close (pl. LXXXIII *a*, p. 210). The porter's or janitor's lodge was probably on the south side of the gate, with rooms over it, now No. 1 Bartholomew Close, which is one of the glebe houses. Probably on the other side of the gate was the almonry (*domus elemosinaria*) where the doles of the monastery were given to the poor.

This gatehouse, with rooms over on one story, is shown by Agas, Hoefnagel, and by Fairthorn and Newcourt as ranging with the other small houses on either side of it. It may have been rebuilt after the suppression, but there is no record that it was an important structure such as is found in many of the large and in even some of the smaller monasteries.

On entering the close in monastic times by this gate the buildings of the dormitory would have filled the centre of the view. On the right of the dormitory would probably have been seen part of the infirmary; and on the left the refectory, over the roof of which the top of the tower of the church may have been visible. On the left, in the north-west corner of the close, where No. 66 now stands, would have been seen the kitchen and probably part of the guest-house; for there was no passage-way through to Smithfield then as there is now.

¹ Henry VIII, grant to Rich. see later, p. 199.

Towards the south of the open close, where the drinking fountain now stands, was the building over the head of the water conduit, as shown in the maps of Agas and Hoefnagel; at Sherborne there is such a conduit head, which used to stand in the centre of the cloister garth but now is in the street.

The open space of the close before the suppression was probably much larger than it is now. There were houses in the close, mostly with gardens, but they seem to have been confined to the immediate neighbourhood of the bounds. The houses on the west side faced Duck Lane, with gardens running back to the close. The houses on the south side faced the close, as they do now, without gardens. But the whole of the eastern part of the close, from the north end of what is now Albion Buildings to Queen's Square, was probably very sparingly built upon, which would have made the open area of the close double what it is at present. By the boundary on this east side were the important houses and gardens of John Burgoyne and his two sons, Thomas and Robert. These houses were probably on the close side and not on the east sides of their plots, as it is their gardens and not their houses that are quoted in the description of the bounds.

Then again, on the north side of the close there is no record to show that the dorter ever extended farther south than No. 61 Bartholomew Close, so it is very probable that the sites of Nos. 60 to 54 were not built upon in monastic times, making the open close still larger in that direction. The houses Nos. 54 to 49 were also apparently not built until after the suppression; if that were so, then from the north-east corner of the great open close there would have been either a broad way that ran north to the prior's house and the fair ground or, if a narrow road as now, then the way would have had gardens on both sides. On the right would have been 'the large garden within the close' stretching from the present Half Moon Passage to Newbury Street, and running back eastward to the monastic bounds.¹ On the left would have been the space east of the infirmary, probably a garden too. Then came the garden or forecourt of the prior's house. Across the end of the road now reached in our itinerary of the close precinct was the gateway leading to the fair ground.

This was the position of the gateway in post-suppression times; that is, at the south end of Kinghorn Street, known in 1616 as Close Gate Row, and therefore of the wall or fence running east which separated the fair ground from the close. We incline to

¹ See below, p. 186.

a



GATEWAY BETWEEN MONASTIC CLOSE AND FAIR GROUND
(see pp. 181, 183)

b



MIDDLESEX PASSAGE, 1863
(see pp. 150, 218)

the opinion that it was also the position in monastic times, although Agas shows it (p. 110) running farther north in a direct line from the church. Agas also shows no gateway, but there must have been one, otherwise there would have been no communication between the close and the fair ground.

The dividing wall or fence in this position (the position adopted in the conjectural map, p. 131) would have run along what is now the south side of the houses on the south side of Newbury Street. The fact that these houses, in 1616, were included in the Cloth Fair precinct is shown by the fact that they were then called Rugman's Row, that is the place where rugs were sold in fair time.

The gateway is referred to by Strype in his edition of Stow where, after describing the Great Close, he says: 'passing northward is a gateway, the bounds of this close'.¹ Until the year 1908 the premises of John Hull & Sons stretched across the roadway at this southern end of Kinghorn Street (pl. LXXXI *a*, p. 182), and beneath them, on the east side of the narrow roadway, was a little wooden shop which may have been a porter's lodge, and which had stood beneath the ancient building which had preceded Hull's premises. In October 1908 the projecting part of Hull's building was taken down, and the little shop demolished to widen the roadway, which was much restricted at this point. When this occurred it was found that the corner post of the shop consisted of what had apparently been an old square gatepost, confirming the opinion that this was the gateway spoken of by Strype. The gate in this position would have effectually kept out the crowds of the fair from the residential quarters of the close; for Ogilby's map shows that there was no thoroughfare through Red Lion Passage as there is now.

THE FAIR GROUND.

Entering the fair ground from this gate, the great green of the market—in fair time—would have been seen filled with booths and stalls of the clothiers and drapers of London; the buyers from all parts of the country would have been there; whilst walking up and down the alleys would have been seen the steward in the livery of the priory. Also an official from the Drapers' Company would have been there to see that the goods were being properly measured, and that the quality of the cloth was according to the standard of the Company. An official from the Corporation would also have been there checking the weights and measures and seeing that the rights of the Corporation were not encroached upon.

¹ Strype, *Stow Survey*, Bk. iii, 284.

Walking up the avenue crossing the fair ground from the Close gate and looking down the northernmost avenue of booths on the right, would have been seen the building of the garner, already described. On the left, after leaving the Close gate, would have been seen, first the burial-ground of the canons, possibly protected by a wall or fence; then the east end of our Lady's Green, also possibly protected in some way, and the Lady Chapel behind. Turning to the left down an avenue of booths would have been the north side of our Lady's Green, within which we are inclined to think was the parochial burial-ground. The burial-ground may have been protected by a fence, but possibly not, because Stow says the fair was held in the graveyard.¹ Proceeding westward on the right would have been more avenues of stalls, and on the left the Walden Chapel, against which booths were probably placed (as has been shown in the chapter on the fair).² The same would have applied to the north end and west side of the transept, excepting where the transept door to the parish Chapel would have come. We should then have seen the wide avenue from the transept to the west gate of the fair with booths on each side. On the left would have been the nave wall with stalls against it,³ and on the right the laundry-ground covered with booths and next the laundry and stables as described above.

THE GARDENS.

The rent roll at the Bodleian mentions two gardens in connexion with the monastery (plan, p. 131):⁴

'Memorandum that the said kitchen steward has the garden de la Morehawe (*gardinum de la Morehawe*) pertaining to his office, worth 20/- a year. Item there belongs to this office the soil of the large garden within the close of the said priory (*magni gardini infra clausum prioratus*) worth 6/8d. a year.'

In detailing what went to the cellarer occurs:

'Item the fruit of the garden in the close of the said priory belonging to the cellarer is worth 13/4d. a year'

—presumably growing in 'the large garden within the close'. The cellarer also had 'the fruits growing in the gardens and the cemeteries worth 4s. a year'; the sacrist had the same and the master of the farmery had for his office 'fruit of the garden valued at 2s.' Whether the cellarer's fruit, and the master of the farmery's fruit, and the sacrist's were from one and the same garden or from other gardens we are not told.

¹ See also Vol. I, p. 300.

³ Ib.

² Ib.

⁴ Translated from the Latin.

As regards the 'de la Morehawe' garden (the value of which (20s.) was as much as the tolls and customs of the fair at that time), it is not clear whether this garden was within or without the monastic precincts. If without, it is strange that it should not be included with the other holdings of the priory in the parish to which it belonged. There was a shop de la Moorehawe where was a smithy' (*de una schopa de la Moorehawe ubi fabrica est*) valued at 6s. 8d., which was included among the other rents of the cellarer coming from the parish of St. Sepulchre, but we have found no record of a house so called. If the garden were within the precincts it is strange that the Bodleian rental does not say so, as it does of the great garden within the close.

The name 'de la More' occurs many times in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the Guildhall Letter Books and other public records. Hugh de la More in 1278 was a goldsmith.¹ Ralph de la More in 1279 was elected sheriff,² and witnessed a grant to the hospital.³ His will, dated the following year, shows he was a wealthy man with his principal house in Marte (Mark) Lane.⁴ Thomas de la More was rector of St. Swithin's in 1343;⁵ and a man of the same name, prior of Tynemouth, died Abbot of St. Albans in 1396.⁶ A 'hawe' was an enclosed place. Pardon Church-hawe was a churchyard in the fair ground. Bassishaw was the place of the great family of Basing or Bassing, which gave the name to the church, St. Michael Bassishaw, and to the street where it was situated, Basinghall Street, as has been already mentioned.⁷ Another 'hawe' gave the name to the church of St. Mary Bothaw, and perhaps to St. Mary Mounthaw, both in the city. It would therefore seem that 'de la Morehawe' was probably the place of one of the de la Mores. The smithy in St. Sepulchre's parish may have belonged to the same or another de la More, but it need not have been adjoining.

Probability seems to favour the garden being within the monastic precincts: if it were so it may have been in the south-east part of the close where, at the suppression, Thomas Burgoyne, Robert Burgoyne and Thomas Andrews had their gardens, and where a de la More may have been allowed to form a garden early in monastic times.

'The large garden within the close' is shown by Agas (p. 110) on the south side of the boundary fence which divided the fair from

¹ Cal. Letter Bks., A. 25.

² Ib. 196, and N. Moore, *Hist. St. Barth. Hosp.* i, 513.

³ A David de la More also witnessed a deed confirming a gift to the hospital by Richard Picot. Ib. i, 254.

⁴ Cal. Hust. Wills, i, 51.

⁵ Newcourt's *Rep.* i, 543.

⁶ Ib. 780.

⁷ See Vol. I, p. 365.

the close precinct; that is somewhere about the north side of what is now Newbury Street. It extended southward to what is now Half Moon Passage, and eastward to the monastic bounds. This extension eastward, shown by Agas, is proved by an ancient deed of sale made by 'Wm. de Gloucestria', butcher, to Martin Senches, the king's crossbowman, of land with buildings 'in Aldredesgate St.' in St. Botolph's parish, which is described as 'reaching to the garden of the canons of St. Bartholomew's'. And it is proved more or less by an account of a coroner's inquest held in the year 1325 on a certain John Fuatard who 'lay killed in the garden of the priory church of St. Bartholomew', which is described as 'in the parish of St. Butulph in the ward of Aldresgate'.¹ Fuatard and a woman Isabella had entered the garden over the wall and had broken into the house of Richard de Rothinge and stolen some goods which they threw over the wall. Rothinge's servant Thomas attacked them, slew Fuatard, raised the cry and remained on the spot until the coroner arrived. The statement that the priory garden was in St. Botolph's parish implies that it was in the eastern part of the monastic precinct of which St. Botolph's claimed, as will be seen later on,² to be the mother parish. Part of this garden remained as two gardens at the back of the houses on the south side of Newbury Street in the seventeenth century. Sir Henry North's part is thus described in the rental of 1616:³

'Sir Henry North Knight houldeth one garden or square plot of ground walled about with bricke between Rugman's Rowe (the south side of Newbury Street) and the houses in the narrow alley leading out of the close through the Haulfmoon on the north and south, Doctor Martin east, and that waste ground before the gates of Mr. Jarvaise and Sr. Percival Hart west by lease granted to Mr. Robert Paddon, auditor, bearing date 14 Junii 34 Eliz. (1592) for 31 years from Bartholomew tyde before, yeilding there per ann. . . . (blank) and is worth per ann. 10. 0. 0.'

Adjoining North's garden eastward was the other portion of the monastic garden, and this was entered from the east end of Newbury Street by what is now the cartway to Messrs. Collingridge's yard (and which early in the nineteenth century was leased to St. Botolph's parish for the female side of a workhouse). Dr. Martin's stable was in this position and is thus described:

'Mr. Doctor Martin houldeth one faire stable of bricke and a haylofte and lodging for a groom over the same situate at the

¹ *Cal. of Coroners' Rolls of London*, 1300-1378, p. 113.

² See p. 199.

³ *Rents and Surveys*, R.O., 11/39, 16 James I (1617-18).

south-east corner of Clothfaire with an entrance, the breadth of an ordinary house, at the end of Rugman's Rowe, lease 11 years to come at xxxs. *valet per ann.* 8. o. o.'

Although the garden is not specified in this entry it existed, for the survey of Rugman's Row concludes thus :

'Memorand. That all these tenements . . . have prospect backwards into the gardens of Sr. Henry North and Mr. Doctor Martin.'

But to return to monastic times : the kitchener, we have seen, had the soil of the large garden, by which we assume he had the use of the ground for growing herbs and vegetables, whilst the cellarer had the fruit. But we are told that the cellarer in addition also had the fruit growing in 'the gardens' and the cemeteries, implying more than one garden, and as Henry VIII in his *Valor Ecclesiasticus* specified orchards as well as gardens we assume there were one or more enclosed fruit gardens also. Such a garden enclosed is shown on Ogilby's map surrounded by the dorter, infirmary kitchen and the prior's inner court. The same site in Wilkinson's map is marked as the site of the mulberry gardens of the monastery. In addition to the mulberry trees there were also, we may assume, fig, apple, pear and cherry trees. Fig trees still flourish on the south side of the church and mulberries still ripen for St. Bartholomew's Day in the Charterhouse near by.

Malcolm, writing in 1803, says :

'A gateway was standing within the memory of man leading to the woodyard, kitchens, &c.' (as we have seen). 'An antient mulberry tree grew near it and beneath its branches the good wives and maids of the parish were wont to promenade.'

Archer says the decayed stump of a mulberry tree was grubbed up there a fortnight before his first visit in 1842. Wilkinson's map of 1821 shows two entrances into this enclosed place, one to the east where 47 Bartholomew Close stands, and another to the west next to No. 2 Middlesex Passage, but the position of the gateway mentioned by Malcolm is not clear.

There were outgoings on account of the gardens amounting to 10s. a year which were paid to the church of St. Martin le Grand 'for certain lesser tithes of animals kept in the close of the said priory, and for the said gardens'.¹ For what reason this had to be paid is not shown ; but the Rental states that 'the sacrist had the grazing of the two cemeteries valued at 4s. a year' : as well as the fruit growing in the garden and in the cemeteries mentioned above, also valued at 4s. a year. Whether the grazing was by horses, cows or sheep does not appear, but probably by sheep.

¹ App. I, Rent. Bodl., p. 472.

THE GRAVEYARDS OR CEMETERIES.

There were certainly two cemeteries (*cimiteria*) in the monastic precincts. Mention of the earliest one is made by the writer of the Book of the Foundation,¹ where he refers to its consecration. This graveyard would no doubt have been for the interment of the canons of the house and for that of the brothers and sisters of the hospital, and for others dying after they had had the habit delivered to them. But when Pope Lucius III in the year 1184 wished a separate cemetery to be hallowed within the hospital precinct, it was to be not only for the brethren and household, but also for the poor;² so by analogy it is possible that at the first there was but one burial-ground for all. By the year 1224, however, the prior and convent had set aside a separate burial-ground for the poor of the hospital, which the brethren of the hospital were to use. This continued until the year 1373 when Bishop Simon of Sudbury granted the hospital a cemetery of their own, but on the understanding that the poor of the hospital should no longer be buried at the priory.³

There was also within the priory a burial-ground known as the Pardonchirchewawe,⁴ already referred to. It is so called in the wills of Robert de Watford, carpenter, in the year 1368; of William Thomas, a citizen of London, in 1395;⁵ and of Margaret Goodcheepe in the year 1413.⁶ Walter Shelley, a cleric, in the year 1453⁷ willed to be buried at the foot of the church (*in pede ecclesie*) or in the cemetery called 'pardon church'.

This was evidently the parochial burial-ground referred to by Henry VIII in his grant to Rich, when he said that the inhabitants had always had their own burial-place annexed to the church, but whether it was a third burial-ground or the same as the second, mentioned above as being made for the hospital about the year 1224, is not clear. We think it was the same as the second: first, because in 1306 only two cemeteries are mentioned, the grazing of which went to the sacrist;⁸ secondly, because when in 1373 the hospital was granted its own burial-ground there would have been no further use for the one they had at the priory unless for the interment of inhabitants of the priory; thirdly, because the number of inhabitants claiming burial here would have been very small, as they would have consisted only of servants of the canons and the households of the few who had been granted residence within the monastic walls.

¹ See Vol. I, p. 48; and App. I, p. 392.

² See Vol. I, p. 88.

³ App. I, Vol. I, p. 531.

⁴ Ib., p. 534.

⁵ See Vol. I, p. 87.

⁶ *Cal. Wills Hust.* ii, 115.

⁷ Ib., p. 532.

⁸ As mentioned above, p. 184.

'We cannot locate this second cemetery with any exactness but it was certainly on the north side of the church, because Stow, writing in 1598, said that the booths of the fair were within the churchyard; therefore it would have been approached from Smithfield by the gate of the fair (the present entrance to Cloth Fair). This would account for the complaint of the hospital of 'the excessive distance of the cemetery through the horse market' (i.e. Smithfield) 'and muddy streets'. Had the cemetery been on the south side of the church it would have been approached by the great south gate of the monastery in Little Britain, whereby the horse market would have been avoided. By way of evidence of the correctness of the assumption that there was a graveyard in this position, there are the facts that when No. 68 Long Lane was rebuilt in the year 1890 and the basement lowered, a good many human skulls and bones were found;¹ and when in the year 1911 similar work was going on at No. 27 Cloth Fair, which was on the south side of the Long Lane house, an interment was found *in situ* 10 ft. below the present road level² indicating a position of a second burial-ground north of the Lady Chapel.

The original cemetery or burial-ground of the canons was undoubtedly in the usual place on the south side of the extreme eastern limb of the church, which here was the Lady Chapel. Many human bones were found there in the year 1888 when the foundations for the schools were being dug. There is also documentary proof in the will of Walter Whytefeld, already quoted,³ where he desired burial in the cemetery of the priory 'before the entrance to the charnel house outside the processional path'. The entrance to the charnel or crypt is still extant: that there would have been a processional path round the conventual cemetery is also clear, for in Mr. Willis Clark's *Book of Observances of Augustinian Canons*⁴ we read:

'On Easter Day, Ascension Day, Pentecost, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and on St. Giles' Day a procession with a shrine and great pomp ought to pass round the cemetery, the brethren all in silk copes and the ministers of the altar in tunicle and dalmatic. On All Souls' Day a procession goes round the cemetery singing the Psalms of commendation; . . . On Palm Sunday a procession of great solemnity is held, on account of which, if weather permit, a cross is to be set up in the outer court, and the convent are to walk round the cemetery as far as that cross.'

In the absence of any cartulary or register of the priory there is no record as to where the priors were buried. The tomb of Rahere, the first prior, was on the north side of the sanctuary. The tomb of

¹ On the evidence of Mr. Thomas Bridge, the owner in 1910.

² Seen by the writer.

³ Vol. I, p. 533.

⁴ See p. 149.

another prior is in the arcade of the north transept, covered with a plain Purbeck marble slab. The coffin in the other bay of the arcade probably contained the body of another prior. A broken slab of a third tomb of a prior, possibly that of Prior Hugh, was discovered on the site of the north transept.¹ The two coffins found on the site of the cloister garth were probably those of priors. It was usual for priors to be buried in the chapter-house, but when the site of that building was excavated in 1912 only one coffin was discovered. It was in the centre of the floor and, as already stated,² was probably that of Prior Thomas who built the Chapter-house.

After the suppression the burial-ground of the canons was used as a fore-court or garden of Sir Percival Hart's house, then in the Lady Chapel, as already described.³ It continued to be so used by Sir Percival's successors until in the year 1885 it was purchased by the Restoration Committee as part of the Lady Chapel property. In the severe winter of 1887-1888 excavations were conducted on the site which revealed a large quantity of human bones indiscriminately heaped together on the south side of the ground; and inasmuch as scattered through the ground there were also vaulting ribs from the crypt, part of these remains had probably been thrown out from the charnel house. There were no undisturbed interments but a leaden shell of a coffin was found which had been ripped up on both its sides for half its length and the upper part of the body removed, but the lower part had been left. This fact points to the graveyard having been rifled; but at what time this could have been done it is difficult to say, seeing that it was immediately in front of the windows of the houses of Sir Richard Rich, of Sir Percival Hart and their successors.

Under these circumstances, in the year 1888, the trustees of the property, acting for the Restoration Committee, conveyed the site—some 257 sq. yards—for the sum of £1,100 to the rector and churchwardens for the purpose of building new parochial schools. The foundation-stone was laid by the Duchess of Albany on July 5th, 1888, and the building, to the design of Sir Aston Webb, was completed the following year. It contains in the basement rooms built (entirely at his own charge) by the rector at that time, Sir Borradaile Savory, for the purpose of men's and boys' clubs and a soup kitchen.

The parochial burial-ground fared worse than that of the canons because Sir Richard Rich, seeing that its position on the fair ground would interfere with future developments as a building site, appears to have persuaded the king to allow the site of the nave to be used

¹ Above, p. 52.

² *Ib.*, p. 146.

³ *Ib.*, p. 77.

henceforth as the parochial ground in its stead.¹ Since that time it has always been known as the great churchyard. The monastic cemeteries were not included nor mentioned in Rich's grant to Mary.

A second burial-ground was formed in later years on the site of the south transept, and in the seventeenth or early eighteenth century—as already shown²—a third burial-place was formed, first for the Quakers, and then for the poor, in what is now an area outside the north side of the monastic quire.

WATER SUPPLY.

The City of London was first supplied with water in pipes in the year 1236, when nine conduits were erected; after which nothing much was done until the year 1423, when Sir Richard Whittington built a reservoir fed by a spring for the use of Billingsgate market, and brought water from Highbury to a reservoir at St. Giles', Cripplegate.

St. Bartholomew's was probably the first place in London to have an independent water supply in pipes; because in his Letters Patent in the year 1433, King Henry VI mentions that the water had so run of old, evidently referring to many years before; but unfortunately we have met with no record giving any further clue to the exact date of its commencement. The hospital also participated in the supply of pure water which came from the priory's manor at Canonbury.

In the year 1433 the supply to the hospital began to fail owing to the pipes not having been properly repaired by the priory.³ This neglect was due to the financial difficulties from which the priory was suffering at that time. The hospital, in consequence, decided to do the necessary repairs at their own expense, and this was done by agreement with the priory,⁴ and it was this agreement that formed the subject of the king's Letters Patent,⁵ which ran thus:

'The king to all unto whom (&c.) greeting. Know ye that whereas the aqueduct of the prior and convent of the priory of St. Bartholomew in West Smethfeld London . . . the head of which aqueduct is within the precinct of a site of the same prior and convent in Iseldon, called Canonesbury in a certain meadow called Coweslese, and the water whereof runs to the priory aforesaid through a certain pipe or certain pipes of lead, as well under the land belonging to the same prior and convent as under the land of others, and of old has used to run, in divers places is broken and is in need of great amendment and repair. In order therefore that the master and brethren and sisters of the hospital of St. Bartholomew in West

¹ As stated above, p. 70.

² Above, p. 120.

³ As mentioned, Vol. I, p. 211.

⁴ *Hosp. Cart.* 83 d, 84 d, 1 Nov., 12 Hen. VI (1433).

⁵ *Pat.*, 11 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 3, 8 July (1433).

Smythfeld, as well as the sick poor and others to the same hospital daily resorting, may be able to be refreshed by the water of the said aqueduct for the future, the said master and brethren intend to apply great costs and expenditure about the amendment and repair of the said aqueduct for the glory of God. Wherefore duly viewing the premises and considering also that the aforesaid prior and convent are hampered by divers businesses and inevitable burdens that they are unable to attend to such repair without grave prejudice to themselves, as we have heard, and willing henceforth for the reasons aforesaid to respond in equal manner to the pious projects in this behalf of the said master and brethren in their work of piety, we of our special grace . . . have granted and given licence . . . unto the said prior and convent that they . . . can grant and give licence unto the said master and brethren and sisters of the aforesaid hospital that they may oversee and thoroughly examine the head of the aforesaid aqueduct together with the streams and other passages of water or springs . . . coming down to the said head or the pipes belonging thereto, with the oversight, advice and judgement of skilled workmen . . . and to clean and sufficiently restore and cover in the said head and its building and . . . the vents of the same aqueduct anew with stone and lime and also to erect and make anew a certain trough or cistern to be formed of stone and lime within the precinct of the said priory in a certain building within the same priory where . . . it shall seem best at the cost and expense of them, the master and brethren.'

The agreement further provided that the pipes and water should be divided into two equal parts; one part to be retained by the priory, and the other part to be led from the cistern in the priory directly across the king's highway (Duck Lane) into the hospital, which was also to have a key of the head aqueduct and of the vents and of the cistern. Any defects as they occurred were to be repaired at the joint expense of the priory and hospital. The hospital were to pay to the priory for this concession of the water 6s. 8d. each year, which 6s. 8d. occurs among the deductions from the receipts of the hospital in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* as having to be paid to the priory. The cost of the repairs was not a very serious matter as in the year 1533 Prior Fuller and Master Brereton agreed with one Thomas Acon, a plumber, to keep the conduit in repair for forty years at a charge of 20s. a year.¹ But when Rich bought the priory from the king² he obtained a deduction of £4 a year as the cost of repair and maintenance.

The cistern with the building over was apparently in the centre of the close, for just such a building as we should suppose would have been erected is shown in Agas's map (p. 110).

It was not only the poor in the hospital but also the prisoners in

¹ *Excheq. Augs. Convent Leases*, temp. Hen. VIII, No. 258.

² *Partics. for Grant*, below, p. 508.

Ludgate and Newgate who benefited by this bountiful supply of good water, as seen by the will of Randolph Say,¹ who in the year 1447 bequeathed to the prior and convent one pound of pepper yearly for a grant of an easement by them of the aqueduct over their lands for the use of the prisoners of Ludgate and Newgate.

The fact of the pipes running through other than the land of the monastery gave trouble, as might have been expected, for in February 1538, eighteen months before the suppression, Prior Fuller and Master Brereton agreed² to pay £40 to one Richard Callard, a painter and stainer, in consideration of the annoyance caused by the prior and convent having to disturb his grounds in Islington in order to repair the water-pipes. For this payment the prior and convent obtained the right of access at all times and the right to build a brick house there with a 'cystren'; Callard on his side having a supply of water from the conduit.

In the year 1544, after the suppression, the aqueduct was sold to Sir Richard Rich by the king.³ It is described as the water and aqueduct flowing down from 'le Condite Hede of St. Bartholomewes within the manor of Canbery . . . upto and into the said site and close of the said late monastery' &c. Although Rich by his purchase obtained all the prior's rights over the water he did not carry out the prior's obligations, for he withheld the water from the poor of the hospital. The hospital had come into the possession of the corporation of the City of London and in the year 1556 the Court of Aldermen resolved⁴ that Lord Rich be moved 'for the restitution of the water belonging to the house of the poor in Smithfield'. Again, in the year 1559 they resolved⁵ 'that Lord Rich be moved to restore the water to St. Bartholomew's hospital which he without any just title hath of a long season withdrawn from the same house'. There are twenty-two entries in all in the Repertories on the same subject. In the end a long agreement was entered into between Lord Rich and the Corporation of which the following is an abridgement:⁶

An indenture made the 4th August 3 Elizabeth—between Sir Richard Rich, Knt. Lord Rich and the mayor and commonalties and citizens of the City of London. Whereas the mayor (&c.) were in lawful possession by conveyance from King Henry VIII of the hospital of little St. Bartholomew's and whereas there hath been of old a conduit of water which had served continually the house of the late priory wherein Lord Rich 'doth now lye and

¹ App. I, p. 533. ² *Aug. Off. Convent Leases*, No. 280. ³ See Vol. I, p. 268.

⁴ *Repertories, Guildhall*, 13, f. 451, 19 Nov., 3 & 4 Phil. & Mary (1556).

⁵ *Ib.*, 14, f. 138, 14 Mar., 1 Eliz. (1559).

⁶ *Lord Holland's Carty*, ff. 140-51.

inhabit at his coming to London' and also had served all the parishioners and after they had been sufficiently served had with the consent of Lord Rich been allowed to be conveyed from the cistern of Lord Rich, situate in the kitchen of Lord Rich, from thence to a great cistern in Bartholomew Close and thence by the licence of the late priors and since the dissolution by the licence of Lord Rich for the relief of the poor of the hospital, the head of which conduit was in a meadow called Cowe Lease in Islington part of the possessions of the priory, all the ground and houses of which, except such ground and houses as he had conveyed to other persons, was then the property of Lord Rich. And whereas the pipes from the head of the conduit were much decayed so that there was not water sufficient to spare for the hospital. It was therefore agreed that the mayor &c. should repair the pipes at their own cost and that Lord Rich should give them licence so to do. It was further agreed that Lord Rich should give licence to the mayor &c. to enter the ground of Lord Rich 'lying next without the garden gate of Lord Rich' and there dig and build such a cistern as shall be able to receive as much of the water as shall serve the kitchen of Lord Rich and the cistern in the close for the parishioners; and when they were served a new pipe was to be placed in the cistern to serve the hospital. All which was to be done at the charge of the mayor and commonalty but afterwards the repairs from Canonbury to Lord Rich's house were to be borne two-thirds by the corporation and one-third by Rich. If at any time Rich or the inhabitants had not sufficient water in consequence of drought and the corporation could not remedy it then Lord Rich might stop the supply to the hospital until the drought was over.

The private cistern for Rich's kitchen was probably between the east end of Felton's Buildings and the present 'Rose and Crown' public-house.

Subterranean brick-built aqueducts, through which water-pipes from Canonbury were carried, occur in several parts of the parish: one in the centre of the close was exposed in September 1915 after the Zeppelin raid. Another was uncovered in Back Court, a continuation of which was carried to the east of the Lady Chapel where a section of it can be seen. It measures 4 ft. 6 in. high internally, 2 ft. 6 in. wide, and is 2 ft. 8 in. below the ground level. It is flat at the bottom, has straight sides and a vaulted top. The short distance below the ground level suggests that these aqueducts are post suppression. Similar ones have been found in Islington in a garden at Canonbury Park and St. John's Clerkenwell.¹ There is a similar aqueduct at Lee Priory in Essex, once the seat of Sir Richard Rich.²

¹ Mr. Grover, builder, told the writer on September 23, 1912, that he himself had found these.

² Brit. Journ. Arch. Assoc., *Notice of Lee Priory*, by J. M. Wood, vol. 43 (1887), p. 21.

The Corporation took great interest in the public conduits. Strype tells us ¹ that on the 18th September 1562, the year after this agreement was made,

‘ the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and many worshipful persons rid to the conduit heads for to see them after the old custom : and afore dinner they hunted the hare and killed her and thence to dinner at the head of the conduit. There was a good number entertained with good cheer by the chamberlain, and after dinner they went to hunting the fox. There was a great cry for a mile ; and at length the hounds killed him at the end of St. Giles’. Great hollowing at his death and blowing of horns ; and thence the Lord Mayor with all his company rode through London to his place in Lombard Street.’

In another fifty years (in 1613) London was properly supplied with pure water from the springs of Amwell and Chadwell which were brought to the city by the New River, the munificent work of its great citizen Sir Hugh Middleton.

¹ Vol. i, Bk. i, p. 25.

PART III
THE PARISH



PLAN OF THE CHURCH AND PARISH OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT EARLY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
Firm lines indicate what is known. Dotted lines indicate what is conjecture.

CHAPTER XII

BOUNDS, GATES, AND WATCHMEN

THE BOUNDS

THE parish of St. Bartholomew the Great (see plan, p. 131) dates from the time of the founding of the monastery. In a list of city churches in *Liber Custumarum* in 1303 it is called *Sanctus Bartholomaeus Magnus de Smethefeld* to distinguish it from St. Bartholomew-Exchange. The hospital was made a separate parish in 1544 under the style of St. Bartholomew the Less.

The king in his grant to Rich of that year said (as we have seen)¹ that—

‘ the close of the late monastery, commonly called Great St. Bartholomew’s Close, from time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, was universally held used and accepted as a parish and as a parish in itself distinct and separate from other parishes and the inhabitants of the same close always had their own parish church and burial place.’

There were no dwelling-houses at that time within the ‘ fair ground ’, but in spite of the ‘ close ’ alone being specified as constituting the parish, the ground occupied by the fair was included within the parish bounds described in the same deed. Although St. Bartholomew the Great is a distinct parish in itself it would seem that the site granted by Henry I for both his church and hospital was, as to its eastern portion, in the parish of St. Botolph, Aldersgate ; and in consequence, as was usual in such cases, the mother church of St. Botolph, at some time unknown, made a composition with the priory, whereby St. Botolph’s received from the priory 20s. a year in compensation for the loss of the oblations of such of their parishioners as dwelt within the portion of the precincts of the priory, which had been within St. Botolph’s parish. Between the years 1439 and 1441 this composition was disputed by the prior, which caused the rector of St. Botolph’s to collect evidence in favour of his rights ; and the answers given by some of the oldest inhabitants to interrogations made to them are preserved in the muniment room of Westminster Abbey.² St. Botolph’s was, in 1399, appropriated by Richard II to the collegiate church of

¹ (From the Latin), see Vol. I, p. 270 ; also Vol. II, p. 502.

² Westminster Abbey Muniments 13,506.

St. Martin le Grand for an anniversary of his queen, Anne, so the inquiry was held on behalf of Richard Cawdray, who was the Dean of St. Martin's from 1439,¹ and who was also rector of St. Botolph's. None of the witnesses knew the date of the composition but they knew that 20s. was regularly paid during the rectorship of Ralph de Kesteven (1374-1399) until within the last three years of the rectorship of William Leyton (or Leyghton), about 1435, and that the inhabitants of the priory precinct paid the king's taxes with the other parishioners of St. Botolph's. One of the witnesses described the bounds and liberties of their parish 'within the precinct of the priory' as²

'beginning at a certain stone wall in Long Lane on which wall there stood a certain stone cross which separated the bounds of St. Botolph from the bounds of St. Sepulchre' (this point is now between Nos. 82 and 83 Long Lane) 'and so passing within the precinct of the priory from the said cross to the corner of the high altar of the church of St. Bartholomew and westward directly towards the end of a house of a certain gentleman commonly called Hotoft, standing north and south, which house or mansion was within the bounds of St. Botolph.'

(this point is south of the hospital; it used to be in the middle of the swimming bath of Christ's Hospital, and is now in the yard of the new General Post Office).

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there were many inhabitants dwelling in the close both of the priory and of the hospital east of this line within the monastic precincts.

Why Prior William Coventry (1414-1436) or Prior Reginald Collier (1436-1471) should have repudiated the composition does not appear, but the matter was settled in 1441 by Prior Collier giving the Dean of St. Martin's £4 in full discharge of all arrears.³ The annual payment continued until the suppression for it appears among the deductions in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* as 'paid the Dean of St. Martin's from St. Botolph's Aldersgate 20s.'⁴

That there was no such compensation paid to St. Sepulchre's parish suggests that St. Sepulchre's church was not built until after St. Bartholomew's was founded.

The parish of St. Bartholomew is now in the ward of Farringdon-without, so named from William Farendon who purchased the aldermanry 156 years after St. Bartholomew's was founded.⁵ What was the name of the ward in 1123 we do not know. The ward was not divided into 'within' and 'without' until 1393.

¹ A. J. Kemp, *St. Martin's*, p. 114.

² From the Latin.

⁴ Vol. I, p. 382.

³ A. J. Kemp, *St. Martin's*, p. 195.

⁵ Strype, *Stow*, Bk. iii, p. 124.

THE PARISH BOUNDS.

The following particulars of the parish bounds in 1544 are translated from 'Particulars for Grants' in the Record Office.¹

'Bounds and limits of the circuit and precinct of the Close called Greate Seynt Bartilmewe's Close, late belonging to the monastery or priory of St. Bartholomew in West Smythfelde in the suburbs to wit :

'Beginning at the great gate called "le southgate" of the close aforesaid on the farther side of the same gate, at the southern end of the lane called Duck Lane' (Duck Lane, afterwards Duke Street, is now named Little Britain) 'and thence tending northward along the middle of that lane, to wit, along "le cannell" as it leads up to a certain place called "le Cheyne", belonging to the said late monastery' (plan, p. 131).

All we know of this place called 'le Cheyne' is from Agas's map, where it is shown as an oblong space bounded by a low wall, presumably about 4 ft. high (p. 110). It extended from the south side of the Smithfield gate past the west front of the church, to the Cloth Fair gate. The width of the enclosure is shown as about half that of Duck Lane. It was probably 10 ft. wide as the parish boundary now is 10 ft. westward of the Smithfield gate.² In the centre of the west side of this low wall an opening is shown of about 6 ft. in width, which we assume was on market days enclosed by a chain to prevent cattle from entering the church.³ After 'le cheyne' had been removed, even as late as the year 1774, one of the duties of the parish beadle was 'to keep horses out of the close on Fridays',⁴ which was the market day,⁵ as already stated. It was also the market day when Fitz Stephen wrote, 600 years before, for he says :⁶

'There is also, without one of the city gates, and even in the very suburbs, a certain plain field, such both in reality and name ; here every Friday, unless it should happen to be one of the more solemn festivals, there is a celebrated rendezvous of fine horses brought thither to be sold.'

In the seventeenth century strong wooden fencing was placed round the whole of Smithfield as a protection from cattle. The 'particulars' continue :

'And thence proceeding northward along the outer side of the west side of "le cheyne" as far as the north end of "le cheyne",'

¹ *Aug. Off. Partics. for Grants*, No. 927, m. 5, 8 Apr., 35 Hen. VIII (1544). See also App. I, p. 502 for Latin.

² Parish Safe, O.B. 5. Perambulation of the bounds.

³ A house is described as near 'le chaine' in West Smithfield in the year 1600. *Husting Roll*, 280, m. 8, 43 Eliz.

⁴ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 454.

⁵ Above, Vol. I, p. 44.

⁶ Fitz Stephen, *City of London*, translated, p. 36.

by which we see that the boundary which ran up the middle of Duck Lane made no turn on reaching 'le cheyne'. At the north end of the enclosure the bound is described as

'then turning away eastward along the outer side of the northern end of "le cheyne" and then turning and thence proceeding northward along the outer side of the west gate of the fair of St. Bartholomew.'

This implies that 'le cheyne' did not extend to the north side of the Cloth Fair gate as shown in Agas's map: on the other hand, John Chesewyk's house, though on the north side of the Cloth Fair gate, is described as 'next to le cheyne', so there is some confusion. Neither the Ordnance map nor 'the book of the perambulation of the parish' shows the turn to the eastward mentioned above. As the king's bounds do not, up to this point, follow the building front, as they do beyond it, we do not know whether the site of the west front of the church was occupied by houses in the year 1544, as Agas's map shows was the case some twenty years later.

The boundary then proceeded, not in the street as described in the later perambulation of the parish bounds, but

'along the outer sides and walls of houses and tenements parcel of the possessions of the said late monastery towards Smythfeld market' (these houses were called Le Ramyge in the grant) 'up to a certain lane called Long Lane,'

taking no notice of the two houses 62 and 63 West Smithfield which belonged to St. Sepulchre's parish,

'and then turning away eastward along the outer side of the stone wall of the close of the monastery abutting on Longlane up to the stone wall at the eastern end of the same stone wall towards Longlane,'

no mention is made of the gate in this north wall of the monastery shown in Agas's map,

'and then turning southward away from Longlane along the outer side of the stone wall,'

that would be through the centre of the present Manchester Hotel,

'as it leads up to houses and buildings late parcel of the possessions for a time belonging to the late house of the brethren of Houneslowe,'¹

that is the Priory of Trinitarian or Maturine Friars in Hounslow. These houses were apparently the limit of the stone wall; further references are to one of brick.

'and then proceeding southward along the western side of the same houses and buildings up to a certain place called Pety Wales'

¹ Vol. I, p. 194.

that is to the back portion of Collingridge's printing establishment entered at the south-east corner of Newbury Street and at 148 Aldersgate Street,

' and then turning eastward away from Pety Wales along the outer side of the northern side of a certain place called Paradyse, next Pety Wales, up to the further side on the east of Paradyse, and then turning away southward along the outer side of the east side of Paradyse (as far as) the further side on the south side of Paradyse and then turning away westward along the outer side of the southern side of Paradyse,'

that is the northern side of Half Moon Court,

' up to Pety Wales and then proceeding westward along the outer side of Pety Wales '

because Petty Wales extended from the north-west to the south-west of Paradise,

' along and next houses, buildings and vacant land parcel of Blackhorse alley '

that is Bowman's Buildings leading to Queen's Square belonging to the Company of Fishmongers,¹

' up to the western end of the vacant land, parcel of the Blackhorse alley, and then turning away southward along the western end of the said vacant land '

that is at the east end of Queen's Square,

' and along the outer side of a garden and messuage in the tenure of Robert Burgoyne Esquire towards the east up to a wall of brick at the south end of the same messuage,'

that is from the back portion of William Potter and Sons' premises, 160-162 Aldersgate Street, southward past Manchester Avenue to the north wall of what was the Albion Tavern, 173 Aldersgate Street,

' and then turning away westward along the outer side of the said wall of brick at the southern end of the messuage of Robert Burgoyne '

that is the length of the western half of the north wall of the late Albion Tavern,

' up to a wall of brick next a messuage in the tenure of Thomas Burgoyne Esq. and then turning away southward along the outer side towards the east of the same wall of brick next the same messuage and garden in the tenure of Thomas Burgoyne, as the same wall of brick extends up to a garden in the tenure of Thomas Andrews gentleman '

¹ See below, p. 211.

that is along the western side of the late Albion Tavern to and perhaps across Westmoreland Buildings,

‘ and turning away eastwards ’

as Andrewes’ and Mody’s houses and gardens, as we shall see presently, were lost to the parish, the parish bound now turns to the west instead of to the east,

‘ along the outer side of the same garden of Thomas Andrewes towards the north up to the eastern end of the same garden, and then turning away southward along the outer side of the eastern boundary of the same garden towards the east up to a messuage of Richard Mody Esquire ’

that is to say the eastern portion of the Aldersgate and Farringdon-within ward school, formerly part of the Earl of Westmorland’s¹ house, and the western end of the National Provincial Bank, 185 Aldersgate Street.

‘ And so thence proceeding southward along the outer side of the messuage of Richard Mody towards the east up to a wall of brick at the southern boundary of the same messuage of Richard Mody and then turning away westward along the outer side of a wall of brick at the southern end of the messuage and garden of Richard Mody towards the south and at the southern end of a garden in the tenure of Richard Bartlett Doctor of Medicine towards the south up to a wall of brick at the western boundary of the said garden of Richard Bartlett toward the west up to the southern side of a messuage in the tenure of the said Richard Bartlett and then turning away westward along the outer side of the same messuage of Richard Bartlett towards the south,’

evidently Dr. Bartlett’s garden occupied the whole of Albion Buildings and his house probably occupied Nos. 9 to 11 Bartholomew Close,

‘ and so thence proceeding westward along the outsides of houses tenements and buildings parcel of the possessions of the said late monastery or priory towards the south up to the said south gate.’

These bounds of the close were those of the monastery and, with slight variations, are the bounds of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great to-day.

We learn by ‘ a Perambulation of the Parish Bounds ’² preserved in the safe in the church, written in the year 1828 as a guide to the boundary marks when beating the bounds on Ascension Day, that the boundary up Duke Street is not in the middle of the road, but that it varies in distance ; the houses on the east side of the road in some cases being 10 ft. 6 in., in others 18 ft. 8 in. distant from the bound : the street itself varies in width from 25 ft. to 22 ft. 2 in. At the site

¹ Spelt without the ‘ e ’ in the peerage.

² Parish Safe, O.B. 5.

of 'le cheyne' the bound varies from 10 ft. 1 in. to 9 ft. 5 in. in front of the houses, and so continues to the corner of Long Lane; it does not set back to the houses at the entrance to Cloth Fair as was the case in 1544.

There are two houses—as mentioned above¹—Nos. 62 and 63 West Smithfield, between the Cloth Fair entrance and Long Lane, which are in St. Sepulchre's parish.² The king's grant to Rich in 1544 says that all the houses from the Cloth Fair gate to Long Lane were in St. Sepulchre's parish (called St. Stephen's in error). It is clear, however, that the two houses, Nos. 62 and 63, are the only ones now belonging to St. Sepulchre's and probably it was always so. The bounds we have seen as described in 1544 take no notice of these intruding houses, but they are minutely described in the 'Perambulation of the Parish Bounds' we are now considering, and are clearly shown as two houses only in the Ordnance Survey map. The king sold these St. Sepulchre houses separately and not to Rich, as 'part of the possessions of the late monastery', showing that, although they belonged to the monastery, they were not within the precincts. We assume that it was No. 62 that was leased to John Cheswyke, the launder, in 1542, and that it was No. 63 that was occupied by a farrier in 1544;³ although the king's grant says that Cheswyke's house was 'next the west gate of the market' (i.e. No. 61) and that the other four houses and a stable (Nos. 62–66) were in the tenure of Cheswyke and were all in St. Sepulchre's parish. In 1572 the two houses (Nos. 62 and 63) were bequeathed by one John Saul for the use of the parish of St. Sepulchre, after his wife's death, but how they came originally to be in the possession of the monastery and yet not within the monastic bounds does not appear.

Up Long Lane the boundary runs at a distance of 14 ft. 6 in. from the houses in front of Barley Mow Passage, to 8 ft. 5 in. at its termination eastward. At a point 93 ft. 9 in. westward of what was the corner of Long Lane and Aldersgate Street the three parishes meet: St. Sepulchre's, St. Botolph's Aldersgate, and St. Bartholomew's the Great.

The boundary, which from this point threads an irregular and intricate way at the backs of and often through houses of Aldersgate Street, is very little, if at all, altered in spite of the monastic brick wall having been pulled down or built upon. There were many disputes from this cause where the bounds crossed Halfmoon Passage and

¹ See p. 202.

² Parish Safe, Plan 6; copy of the plan in the vestry of St. Sepulchre's.

³ Belfry, drawer 7, bundle 8, sec. 7: Illidge, *Excerpts from Endowed Charities*, 1829.

passed at the back of London House; but the parish generally was able to hold its own against St. Botolph's. A give-and-take arrangement, when Westmoreland Buildings were built in the year 1764, necessitated a modification of the boundary there to the detriment of St. Bartholomew's, because in one or two instances it would have extended the privilege of St. Bartholomew's of trading without being free of the city¹ to persons beyond the ancient boundary, and this the Corporation resisted.²

The main alteration in the boundary occurs on the east side of Albion Buildings and south of Westmoreland Buildings. The boundary here now turns to the west (as seen above), whereas in the Bounds of 1544 it turned to the east, to include in the parish Thomas Andrewes's and Richard Mody's property. It is shown later³ how Mody had acquired his house in the south-east corner of the parish (where the Aldersgate ward schools now stand) from Sir John Williams and Sir Edward North, to whom the king had given the house in 1543, so that it was not sold to Rich with the rest of the parish. And this may be the cause why, after Rich purchased it in 1544, the house was absorbed by St. Botolph's parish. As Mr. Illidge, a member of the vestry, wrote (25th October 1824)⁴ when the question of the Bounds was being considered :

'Take that house and garden (Mody's) out and it leaves you such a boundary as you now have : but include his house and garden and you have such a boundary as the Charter describes and such as you now have not but ought to have.'⁵

The main cause of the disputes with the parish of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, arose from the extension westward of premises in the latter parish on to or beyond the ancient monastic wall and the disinclination of the owners to pay rates to both parishes. This is well exemplified in the first case recorded, in the year 1676.⁶

The Half Moon Tavern, to which the wits in the reign of Charles II resorted on account of its proximity to Lauderdale House (which was on the opposite side of Aldersgate Street where Lauderdale Buildings now are), was in St. Botolph's parish. It was the property of Sir John Deane, the first rector of St. Bartholomew's, at the time of his death in 1563, for in his will he bequeathed to Margerie Storke

¹ See below, p. 397.

² *Journals of Court C. C. Guildhall*, lxxv, 272 b, 6 Feb. 1772. Petitions from St. Bartholomew's and St. Botolph's.

³ See below, p. 254.

⁴ Belfry, drawer 17, bundle 8, sec. 6.

⁵ He omits to refer to Andrewes's garden.

⁶ Parish Safe, *Reg. Parish Docs.* i, 263.

his 'tenant's daughter of the Halfe Mone £3' and to Brian Storke and his wife all his 'tenements called the halfe Moune, together with the parloure chambers and shoppe adjoining whiche were three little tenements in the parishe of St. Buttolpe, on the north side of the halfe mounne'. The owner in 1676 was Tyde Roberts: he purchased some small houses in Petty Wales and Paradise, in St. Bartholomew's parish, which were at the back of the Half Moon. These he pulled down and built upon the front portion a new Half Moon Tavern; the back portion he kept as a yard. The old tavern in Aldersgate Street he sold, except a portion of its cellar and the passage leading into Aldersgate Street. He then proceeded to pull down a piece of the ancient monastic wall, whereby he obtained access from his back-yard into the passage from Aldersgate Street. He then claimed to be in St. Botolph's parish where he was not taxed, and not to be in St. Bartholomew's parish where he was taxed. A similar claim was made in the year 1705, when counsel's opinion was again in favour of St. Bartholomew's.

In the year 1781¹ the occupier of this tavern was indicted by the St. Botolph's parish for using the house for immoral purposes, since which time it has ceased to be a tavern. Though St. Botolph's prosecuted they admitted that the offence took place in St. Bartholomew's parish. In spite of this, in the year 1801, St. Botolph's distrained for rates on one Thomas Yates who then occupied the late tavern, but judgement in the Court of Husting was given against them. It was even then not settled, for in the year 1805 St. Bartholomew's employed Thomas Hardwick, the surveyor, in the matter, who reported that he found that one of the boundary marks was immediately over the remains of the ancient wall which formed the west springing wall to an arch of a cellar belonging to Yates, the tobacconist. He reported that the wall was about 28 ft. from the west front of the houses in Aldersgate Street, and that he had traced it running about 23 ft. in a northerly direction.

What was known as London House, on the site of which is now Manchester Avenue, was a fruitful source of trouble.² It was in St. Botolph's parish and had belonged to Lord Petre, who had built on the ruins of the priory wall an infirmary (afterwards called a garden house) and an audit house (as to three-quarters of its length), which were, in consequence, in St. Bartholomew's parish. This Lord Petre, who was in possession in the year 1678, was accused by Titus Oates of complicity in the fabricated popish plot, and died in the Tower. The house and garden therefore reverted to the Crown and Charles II gave it to the Bishop of London for his town house.

¹ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 500.

² Parish Safe, Plan xi.

Disputes with St. Botolph's concerning these buildings on the ruins of the wall commenced in the year 1705, and references thereto occur in the Vestry Minute Books in the years 1717, 1725, 1747, and 1767. In 1768 the disputants began pulling down the boundary marks put up by the opposing parish. In 1771 and 1783 attempts were made to determine the matter, but in 1791 a mark put up by St. Bartholomew's parish was again pulled down. In 1814 it was still unsettled, for Mr. Illidge was requested to collect all the documents relating to the subject in dispute. This he did, but nothing resulted until 1825, when St. Botolph's Vestry expressed a desire to settle the matter by a Joint Committee, by which means an agreement was reached.

The beating of the bounds of the parish was carried out (apparently triennially) for over 200 years. The ceremony took place on Ascension Day, more generally known as Holy Thursday. The procession was headed by the parish beadle, followed by the rector,¹ churchwardens, overseers, and the schoolboys of the parish. The first record we have found is in the churchwardens' accounts of the year 1659, when occurs 'May 10 pd. for poyntz for the boys 00.6.6.' and 'allowance for ye feast on Holy Thursday 01.00.00.' In the year 1669 occurs 'four gross of points used for Ascension Day'. In 1685 occurs 28 points for ye boyes 00.12.00, nose-gays and strawings 5s., wands for ye boys 00.3.6.' In 1698 we find 'June 1 Item pd. Mr. Latham for a gross of points 01.01.00. Expended at the halfe Moon Tavern on the minister, clark, masters and boys, 00.11.00., pd. Mr. Short for nose-gays and strowings 00.03.00., pd. for the ringers on Holy Thursday 00.05.00.' The points were probably small bows of ribbon for the boys' clothes, for it is recorded that at the funeral of Sir John Spencer in the year 1609 each man had among other things 'a pair of gloves and a dozen of points to tie his garments with'.²

One of the difficulties as regards London House arose when beating the bounds in 1816, the house then being occupied by Seddon, the upholsterer. Seddon had bricked up, for his own convenience, an entrance to his yard which interfered with the perambulation by compelling the beaters to go outside their own parish; against this the parishioners protested, so Seddon had to provide a ladder to scale the wall and he had to form a new door in the wall for future use.³

THE PARISH GATES.

It will be seen that the only gates mentioned in the king's 'particulars for grant' are 'le southgate' and the 'west gate of the fair

¹ See later, p. 403.

² C. Knight, *London*, ii, 46.

³ *V. M. Bk.* iv, 362.

of St. Bartholomew'. But Agas's map shows very clearly a small gate in the northern boundary wall near the granary, in the position of the parish gate which was removed in 1879 when the Manchester Hotel was built. This small gate was probably only a postern and for that reason was not mentioned in the 'bounds'.

But on the sale to Rich it was necessary to have more entrances to the parish than in monastic times, and these entrances had to be guarded by gates for the reason that Rich claimed the privilege of 'a liberty'¹ for the parish. Being a 'liberty' the Mayor and Sheriffs had not the right of arresting any person therein. This was naturally resented by the Corporation; but in 1597 when the king had given commandment to the City for the press or levy of 500 soldiers, and the Lord Mayor had directed the city parishes accordingly, 'the inhabitants within the liberty of Great St. Bartholomew's' having taken exception—pretending that the privilege of the liberty freed them from the commandment—the Privy Council supported the Corporation and wrote to Lord Rich, the owner of the liberty, that 'in these public services the liberty gave no such exemptions'.² Again in December 1598 the Council wrote to the Lord Mayor that any claiming exemption should be punished severely.³ However, in 1624 the king had to request the Lord Mayor that the privileges of Lord Kensington within the liberty of St. Bartholomew the Great, which belonged to him and was exempted from the jurisdiction of the city, should not be encroached upon, especially during his employment on the king's service (i.e. negotiating the marriage with Henrietta Maria), and that all impeachments thereof be forborne till the right be legally determined.⁴

The City sometimes ignored the privileges and the owner of them, and indeed the orders of the Council too: thus, in 1626 one John Meredith and his wife, having been arrested within the liberty, appealed to the Earl of Holland, who sent an order for their discharge, which order was disregarded. Meredith having lain in prison a fortnight, further petitioned the earl, who was then Captain of the Guard,⁵ but apparently no satisfaction was obtained, for in the next year, 1627, Meredith petitioned the Council that 'having been formerly unjustly arrested in the liberty of St. Bartholomew, belonging to the Earl of Holland, he had been discharged on the interference of the Council. Lately, since the departure of the earl, he had been re-arrested and could not obtain his discharge.'⁶

¹ *Cal. State Papers*, 1624, p. 210 (29).

² *Acts Priv. Council*, new series, xxvii, 128.

³ *Ib.* xxix, 29 Dec. 1598.

⁵ *Ib.*, 1625-6, p. 466 (99).

⁴ *Cal. State Papers*, 8 Apr. 1624.

⁶ *Ib.*, 1627-8, p. 417 (46).

In 1630 the Earl of Holland's claims were formally disputed by the Corporation, who attended by Counsel at the Council Board, but by reason of the earl's absence the matter could not proceed.

Sometimes the privileges of the 'liberty' were forcibly circumvented by other interested parties, as in 1643, when a man, having an action against his wife, wished to prevent a certain Levinus Hopper from appearing as a witness for her. He therefore repaired to Hopper's house in Great St. Bartholomew's, accompanied by four soldiers who affirmed they were of Col. Mainwaring's regiment, and, pretending they had a warrant for his arrest as a malignant, broke open his door and carried him forcibly forth into the liberty of the city.¹

The necessity of guarding the liberty by gates was therefore apparent. There were eight gates in all. The great South Gate or Britain Gate was the monastic gate from the Close, the overhanging gatehouse of which remained until the year 1720.² This gate was removed in 1888 when the Commissioners of Sewers widened the entrance to the Close (pl. LXXXIII *a*, p. 210).

The church or Smithfield Gate was originally the south-west portal to the façade of the church and led directly into the south aisle of the nave. When the nave was destroyed in 1542 this doorway was left as a convenient place in which to hang a parish gate. The wooden gates shown in Storer and Greig's engraving of 1804 were replaced in 1856 by iron gates, the framework of which still remains (pl. LXXXIII *b*, p. 210).

The Cloth Fair gate or 'the West Gate of the Fair' was at the Smithfield entrance to Cloth Fair both before and after the suppression (pl. LXXXIV *b*, p. 210). The gate was removed in 1908 when the overhanging building of the bank on the north side had to be taken down, owing to the way in which the house on the south side was rebuilt at that time.

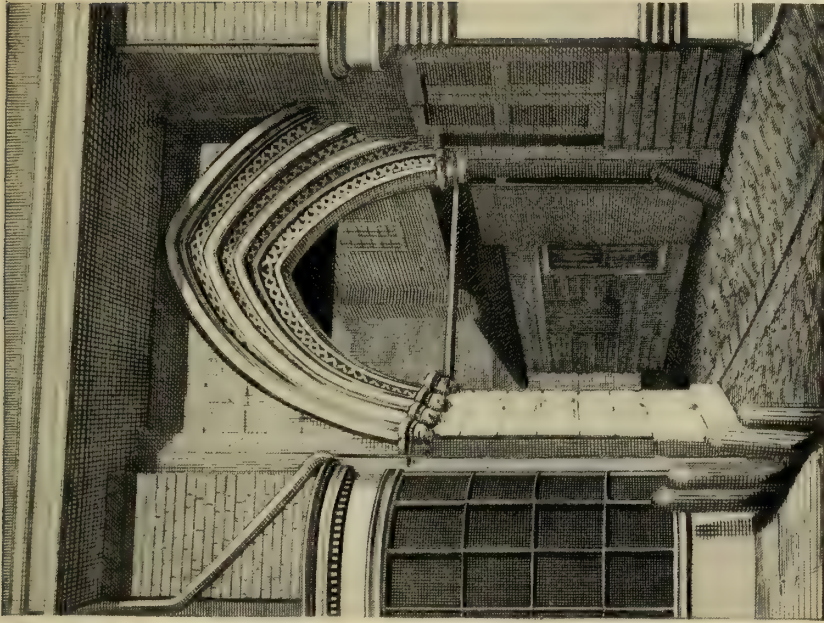
The Barley Mow gate was the westernmost of the five gates in Long Lane, and gave entrance, by the side of the public-house of that name, to Barley-mow Passage.

Solomon's Gate, at No. 57 Long Lane, gave access indirectly to Sun Court. It was removed in 1895, when the Corporation, at the instance of Mr. Deputy Turner, a churchwarden of the parish, did not allow the rebuilding of No. 57, taken down the year before, thereby opening out not only Sun Court but also a fine vista of the new north porch of the church. The name of the gate was modern, being that of the owner of the house pulled down.

¹ Hist. MSS. Com., *Rep.* 5, p. 95. MSS. of the House of Lords.

² Below, p. 222.

b



CHURCH OR SMITHFIELD GATE, 1792
(see pp. 69, 210)

a



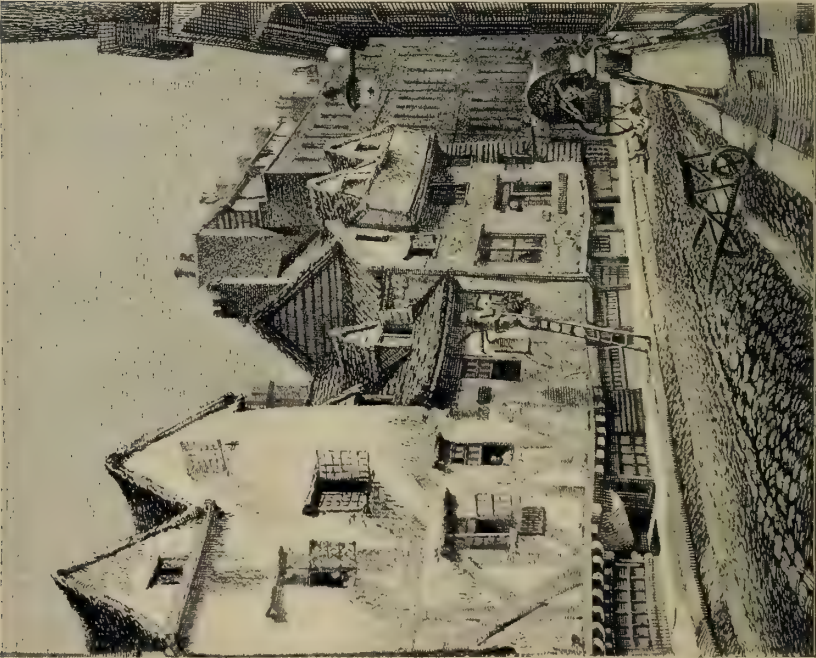
SOUTH GATE OR BRITAIN GATE
(see pp. 181, 210, 222)

b



CLOTH FAIR GATE, 1871
(see p. 210)

a



DUKE STREET, NOW LITTLE BRITAIN, 1807
(see p. 220)

The White Hart Gate at No. 69 Long Lane gave entrance to White Hart Passage, where the original wooden gate remained until 1910.

The Red Cow Gate, named, like the preceding gate, after the adjoining public-house, was at No. 72 Long Lane. Here the Corporation had placed a good iron gate with the civic arms, which also remained until 1910.

The Cloth Street Gate, the last one in Long Lane, was at the entrance to Cloth Street. It was in the position of the one referred to above as the small postern gate of the monastery. When the gate was taken down in 1879 the Corporation declined to rebuild it.

The Halfmoon Passage Gate was removed when the south side of the passage was rebuilt.

The Westmoreland Buildings Gate was half-way down the passage that led between 178 and 179 Aldersgate Street to the close. It was a slender iron gate and was removed in 1910.

The other two gates leading from Aldersgate Street are private property and still remain. One is on the south side of the Manchester Hotel in the passage formerly known as Cox's Court. In 1772 the parish claimed a right of way through this passage and took action on the obstruction of it by Shaw and Seymour, who had closed the gate.¹ The parish, however, lost their case in the King's Bench by a flaw in the indictment. The other, the Queen's Square Gate, is in the passage from 159 Aldersgate Street, known as Bowman's Buildings. The Fishmongers' Company claim to close it yearly on Easter Monday.

On the 25th July 1910 all the gates still standing were, excepting the two private gates mentioned above, removed by agreement with the Corporation,² under the following circumstances:

These gates had been shut every night by the parish watchmen up to the year 1848. At that time the Corporation introduced a Bill into Parliament, subsequently known as the London Sewers Act,³ which among other things was to take over the powers of self-government conferred on the parish by two private Acts of Parliament.⁴ The parish did not wish to relinquish their powers of local self-government and took steps to oppose the Bill. To stay this opposition the Corporation gave an undertaking⁵ to the parish trustees to provide for the maintenance of the parish gates, under which undertaking the Corporation continued to maintain the gates (more or less) and to pay the watchmen.⁶

¹ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 434.

² Parish Safe, D. 121.

³ 11 & 12 Vic., cap. 163.

⁴ 28 Geo. II, cap. 37. 9 Geo. III, cap. 23. Repealed 14, 15 Vic., cap. 91, sec. 45.

⁵ 28 Aug. 1848. App. II, p. 553.

⁶ *V. M. Bk.* vii, 445, 450.

In the year 1908 an opportunity occurred for the parish to acquire the house over the Smithfield gateway and part of the house on the south side of it, for the sum of £1,875. Of this sum £1,600 was publicly subscribed. It was then deemed desirable that there should be a fund available for the preservation of this gateway for all time; and, inasmuch as three of the gates had already been removed, and the others were of no artistic or antiquarian importance and no longer served any useful purpose, it was decided to release the Corporation from their undertaking for a sum of £1,500. So, although the gates are no more, the safety of the Smithfield gateway is secured.¹

THE WATCHMEN AND GATEKEEPERS.

In monastic times there was a janitor or gatekeeper to control those going in and out of the south gate of the monastery. We have already referred² to one Stephen de Clopton who in his will in 1336 described himself as the janitor, and bequeathed his shops in Aldermanbury for the maintenance of the newly-constructed Lady Chapel. Stow mentions that in monastic times the booths in the fair 'were closed in with walls and gates locked every night and watched for safety of men's goods and wares'. In the year 1590, fifty years after the suppression, the office of gatekeeper still continued, for one John Nelson in that year bequeathed to William Thomas 'porter of the gate of Great St. Bartholomew's' his 'mýhte³ gowne fared with budge which he last mended'.⁴

In fact, from the time of the suppression until 1908 there continued to be watchmen for the gates. In that year the agreement with the Corporation mentioned above was first mooted; and, by a curious coincidence, in the same year the last of the watchmen died, so there was no compensation to pay. (Their duties are set out in the Appendix.⁵)

¹ App. II, p. 554.

² Above, p. 75.

³ Magistrate's.

⁴ Wills, App. I, p. 551.

⁵ App. II, p. 564. *V. M. Bk.* iii, 228, 4 Oct. 1744.

CHAPTER XIII

ITINERARY OF THE CLOSE PRECINCT AND THE GLEBE HOUSES

THE ITINERARY OF THE CLOSE

AFTER the suppression, the division of the parish into the 'Close' portion and the 'Fair' portion was continued: indeed in 1678 the vestry resolved¹

'THAT from henceforth the Close shall be accompted a precinct by itself and that the inhabitants therein shall appoint watchmen of their own and pay them by themselves; and all other parish duties.'

It is clear from the registers,² from the rate collectors' books, and from the hearth tax accounts, that there was not only the internal division into two precincts, but that Long Lane by itself formed a third and separate precinct, and that at first each precinct had its own constable.

When speaking of Bartholomew Close, the main open space in the south-west portion of the parish is generally indicated; though the narrow road which leads from the north-west corner of this greater close to the church gate, those leading from the south-east corner to Albion Buildings, and those from the north-east corner past Queen's Square to the schools, as well as the square formerly known as Little Bartholomew Close, are now all included under the name of Bartholomew Close.

One of the principal buildings in the great Close at the present time, on the west side, is the Butchers' Hall, erected in the year 1884 on the site of Nos. 87 and 88 Bartholomew Close. It was built to the design of Mr. Alexander Peebles, and opened on the 7th September 1885. From 1730 the hall had been in Pudding Lane. Opposite are the City of London Union Offices, to build which, in the year 1870, the ancient monastic dormitory was pulled down. The arched entrance from the cloister to the dormitory, in the northern end of the west wall of the Union Office buildings, still remains, though bricked up.³

¹ *V. M. Bk.* i, 66.

² Reg. No. 4, headed: Births in Long Lane 1698-1702. Births in Bartholomew Close 1699-1702.

³ Above, p. 149.

Next door, but at right angles, is No. 62 Bartholomew Close, in the back yard of which is the east cloister arch, of which a small portion only is at present visible.¹

The houses Nos. 63-66 occupy the site of the frater or refectory of the monastery (pl. LXXXV *b*). No. 67 was the new kitchen. All of these houses were evidently rebuilt in the eighteenth century.

Next door to the Union Offices, on the south, is a large red building which occupies the sites of Nos. 60 to 57 Bartholomew Close (pl. LXXXV *a*). This was built, as recorded on an incised stone in the west wall, in the year 1879. It was preceded by a building erected in 1767 by John and Mary Eliot (the Quakers), as shown by a stone from the old building inserted in the same wall. The present building was erected to the design of Sir Aston Webb, P.R.A., which design, when exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1880, was described as 'worthy of the better time of Flanders'. A device in the south gable displays two shields, one with the arms of London, the other with those of Liverpool surmounted by a Canadian beaver—the trade mark of the company of wholesale druggists owning the premises.

The intervening houses, Nos. 55, 56, are occupied by Willmott & Sons, the machine rulers, and were formerly—in the seventeenth century—the premises of Thos. Roycroft, the famous printer of the Polyglot Bible.² In the same century, in 1697, Hogarth the painter was born at No. 58.³

Opposite to No. 59 is the Royal General Dispensary, rebuilt in 1880 to the design of Mr. W. Ward Lee. This dispensary is the oldest institution of its kind in England, having been founded in 1770. It was located, until 1850, in Aldersgate Street, and it was there that Dr. Livingstone, the missionary and explorer, was a pupil under Sir James Risdon Bennett.

To make an itinerary of the Close it will be best to follow the route of the rate collectors, as was done until the houses were first numbered about the year 1833.⁴

No. 1 Bartholomew Close was, before the suppression, the gate-keeper's lodge, and afterwards, as now, one of the glebe houses. At No. 12 commence Albion Buildings, built in 1764 on the site of what had been in 1544 Dr. Bartlett's house and garden.⁵ These were afterwards owned and occupied by Sir Walter Mildmay and in 1628 by the Earl of Westmorland,⁶ when the house was known as Westmoreland House, and the passage there has since been called West-

¹ Above, p. 134.

² Below, p. 287.

³ Below, p. 285.

⁴ The London Directory of 1738 shows that houses in other parts of the city were numbered earlier.

⁵ Below, p. 256.

⁶ Below, p. 266.



b

60 BARTHOLOMEW CLOSE, AS REBUILT 1879
(see p. 214)



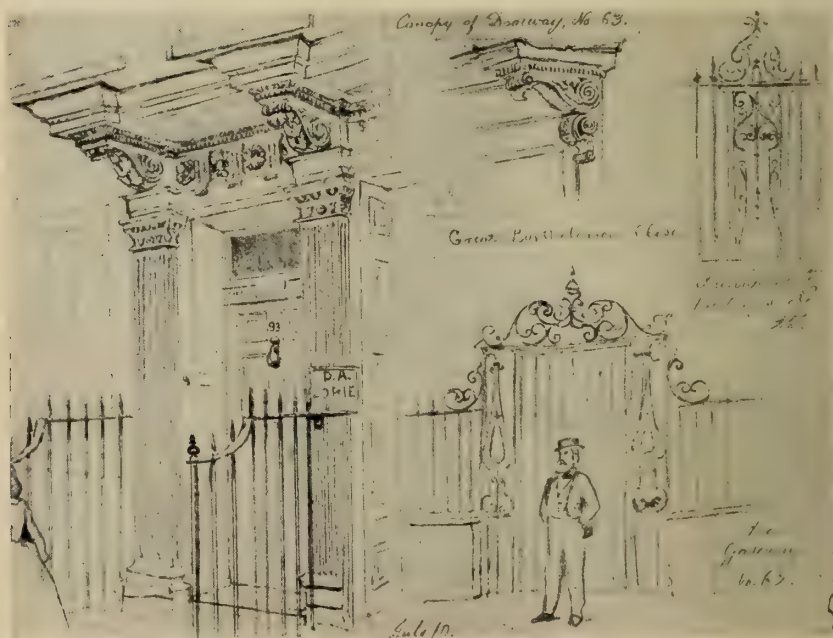
NOS. 62-64 BARTHOLOMEW CLOSE. SITE OF FRATER
(see p. 214)



BACK COURT, CLOTH FAIR, LOOKING WEST
(Almshouses on the left)

b

(see pp. 121, 244)



BARTHOLOMEW CLOSE: PORCHES AND GATES
(Since removed)

moreland Buildings. Before the present buildings were built in 1764 the passage was known as Porridge Pot Alley.¹

Returning to Nos. 15 and 16 Bartholomew Close, where stood the southern portion of London House, already referred to,² there is a court described in Rocque's map (1741) as Westmoreland Court,³ and by Strype in 1720 as 'a square place, formerly a large house, now converted into tenements'. On the portion of London House which faced Aldersgate Street the Albion Tavern was built, from which Albion Buildings derived their name. Immediately in the rear of Nos. 15 and 16 Bartholomew Close was the Bishop of London's chapel, the site of which is now occupied by the south-western end of the Manchester Avenue; but, although within the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, it can only be entered from Aldersgate Street, which is in St. Botolph's parish.

Proceeding past No. 25 Bartholomew Close (the Royal General Dispensary),⁴ and No. 27, destroyed by bombs in 1917, at Nos. 29 and 29A is the site of the old parish watch-house projecting beyond the fronts of the other houses. At its northern side is Queen's Square. This was built in 1708 and at the east end there was, says Strype,⁵ 'a curious picture of Queen Anne in full proportion', but that has long since disappeared. From Queen's Square, a passage named Bowman's Buildings, formerly known as Black Horse Alley, leads into Aldersgate Street, but it is in St. Botolph's parish. At the junction of the square with the passage, on the house on the north side, are the arms of the Fishmongers' Company, with an inscription stating that the Company's property extends 5 ft. 9 in. to the south. The parish boundary marks of St. Bartholomew the Great and St. Botolph Aldersgate are in the same place.

Next to Queen's Square, at 31 Bartholomew Close is Halfmoon Passage, to which reference has already been made.⁶ Until it was rebuilt some years ago the passage was less than 4 ft. wide. It leads through what is described in the Bounds as Petty Wales and Paradise.⁷ On the north side, before the rebuilding, there were two small courts; one, Gregory's court, inhabited by a questionable class, is now covered with warehouses; the other, Elliot's Court, is now occupied by an extension of Collingridge's printing works. The name 'Paradise' denotes an enclosure, or place walled. There was a Paradise at the hospital; there is one at Stoke Newington.

This particular Paradise contained eleven small houses or sheds.

¹ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 74. Seymour, *Survey*, 1751.

² Above, p. 207.

³ So described in warrant 1697, belfry cupboard, drawer 18, bundle 2.

⁴ Below, p. 362.

⁵ Strype, *Stow*, Bk. iii, 235.

⁶ Above, p. 205.

⁷ See also H. A. Harben, *Dictionary of London*.

In 1676 Counsel's brief for proving the Half Moon Tavern to be in this parish—from which we have already quoted—refers both to Paradise and Petty Wales.¹

The name Petty Wales we assume was derived from the houses being occupied, some time before the suppression, by a small colony of Welshmen; just as Little Britain is said to have gained its name from being occupied by the Dukes of Brittany.² There was a Petty Wales in the parish of All Hallows Barking, and another by the Custom House in Lower Thames Street.³

Passing still northward, at No. 38 Bartholomew Close is the 'Rose and Crown' public-house, built in red brick, with stone facings, at the end of the nineteenth century. It has a centre gable, with a prettily bayed window on the first floor and three arched entrances below. On the south side of it is the entrance to a court now known as Bartholomew Place. In monastic times it formed a small part of 'the large garden within the close'; early in the seventeenth century it formed part of Sir Henry North's garden; later in that century it was called Parker's Yard.

The name of William Parker appears in the rate books from 1682 to 1693, and of his widow down to 1718. The Parish Register in August 1695 records that 'A dissenter's child was born in Parker's yard in Bartholomew Close'; and in October 1702 'Roger Ferry, the parish clerk' was buried from Parker's Yard. Strype in 1720 said 'over against Middlesex Court is Parker's Yard, indifferent good'. In the particulars of a sale of 54 dwelling-houses in the parish in the year 1807, lot 4 was described as '38 Little Bartholomew Close with rooms over the gateway into Parker's Yard'. Therefore the parish map of 1828 in the vestry room, which marks a Parker's Yard between Queen's Square and Halfmoon Passage, is probably not so correct as Rocque's map (pl. LXXX b p. 174).

We are now at the northern limit of the close precinct, and turning to the left pass the end of Kinghorn Street, where stood, as Strype says, the 'gateway the bounds of this close',⁴ which has already been referred to. Next to this is Red Lion Passage, which, according to Ogilby's map, was not a thoroughfare in the seventeenth century.

We are now in a square space called simply Bartholomew Close, but which was known in the eighteenth century as Middlesex Court, after the Earl of Middlesex who lived (as already seen)⁵ in the prior's house in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. In the nineteenth century it was known as Little Bartholomew Close, a

¹ *Reg. Par. Docs.*, 271.

² Strype, *Stow*, Bk. iii, p. 112.

³ *Ib.* ii, 52.

⁴ Above, p. 182.

⁵ Above, p. 165.

convenient title to distinguish it from the greater Close, and this might have been retained with advantage.

On the north side of this square are the parochial schools, erected in 1888, to the design of Sir Aston Webb, on the site of the burying-ground of the canons (pl. XLVIII *c*).¹ The Lady Chapel of the church lies behind the schools: when the former was filled with tenements it was numbered 40, 41, and 42 Bartholomew Close. Next to the schools are the steps leading down to the men's club below the schools, to the south door of the Lady Chapel and to the new choir vestry erected on the ancient walls of Rahere's south chapel.

On the west side of the square was, in monastic times, the prior's house, built by Prior Bolton about the year 1517.² After the suppression it was occupied (as already seen)³ by Sir Richard Rich, and then, in about the year 1630, by the Earl of Middlesex. After it was destroyed by fire in 1830 a row of small cottages was built on the site, at right angles to the main building of the prior's house, by a certain Joseph Cockerill who lived in part of the Lady Chapel, No. 40 Bartholomew Close, in about the year 1846. These cottages were known as Cockerill's Buildings.⁴ They ran westward parallel with the church, with a paved walk to the south transept (known then, as now, as the green churchyard), and covered the remains of the chapter-house. On the opposite side of the paved walk, in the year 1849, two other cottages were built, with their backs against the south wall of the church, by one Joseph Pope, who occupied No. 1 himself; they were known as Pope's Cottages.

Next to these cottages eastward the rector of that time, Mr. John Abbiss, in the same year (1849) built a girls' school and school-house over the south chapel and over the northern end of the site of the prior's house, approached from Cockerill's Buildings. In 1857 Thomas Durran built a warehouse abutting upon the south side of the school-house. All these buildings were pulled down in 1912, when the present lofty warehouse was erected by Messrs. Israel & Oppenheimer (to the design of Mr. Walter Pamphilon). It occupies the sites of Nos. 43 and 44 Bartholomew Close.

In the centre of the square there is a detached block of houses known as Fenton's Buildings. They occupy, by tradition, the site of the prior's stables. The buildings do not appear in Ogilby's map of 1677,⁵ but there were stables here in the year 1783, for a Mr. Fenton was granted leave by the vestry in that year 'to project his buildings

¹ Above, p. 189.

² Vol. I, p. 228.

³ Above, p. 160.

⁴ John Cockerill was elected to the vestry 8th Nov. 1831.

⁵ Above, p. 178.

on ground recently Roger and Dyson's stables in Little Bartholomew Close 36 ft. 2 in. westward'. There were Fentons living in the parish or at the hospital for 200 years or more. One Joseph Fenton was assessed to the Lay Subsidy Roll at 'Little St. Bartilmews' in 1623, another Thomas Fenton signed the rate collector's book as churchwarden of St. Bartholomew the Great in 1780, while a third Thomas Fenton, in the year 1807, had a lease of No. 46 Little Bartholomew Close, dependent on the life of Thomas Fenton the younger, then aged 30; so we assume that these buildings were erected by Thomas Fenton, the elder, in 1783.

Out of the west side of this square, under part of No. 45, runs Middlesex Passage, which, after turning south, again turns west and passes under the City Union Offices and so into the north-east corner of the great close, at No. 61 (pl. LXXXI *b*, p. 182). In monastic times it would have passed, on its left hand, first the site of the infirmary garden, then the site of the mulberry garden, and so under and through the dormitory building. In Rocque's map (p. 174) the passage is called Middlesex Court. There is a wooden gate in the passage which is opened at 8 a.m. and closed at dusk, Sundays excepted. It was erected by order of the vestry in 1773¹ (as already stated) and ordered 'to be shut every night till the houses in the passage or any of them' were inhabited. The gate has been allowed to remain until now, as the passage is dark, narrow, and winding.

Returning to Little Bartholomew Close, we pass No. 47, rebuilt in 1910, Nos. 48 and 49 which were pulled down in 1917, and turning south we pass Nos. 50, 51, 52, 53, and 54, the first three of which were pulled down in 1913 and rebuilt in 1920; these eight houses, Nos. 47 to 54, form part of the premises of the wholesale druggists already referred to as being at 57 to 60 Bartholomew Close.

No. 54, though having a very small frontage, runs back a long way and extends to the rear of Nos. 46 and 47. In the middle of the nineteenth century there was a large yard here, which, with the dwelling-house and other buildings, was in the occupation of Boord & Son, the distillers. The portion in the rear of 46 and 47 was, in monastic times, the 'farmery' house and kitchen² and the dwelling-house was part of the infirmary. In the London Directory of 1770, No. 54 was in the occupation of the Vanderplanks, cloth workers, who lived in the parish until the middle of the nineteenth century. The other houses, from 55³ to 67,⁴ have been referred to above. At No. 66 we turn to the north up the narrow road that leads to the church gate over what is believed to have been the site of the guest-

¹ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 448.

² Above, p. 172.

³ *Ib.*, p. 214.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 214.

house (as already shown).¹ No. 67 is the site of the kitchen offices of the 'frater'. Nos. 67 and 68 are built on the site of the west cloister. Pritchard and Burton's stables² at No. 69 occupy the centre of the cloister garth. No. 71 is the 'Coach and Horses' public-house, which stands against the church gate, and was rebuilt in 1856.³ The yard is the northern half of the cloister garth. The stables are on the site of the north cloister walk. At the east end of the yard are the three bays of the cloister recovered and restored to the church in 1905.⁴ When the present leases fall in in the year 1926 the church authorities will come into possession of a portion still farther westward.

Returning down this narrow street, the houses on the west side, Nos. 72 to 84, have their front doors in Little Britain and are there numbered 57 to 48. Nos. 84 and 85, in the corner next to the 'Queen's Head' public-house, were demolished in 1913 and rebuilt into one warehouse, together with No. 86, which was not a glebe house, but belonged to the parish until 1884, when it was taken away under the City of London Parochial Charities Act. This was the 'little house in the close the gift of the Countess of Bolingbroke', referred to by Thomas Gundry in his letter of the 19th September 1666 addressed to the vestry.⁵ Gundry lived at No. 94 or 95 Bartholomew Close in one of the glebe houses.⁶ Nos. 87 and 88, the Butchers' Hall, have been already referred to above. No. 89 was Hugh ap Harry's house in 1544, and was involved in the dispute with the rector David Dee. The other six houses to No. 95 were the glebe and are described below.

In the centre of the Close there is a drinking fountain. In 1845 a plan was drawn for a garden at this spot,⁷ and of recent years the owners of No. 60 offered to provide trees to be planted there, but nothing was done.

In the year 1720 Strype says, 'The close is open and large with several good houses, which generally are all well inhabited; as being a creditable place to live in'. Now it is a place of warehouses and offices, with several carriers' dépôts, which cause a great congestion of carts at all times of the day.

In the Hearth Tax Roll of 1666 there were in all 84 houses taxed in the Close precincts: one with 18 hearths; one with 17; one with 15; two with 14; one with 13; four with 12; fifty with between 10 and 5; and twenty-four with under 5 hearths.⁸

¹ Above, p. 157.

² *Ib.*, p. 137.

³ *Ib.*, p. 66.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 132.

⁵ Parish Safe, D. 21 a; also below, p. 522.

⁶ Below, p. 223.

⁷ Parish Safe, *Plans*, 16, 16 a.

⁸ Lay Sub. Hearth Tax, 147/627.

The houses in the Close are not recorded in the rate books as being numbered until 1833; but in a Cloth Fair rate book the numbers of the houses are given as early as 1769, whilst in other parts of London houses were numbered as early as 1738, as is shown by the London Directory of that year.

The Close seems to have been called St. Bartholomew's Close until the time of the Commonwealth, when the prefix was dropped and has never been restored.

The eastern half of Duck Lane, now Little Britain, as seen by 'the bounds' is within the parish. Its name was changed to Duke Street about the year 1780, but in 1885 it became a mere continuation of Little Britain,¹ which, coming from Aldersgate Street past St. Botolph's church, had previously ended at the entrance to Bartholomew Close. At the time of the suppression the first nine houses from the church gate to the 'Queen's Head' were called Church Row (pl. LXXXIV a, p. 211).²

In the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries the street was largely occupied by second-hand book shops. Pepys in his diary on the 10th April 1668 wrote: 'To Duck Lane and there kissed bookseller's wife and bought Legend'.³ This would probably have been the Golden Legend of Jac. de Voragine. Pepys frequently visited this bookseller's shop, where he had purchased Montaigne's Essays⁴ and Des Cartes' Musique,⁵ both in English. The bookseller's wife shared with the books the attractions of the shop, for on the 20th April he wrote: 'passing through Duck Lane among the booksellers only to get a sight of the pretty little woman I did salute the other night and did again in passing', and on the 10th August he wrote: 'and then abroad to Duck Lane when I saw my little *femme* of the book vendor'.

Styrie, writing in 1720, calls Duck Lane 'a place generally inhabited by booksellers that sell secondhand books'; but Maitland, in 1756, wrote: 'a place once noted for dealers in old books but at present quite forsaken'. At present the southern half is occupied by large factory and warehouse buildings, whilst the northern consists of small tradesmen's shops.

THE GLEBE HOUSES.

The king in his grant of the suppressed monastery to Sir Richard Rich in the year 1544, gave him licence⁸ to grant houses, up to the

¹ Bretton Street occurs in a Husting Will, i, 350.

² *Partics. for Grants*, No. 927.

⁴ *Ib.*, 367.

⁶ *Ib.*, 405.

³ Wheatley, *Pepys' Diary*, vii, 400.

⁵ *Ib.*, 403.

⁷ *Ib.* viii, 78.

⁸ See Vol. I, p. 272.

yearly value of £11, to John Deane, rector, and his successors, rectors, for their maintenance, and also gave to them licence to receive the same. Rich accordingly by deed on the 24th May 1544 granted and confirmed 'to his beloved in Christ John Deane, clerk, Rector of the Parish church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle in West Smithfield',¹ the following messuages and tenements on the west side of the Close. (They are here entered in the same order as in the grant by Rich. The rents paid by the tenants are those in the 'particular for the grant' by the king to Rich.)²

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Richard de Tyrrell, gentleman	40	0
Geoffrey Daniel, gentleman, late Richard Mody, Esquire	46	8
Richard Alen, gentleman	40	0
William Barton	26	8
Joan Martin, widow	13	4
John Usher	26	8
Mathew White, gentleman ³	33	4

These sums, less the 6s. 8d. which had to be paid to John Usher as gatekeeper, amount to the £11 which Rich had to grant. This sum was free from any other outgoing except tithes to the king. The messuages and tenements are described in the grant to Deane as being 'within the Close', but as Agas's map *cir.* 1563 and Hoefnagel's *cir.* 1572 both show a continuous row of buildings along Duck Lane (now Little Britain) the houses must have abutted upon the street and the gardens or yards on to the Close,⁴ except Tyrrell's house, which was next the Close with stables, probably facing Duck Lane, as was the case with ap Harry's property next door, which was not glebe. In the case of Alen's and Barton's houses, the rear portion is called in the early leases 'waste ground with the standing of booths at Bartholomew Fair'.

With the exception of Mathew White's house, which was separate from the other houses, and is so dealt with in the grant, the history of these houses can be traced by the leases, most of which are entered in the episcopal registers of St. Paul's. As a rule the leases were signed by the rector and ratified by the bishop and patron, but a lease granted by Rector Binks in 1579 and five leases by Rector Bateman in 1739 were ratified by the bishop only; whilst those by Bateman in 1760 were ratified by the patron only. Mathew White's house probably was intended for the parsonage house, and, if it was so

¹ *Insperimus*, 25 Eliz., 15 June (1583); App. I, p. 518.

² App. I, p. 504.

³ Wills, App. I, p. 544.

⁴ Wilkinson, *Lond. Illust.*, says at one time the date 1591 was on some of these houses.

occupied by the earlier rectors, that may account for there being no trace of any leases in connexion with it. A list of thirty-seven leases, delivered by Rector Spateman to Rector Bateman in 1737, is among the archives of the church ;¹ twenty-six of these leases came into the possession of the Rector and Churchwardens in 1915. One of these now hangs framed in the cloister ; it is dated 12th August 1553 and bears the signature and seals of Sir John Deane, of Sir Richard Rich, and of Edmund Grindal, Queen Elizabeth's first Bishop of London ; the date of the bishop's signature is later (8th February 1560). Deed No. 3 is signed by John Hayward, the historian, in 1622 ; No. 5 by Dr. Westfield in 1641 ; No. 8 is signed ' Holland ' in the same year ; this was Henry Baron Kensington and Earl of Holland, the patron. Deed No. 9 is signed by the same Earl of Holland, and by Anthony Burgess, the rector in 1666 ; Nos. 10 and 13 are signed by Anne Countess of Warwick and Holland, Rector Burgess and Henry Comp-ton, Bishop of London, in 1678 and 1683 respectively. No. 16 is signed by Edward, third Earl of Holland and Earl of Warwick in 1695, and No. 22 by Thomas Spateman, the rector in 1724.

In the year 1590 and until 1596 Rector Dee was engaged in a lawsuit with some of the tenants of the glebe houses.² The pleadings are preserved among the Chancery proceedings in the time of Queen Elizabeth in the Record Office, and give much additional information regarding the houses.

It will be most convenient to deal with the glebe houses here from south to north.

John Usher's and Joan Martin's houses were both comprised in the gatehouse. Usher's is described as ' a messuage and tenement and chamber . . . situate next the southern gate of the Close ', and widow Martin's as a ' chamber and building . . . situate over the southern gate of the close ' (pl. LXXXIII *a*, p. 210). The chamber over the gate seems to have remained until the year 1720, when Rector Edwardes says, in his book on the glebe houses,³ that it was ' removed for the accommodation of the parish '. In 1582 Rector Pratt granted a thirty-nine years' lease of these premises at an annual rent of £4 10s. to two servants of Lord Rich, William Bowland and Joseph Mannering,⁴ which leases, in the time of Rector Dee's action, had been sold to one of the defendants, Thomas Peryn. The next we hear of the premises is in 1739, when, the room over the gate having been removed, a lease of the portion south of the gate was granted for forty years

¹ *Reg. Par. Doc.* iii, 854.

² Below, p. 311.

⁴ *Reg. Lond.*, Grindal, f. 100.

³ Parish Safe C., O.B. 2.

at a rent of £14 10s.¹ The plan on this lease, Ogilby's map, and the Ordnance Survey of 1875, all agree, and indicate that these premises are now represented by the creamery, No. 33 Little Britain, and the small house No. 1 Bartholomew Close. There is also a plan by Hardwick, in 1816, of No. 1 Bartholomew Close which is called 'the site of a glebe house'.²

Barton's house was on the north side of the gate and Alen's on the north side of Barton's. These two houses were from the first always leased together, though separately occupied. In 1579 Barton's was occupied by Morice Pleman, 'citizen and Merchant Taylor', and Alen's by one Thomas Sydney, and they were both leased in the same year, 1579, to Morice Pleman, at a rent of £3 8s.,³ an increase of only 1s. 8d. on the previous joint rents. In this lease permission was granted to build over the waste land which had been used as booths in Fair time. This lease was not ratified by the patron, but whether for that or some other cause, in 1583 Rector Pratt granted a new lease for forty years⁴ which was ratified both by the patron and the bishop, the rent being raised to £4. At the expiration of this lease in 1623 it was renewed for a similar period at the same rent, after which, apparently, advantage was taken of the permission to build because, when the lease was surrendered in 1641, the rent was raised from £4 to £20, Thomas Gundrey,⁵ referred to above, being the lessee.⁶ This lease included certain 'shopps shedds and roomes' let to another man, built probably on the waste land, and it also included the 'libertie of building over the great gate there as to one of the said houses belonging hath been heretofore accustomed and enjoyed'. But as Barton's house did not project over the gate, probably the liberty was merely to build the south wall of the house as a continuation upwards of the north wall of the gateway. In 1666 Rector Burgess leased the two houses to John Doncaster, of Gray's Inn, for forty years at the same rent, the tenant undertaking to spend £300 on rebuilding and repairs.⁷ In this rebuilding the premises were converted into no less than six houses. These are so shown in Ogilby's map, and in later years were approximately represented by 94 and 95 Bartholomew Close and 34, 35, 36, and 37 Little Britain. But in 1885 No. 34 Little Britain (then called No. 1 Duke Street), and a greater part of No. 95 Bartholomew Close, were taken down by the Corporation to widen the entrance to the Close.⁸ Of recent years the

¹ Reg. Lond., Gibson, f. 58.

² Parish Safe, E., Portfolio I, No. 8.

³ Reg. Lond., Grindal, f. 89.

⁴ Ib., f. 99.

⁵ Below, p. 523.

⁶ Reg. Lond., Laud and Juxon, f. 14.

⁷ Ib., Henschman, f. 188.

⁸ There is a plan of 1 Duke Street and 95 Bartholomew Close dated 1862 in the Parish Safe, No. 18.

small houses, which in the seventeenth century replaced the larger ones, have been in their turn giving way to the building of large warehouses, so that at the present time not only Nos. 34 to 37 Little Britain and No. 94 Bartholomew Close and the remains of No. 95, but also Nos. 92 and 93 in the Close, have all been incorporated in one large warehouse, now in the occupation of W. C. Beetles & Co., Ltd., skirt manufacturers. Previous, however, to these modern changes, in 1739 Rector Bateman granted a forty years' lease of the six houses at a rent of £29 a year to one Leonard Laidman, citizen and Barber Surgeon; ¹ and in 1780 Rector Edwardes granted a single lease of all the glebe houses, excepting the gatehouse and Mathew White's, for forty years at a rent of £90 to one Francis Edwardes, surgeon, of Haverford West ² (doubtless a relation of the rector and of the patron). This lease was apparently surrendered, for in 1786 the same rector granted a similar lease to a Daniel McCarthy.³

Geoffrey Daniel's house, late Mody's, adjoined Alen's on the north side. This messuage with the tenement, we learn from Dee's Chancery proceedings, was leased in 1552 by Rector Deane to John Mansell at the original rent of 46s. 8d. (the highest rental of all the glebe houses) and Mansell sold the lease to a Robert Sharpeigh. In 1583 a forty years' lease was granted by Rector Pratt to a William Downinge for £4 a year.⁴ At its expiration in 1622 Rector Westfield granted another forty years' lease to Sir John Hayward, the historian, to whom reference is made later as an inhabitant of the parish.⁵ This lease is not in the Episcopal Register, but in 1655 Rector Harrison granted a twenty-one years' lease to one Sarah Stone, to commence at the expiration of Hayward's lease ⁶ in 1662, at a rent of £16, and that lease is duly entered at St. Paul's, wherein is stated the fact that Sir John Hayward had been the tenant until his death. It is also mentioned that since his time the premises had been divided into three houses. In 1739 Rector Bateman granted a forty years' lease of the premises,⁷ still at the same rent of £16, and therein the premises are described as consisting of five houses, of which two faced the Close and three Duck Lane. These houses are shown on Ogilby's map, and were, until of late years, represented by Nos. 92 and 93 Bartholomew Close and Nos. 38, 39, and 40 Little Britain. The two houses facing the Close have, as stated above, together with one of the Little Britain houses (No. 38) been absorbed into Beetles & Co.'s large warehouse. In 1780 the five houses were included in the single lease already referred to.

¹ Reg. Lond., Gibson, f. 55.

² *Ib.*, Terrick and Louth, f. 222.

³ *Ib.*, f. 265.

⁴ *Ib.*, Grindal, f. 101.

⁵ Below, p. 274.

⁶ Reg. Lond., Henchman, f. 74.

⁷ *Ib.*, Gibson, f. 59.

The next glebe house on the north was the messuage and tenement of Richard de Tyrrell.¹ It was leased in 1553 by Rector Deane to Nicholas Wyllye for ninety-nine years from Michaelmas 1565, at a rent of 40s.^{2,3} This lease was afterwards sold to Richard Holland (another of the defendants to Dee's claim), who was in occupation in 1590. The original of this lease can now be seen in the cloister of the church; by it the tenant covenanted, among other things, to pave and keep in repair the pavement in the 'King's hyghe streate' before the premises. We are unable to trace any of the subsequent leases until 1739, when the land had been divided into three parts, as shown in Ogilby's map: two of the houses being towards the Close and one next to Duck Lane. In that year the house next to Duck Lane, and the more southern one next the Close, were let by Rector Bateman at a rent of £10 10s. for forty years,⁴ and the more northern one next the Close to Elizabeth Clare at £8 for twenty-one years⁵ and the same house in 1760 to Martha Downing at the same rent.⁶ All these houses were included in the one lease of 1780. The two houses facing the Close were subsequently represented by Nos. 90 and 91 Bartholomew Close, and that next Duck Lane by No. 7 Duke Street, now 41 Little Britain. The site of the former is at present covered by the large warehouse in the occupation of Van Oppen & Co., Ltd., forwarding agents, and that of the Duck Lane house is incorporated with Nos. 39 and 40 (part of Mody's site) in a warehouse now in the occupation of the Dundee Floorcloth and Linoleum Co., Ltd., which is really one structure with that occupied by W. C. Beetles & Co.

The last portion of the glebe lands granted by Rich, though to the north of Tyrrell's, was separated from it by Hugh ap Harry's house. It is mentioned in the grant quite separately and apart from the other glebe lands as 'all that my messuage and tenement now in the tenure and occupation of Mathew White, gentleman, situate and being within the aforesaid Close . . . between the messuage and tenement in the tenure of John Williams, taylor, on the north side' (now No. 48 Little Britain, the Queen's Head and French Horn public-house) . . . 'and of Hugh ap Harry, gentleman, on the south side abutting westward on Duck Lane'.

¹ There is a record in the Feet of Fines, London, Hil. 1 Eliz. (1559) that Tyrrell sold a messuage in the parish to Rd. Durante for £100.

² Rd. Holland mentions in his will in 1597 that he was seized in fee simple in reversion expectant on the determination of the lease of a messuage in the Close. Wills, App. I, 551.

³ Reg. Lond., Grindal, f. 5.

⁵ Ib., f. 61.

⁴ Ib., Gibson, f. 57.

⁶ Ib., f. 214.

We learn from the Chancery proceedings that this house, at the first, was used as the parsonage house and was probably so occupied by Sir John Deane, the first rector. After Deane's death, in October 1563, there was a long interval before another appointment was made—apparently about two years.¹ What happened as regards the parsonage house during that interval does not appear. Rector Dee asserted, as will be seen, that one Ann Lupton encroached upon it. We have no record that the house was, after this time, used as a parsonage house, and in the year 1693 the rector and churchwardens presented that 'they had no parsonage or rectory house nor ever had'.²

We have no exact knowledge as to how far Mathew White's house extended eastward; the rent paid, 33s. 4d., hardly suggests that it extended to the open Close so as to include the corner plot (now the Butchers' Hall); moreover, there is nothing to show that the corner plot was ever glebe land. We do, however, know that in 1666 the small house between the corner plot and Mathew White's, i.e. 86 Bartholomew Close, was not glebe land, for the reason that it was the house given to the parish by the Countess Bolingbroke in that year, and it is not likely therefore that the corner plot was glebe, at least at that date.

On the other hand, we know that Hugh ap Harry's house extended from Duck Lane to the Close, yet when described in the Chancery proceedings no other house beside Mathew White's is mentioned as being on the north of it, which would not have been so if the corner plot had been occupied as a separate messuage; we therefore conclude that the corner plot was not built upon at the time of the grant but was probably open land used for stalls at fair time, and most likely by Hugh ap Harry.

There is, however, to be considered the very small sum, 26s. 8d., at which ap Harry was rented, as compared with Mody, rented at 46s. 8d., a fact commented on by David Dee. But this small rent may be accounted for by assuming that ap Harry was in favour with the king, for whom he had done work at the church after the destruction of the nave and parish chapel, and by the fact that he collected the rents in the parish. It looks as if it was part of the arrangement with Rich that the lease of these low-rented premises should be granted to ap Harry, because the lease was made within two days of Rich's grant of the glebe, and within a few months ap Harry had realized by selling them to some one else. That the rent was out of proportion to the premises is further shown by the house being

¹ See below, p. 307.

² Newcourt, *Rep.*, i, 295.

described as 'a great dwelling-house', a term not used regarding any of the other glebe houses.

A further reason for assuming that ap Harry had secured preferential treatment is that otherwise the obvious thing for Rich to do would have been to make ap Harry's house part of the glebe instead of Mathew White's, thus making the glebe lands self-contained. The rents would have amounted to the requisite sum of £11, and the fee of 6s. 8d. of Usher the gatekeeper could have been paid by the general parishioners.

About the year 1590, ap Harry's house, after passing through several ownerships, came into that of Richard Durante, who divided the property and sold it in two lots, one of which came into the possession of Philip Scudamore, and the other into that of one Thomas Crane. Scudamore's lot contained three stables (used probably by ap Harry in connexion with his 'great dwelling-house') and these, by 1596, had been converted into three houses facing Duck Lane, now represented by 42, 43, and 44 Little Britain. Crane's lot contained the great dwelling-house facing the Close and 'a parlour and cellar under a room in Mathew White's house'. By 1596 Crane had conveyed part of it to trustees for the use of his daughter Elizabeth, and another part to one David Waterhouse for life, which two parts are described in the proceedings as 'sometyme used and reputed as one house'. Thus ap Harry's house had, as early as the sixteenth century, been converted into five houses—three in Duck Lane, now represented by Nos. 42, 43, and 44 Little Britain, and two in Bartholomew Close, now represented by Nos. 87, 88, and 89, which form the Butchers' Hall premises. Mathew White's house was, at some time unknown, also cut up into five houses—three in Little Britain, until lately Nos. 45, 46, and 47, and two in Bartholomew Close, Nos. 84 and 85. These five houses, and what was the parish house, No. 86 Bartholomew Close, acquired for the glebe in 1910, have recently been demolished, and on the sites of these there has been erected in their place one large warehouse now occupied by Messrs. Virgoe Middleton & Co. The house, No. 86, was taken out of the possession of the parish under the City of London Parochial Charities Act of 1883. If we are right in the assumption that the corner plot was part of ap Harry's property, then we incline to the opinion that No. 86, which on the ground floor had a frontage of only 16 ft. and a width of 9 ft. 9 in. in the rear, was built on a part of the small garden claimed by Ann Lupton, the rest of the garden being to the east of it, as shown in Ogilby's map, and her parlour adjoining on the west side under No. 85. It is a curious fact that the house, No. 86, had an encroachment on the glebe house

No. 85 until the year 1820, but instead of encroaching under the glebe house it did so on the first floor and the encroachment was not much more than a cupboard, measuring 5 ft. 3 in., in front of the house with a depth of 9 ft. 6 in. In the year 1820, when a sixty-three years' lease of the house was granted to Rector Abbiss¹ by the churchwardens, the parish relinquished all claim to this little encroaching chamber on the rector engaging to build a party wall between the two houses at his own expense.

The total value of the rectory when Hatton wrote in 1708² was £50 a year; in 1914 it was, according to Crockford, £1,100.

The Chancery proceedings referred to³ originated in a complaint by David Dee, the rector, that one Ann Lupton, a widow, occupied a room and two cellars below in a house with a little garden, which Rich had granted to Sir John Deane as the parsonage house, and that she did this by the toleration of previous rectors, but that now she declined to pay rent. Dee had complained to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had referred the matter to Sir Walter Mildmay, who in turn had referred it to an inhabitant of the parish. This man—whose name is illegible owing to the document being damaged—seems to have told Mildmay that Ann Lupton had no right at all to the rooms, and so Mildmay pronounced in Dee's favour. Ann, however, still would not give up possession; so on Dee's petition a commission to hear and determine the case was appointed. After the rooms had been viewed the commission reported to the Court that the rooms stood underneath the parsonage house and were all under and within one frame, and that the whole house should be Dee's unless some other good conveyance could be shown to void Dee's claim. The case was then ordered to be tried at the Common Law, whereupon Dee petitioned for an injunction to install him in possession, but at the hearing Ann Lupton claimed title by a lease of this room and two cellars which she held from 'one Durant's wife'; and she further stated that her title to the rooms and garden had been established in the Court of Arches. Dee also made Thomas Crane, who—as we have seen—held another part of ap Harry's house, party to the suit on the plea that he also wrongfully held part of the parsonage house, and Dee pleaded in favour of a speedy hearing that he was very poor and charged with a great family.

Crane therefore (on the 3rd November 1591) traced his ownership of his house back to Rich and carried the war into the enemy's camp

¹ Reg. Par. Doc. ii, 404.

² Hatton, *New View*, i, 146.

³ Proc. in Chanc., Eliz., D. d. 9, No. 46, 10 May 1590 (m. 1 very badly damaged, part deficient).

by accusing Dee of pretending title to the rooms over Ann Lupton's parlour, and to another room adjoining the kitchen abutting upon Duck Lane, and of making secret estate of them. Dee replied that John Deane, the rector, was in possession of these rooms over Ann Lupton's at his death, after which, he said, 'the parsonage for long time remained void of an incumbent' but that subsequent rectors succeeded, and on the resignation of Pratt, and a further voidance he (Dee) was duly appointed by Queen Elizabeth by title of lapse, and so he entered into possession of these rooms over Ann's parlour.

If our placing of the rooms in dispute, as above, is correct, then we incline to the opinion that Dee won in the action as far as the rooms were concerned, as they are still glebe, but that he did not win as regards the garden. Dee, however, was still not satisfied since he again appeared in the court in November 1596, where he complained that he was denied possession of the parsonage house, which he described as being, in the year 1544, in the tenure of Mathew White, of which he pleaded that he, as rector, should have possession; instead of which Philip Scudamore, Esq., Richard Hollyland, Gent., Robert Sharpye, Gent., and Edmund Randolphe, Gent., Thomas Peryn and David Waterhouse, Gent., having all had possession of some part of this parsonage house by reason of some estate made at will by one of the previous rectors, long since determined at law, they still kept possession and had various deeds in their possession which rightfully belonged to him (Dee). As he did not know the contents of the deeds he pleaded for a subpoena against all these six men to appear before the Court and answer his complaint.

Philip Scudamore, who had been churchwarden in 1574, and who was knighted in the year of the action (1596), in his reply said that, as Dee had heretofore made claim to the rooms over the Smithfield Gate, as well as to the three messuages in Duck Lane (referred to above), all of them of his own freehold, he did not know to what part of these premises Dee's complaint now referred. He therefore described in detail by what right he held all of them and traced their possession back to Sir Richard Rich. In so doing he gives very valuable information concerning the Smithfield Gate, to which reference is made in the description of the church.¹ He tells us that it was he who pulled down the rooms 'anciently builded', and who rebuilt, in the year 1595, what is the present house over the gate.

As regards the three messuages in Duck Lane he shows clearly that these three houses were formerly the stables of the house which Rich conveyed to Hugh ap Harry, and that Hugh ap Harry conveyed

¹ Above, p. 67.

his large house, with its curious parlour and cellar under the next door house, to George Maxye. In 1558 Maxye conveyed to Ashton Ayleworth;¹ Ayleworth conveyed to Richard Durante (of whose widow, as we have seen, Ann Lupton held a lease of the parlour and cellar), and in 1561 Durante conveyed the Duck Lane half of the premises to Anthony Rowe. On the 10th March 1583 Rowe conveyed them to Philip Scudamore, who pulled down ap Harry's stables and built the three houses in their place. As ap Harry's house was conveyed to him direct by Rich it is clear that it was never part of the glebe. But Dee, seeing that one room which was over ap Harry's parlour was used as part of his glebe house, claimed the parlour below it which did not belong to him; for Scudamore asserted positively that at the time when Rich conveyed it to ap Harry the messuage consisted not only of a great dwelling-house but also of 'one parlour and a cellar then and yet under a chamber then used with the house next adjoining on the north side called later the parsonage house'.

David Waterhouse proved his title to part of ap Harry's premises up to Durante's time, as Scudamore had done, then its possession by Thomas Crane, who, in 1594, conveyed part to William Lockey and William Fletcher (apparently trustees) for the use of his daughter Elizabeth, and part to the defendant, David Waterhouse.

Both he and Scudamore denied that Dee or his predecessors had any rights in their premises or that they had any deeds that belonged to Dee.

The other four defendants were all able to prove that they were lawful tenants of the glebe houses they occupied (in the way shown above), and they were indignant at the unjust, malicious, and vexatious charges to which they had been subjected.

Thomas Peryn showed that he had purchased the lease of Usher's and widow Martin's houses at the gate-house granted by Rector Pratt to William Bowland and Joseph Mannering, the two servants of Lord Rich.

Edmund Randolphe was able to show that he had purchased the leases of Barton's house and Alen's house granted by Rector Pratt to Morice Pleman.

Robert Sharpeigh proved that he had purchased the lease of Mody's house granted by Rector Deane to John Mansell; and Richard Hollyland (or Holland) that he had purchased the lease of Tyrrell's

¹ Feet of Fines, London, Hil. 4 & 5 Phil. & Mary (1558), £40 pd. Ashton Ayleworth the same year purchased by fine of Alex. Wrightington 2 mess. and 2 curtilages in the parish for £40. Feet of Fines, London, Hil. 4 & 5 Phil. & Mary.

house granted by Rector Deane to Nicholas Wyllye. Thus all the glebe lands were accounted for.

Dee then replied to Scudamore and Waterhouse denying that Rich conveyed the premises to ap Harry, to which Scudamore and Waterhouse rejoined, and with these the records of the proceedings end.

The result of this case is not given, but we assume that it was against the rector, who, we shall see later, was deprived.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ITINERARY OF THE CLOTH FAIR PRECINCT, THE ALMSHOUSES, AND THE LONG LANE PRECINCT

ITINERARY OF CLOTH FAIR

THE fair ground as it probably appeared in monastic times has been already described.¹ It was then variously known as 'the Great Green of the Market',² 'the Market of St. Bartholomew', and 'the vacant land of the Fair of St. Bartholomew'.³ Since the suppression it has been generally known as Cloth Fair. Its monastic bounds apparently remained unchanged, as a convenience to the Rich family who retained the property within the Cloth Fair precinct in their own hands, whilst that in the Close precinct was disposed of either as glebe to the rectory, or by sale to divers people, save the monastic buildings called in the rental the 'Capital Mansion House' which were retained and separately leased by Lord Rich, as has been seen.

It would seem from Agas's map, which dates from about the year 1563, that the first Lord Rich, who died in 1567, allowed the fair ground to remain in its monastic condition during his lifetime. It is also probable that his son Robert, the second Lord Rich, who died in 1581, did no serious building here, because Hoefnagel's map of about 1572 shows the ground still open, and there are no records of building operations having taken place there in his time. But when Robert, third Baron Rich (the husband of Penelope), created later Earl of Warwick, came into possession in 1581, he took steps to develop the property. After having obtained from the queen, in the year 1583, confirmation of his rights and privileges,⁴ he started to cover the vacant ground by granting apparently thirty-one year building leases. This was in or about the year 1590, for in that year Lord Rich wrote to a Mr. Hicks to ask Lord Burleigh to persuade the Lord Mayor of London not to stop his building at St. Bartholomew's.⁵ This appeal unfortunately seems to have been effectual as the erection of the crowded buildings went on; in fact it appears that Rich exceeded his rights, for about the year 1595 the Court of Aldermen

¹ Above, p. 183.

² *Aug. Off. Partics. for Grants*, No. 927.

³ Grant to Rich, Pat., 36 Hen. VIII, pt. 12, m. 1.

⁴ Vol. I, p. 293.

⁵ Lansdowne MSS., No. 63, art. 69.

directed that 'Lord Rich be waited upon touching a building set up by him on the city's soil near Gt. St. Bartholomew's';¹ and later they directed that 'an encroachment in Long Lane near St. Bartholomew's by the tenant of Lord Rich be viewed'.²

It is probable that the buildings in Long Lane, and from the church to the Smithfield gate of the Fair (that is to say the buildings on the north side of the great churchyard), and the buildings, demolished in 1917, in Cloth Fair eastward of the north door of the church, were completed by the year 1597, for the leases in the rental of 1616 date from that year.³ The north and south sides of Cloth Fair, Kinghorn Street, and the north side of Middle Street had leases dating from 1598. The leases on the south side of Middle Street, on both sides of Newbury Street, and from Sun Court to New Court, dated from 1608 to 1614. The houses were probably all finished, or nearly so, when Lord Rich conveyed the property to his son Henry on the latter's marriage with Isabel Cope, in the year 1612. Building, however, was still going on somewhere in the parish between 1651 and 1653;⁴ even as late as 1669 there is a record that the Court of Aldermen ordered 'a stay to be made of buildings in the parish of St. Bartholomew',⁵ but this was probably in the Close precinct.

It is interesting to note that the outcry raised in the sixteenth and early in the seventeenth centuries on the erection of these houses, was raised again early in the twentieth century on their demolition. At the latter time Cloth Fair was one of the last bits of Elizabethan London left, and as such it was a favourite subject for the antiquary and artist. When therefore in 1914 the Corporation decided to remove the picturesque old houses backing on to the graveyard, under their improvement scheme of that year, and when they pulled down the houses on both sides of the Fair in 1917 under a sanitary scheme, known as the City of London (Housing of Working Classes) Order 1913, there was considerable protest. But on both occasions there was compensation, for in the first the only remaining bay of the nave of the church, with its interesting thirteenth-century window and remains of its twelfth and thirteenth-century aisle vaulting, was uncovered, and in the second the apse of the church and the Lady Chapel were opened to view. In addition, insanitary buildings were removed and also light and air were admitted into this part of the parish and a playground was provided for the children.

But for a change in the names of the streets, about the year 1638,

¹ Repertories, Guildhall, 23, f. 264.

² *Ib.* 24, f. 198 b.

³ *Rent. and Surv.*, R.O., 11/39, 16 Jas. I, Midd.

⁴ Rep., Guildhall, 62, f. 174.

⁵ *Ib.* 75, f. 224.

there had been but little alteration in the Cloth Fair precinct since the survey was made for Sir Henry Rich in 1616. The twentieth-century changes really commenced about 1892, when the houses on the south side of Cloth Fair, Nos. 12-16, were rebuilt; in the same year, Nos. 9½, 10, and subsequently No. 11, had to make way for the restored north transept of the church and the beautiful porch which stand in their place. In 1916 the picturesque Dick Whittington public-house, No. 24 Cloth Fair, was acquired and subsequently was demolished by the Corporation as part of their sanitary scheme (pl. LXXXVII); and in 1914 part of the west end of the Fair, and in 1917 more of the east end of the Fair, as mentioned above, were removed. The grotesque figures from the Dick Whittington, and the coat of arms from Warwick House (No. 22 Cloth Fair), are preserved in the Guildhall Museum.

There still remains (pl. LXXXVIII *a*, p. 235) in the western half of Cloth Fair, on the north side, an interesting example of a Jacobean house (numbered 41 and 42) which has a wooden projecting window and a weather-boarded fourth story. No. 40 is still occupied by a wholesale firm in the cloth trade—Mitchell, Inman & Co.

Cloth Fair was described by Strype in the year 1720 as 'a place generally inhabited by drapers and mercers and is of some note':¹ it was never a place of residence like the Close, because of the unreasonable and inconsiderate way in which it was crowded with small houses, as already shown.

On the Hearth Tax Roll, of about 1666, the Cloth Fair precinct is separately assessed. The only building with 13 hearths is the Alms-houses, but as these were but three one-roomed cottages it is probable that the assessor thought all the twelve tenements in Back Court were almshouses. Besides this instance of 13 hearths there were two houses with 8 hearths, two with 7, and two with 6; there were 12 with 5 hearths and 159 with less.

An itinerary of the Cloth Fair precinct may advantageously be made by following the survey of 1616, already alluded to, and comparing it with the present conditions; and to facilitate the comparison a plan of the whole parish as described in 1616 has been made (p. 77). The exact title of the survey of that year in the Record Office is: 'A survaie of the libertie of Great St. Bartholomewes and Cloth faire there, being part of the Inheritance of Sr. Henry Rich, Knight. Made and taken in November 1616 by Gilbert Thacker'.² The survey commences at the east end of the parish and works westward.

¹ Strype, *Stow*, Bk. iii, 284.

² *Rentals and Surveys*, R.O., Portfolio 11/39, Midd.

a



FIGURES FORMERLY OUTSIDE THE 'DICK WHITTINGTON'
(see p. 234)

b



THE 'DICK WHITTINGTON' PUBLIC-HOUSE
(see p. 234)

b



WARWICK HOUSE, No. 22 CLOTH FAIR
(pulled down 1917)
(see p. 238)

a



A JACOBEOAN HOUSE, No. 41 CLOTH FAIR
(see p. 234)

NEWBURY STREET in the south-east of the precinct has, in the P.O. Directory, thirty-one numbers, but there are only eighteen occupants, as of recent years the dwelling-houses have for the most part been rebuilt as small factories, such as fancy-box makers, scarf manufacturers, spring-blind makers, &c. In 1616 the survey shows that there were thirty-three houses let to eleven lessees, whose leases were for thirty-one years and were all dated 1614; the rent paid was in all £23 16s. 8d., but the surveyor says they were then—two years later—worth £187 10s. The south side of the street was at that time called ‘Rugman’s Row’ and consisted of eighteen houses, whilst the north side was called ‘Kentish Row’ with fifteen houses. The houses are described in the Rental as ‘uniformly built with bricke and have amongst them there the benefit of a pump standing in the streete about the middle of the rowe and have prospect backwards into the gardens of Sir Henry North¹ and Mr. Doctor Martin’. The average width of the houses on that side was only 11 ft. 4 in.; of those on the opposite side 14 ft. 4 in. The second house in Rugman’s Row was occupied by ‘Anthony Low, Esq., Counsellor at Law’, who paid £11 a year rent. He died in 1641, when a mural tablet was placed in the church to his memory.²

In an account of the profits arising from the fair in 1629³ reference is made to ‘where the Rugg men have 15 shops’, so we may assume that the name of the Row was derived from the fact that rugs were sold there during fair time. In 1639 the street was re-named New Street, which was changed, at the end of the nineteenth century, to Newbury Street.

MIDDLE STREET, ‘CLOTH FAIR’ (as it is always called in the records), is now in line with Cloth Fair on the north of Newbury Street. There are twenty-four numbers in the P.O. Directory but only fifteen occupiers, for the same reason as in Newbury Street. There are now in the street a mantle manufacturer, a blouse manufacturer, a gold blocker, a surgical bootmaker, a cats’ meat dealer, and so on. In 1616 there were thirty houses held by nine persons who paid in all £39 14s. annual rent; worth, says Gilbertone Thacker, £274 a year. The leases of the houses on the north side were all dated the 40th Queen Elizabeth (1598); those on the south dated from 1608 to 1614, from which it would seem that the north side of Middle Street was built before the south side and before either side of Newbury Street.

The south side of Middle Street is called in the survey ‘Court House Row’, doubtless from the fact that the Court of Pie-powder was held

¹ Probably the son of Sir Edward North, who died 1564.

² Below, p. 461.

³ *Rent. and Surv.*, R.O., Portf. 11/40, Midd., 5 Ch. I.

at this time at the 'Hand and Shears' public-house there;¹ a house which still stands (though rebuilt) at the west corner of the south side of the street. The north side of the street is variously called 'Kelschawe's Rowe' in the survey of 1616, 'Kelsick Rowe' in 1629, and 'Kelsey Row' in the Exchequer Plea Rolls of 1719; it was probably called after a man named Kelshaw.

EAST PASSAGE is for pedestrians only and runs between the backs of the Middle Street and Long Lane houses.

BACK PASSAGE is a continuation of East Passage westward at the back of Cloth Fair into New Court, and is figured on Ogilby's map of 1677.

CLOTH STREET runs southward from Long Lane at the back of the Manchester Hotel and gives access to East Passage, Middle Street, and Newbury Street. In the survey it is not described as a street or row but the land at its southern end is described as 'the East end of Cloth Fair', and in Ogilby's map a considerable part of the land is shown to be open as a garden or yard. There were five houses here.² One at the south end was described as 'one faire stable of bricke and a hay lofte and lodging for a groom over the same situate at the south-east corner of Cloth Faire with an entrance, the breadth of an ordinary house, at the end of Rugman's Rowe'. This entrance being apparently in Rugman's Row would have led in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century to the Aldersgate workhouse, leased by the parish of St. Botolph and built on the site of Dr. Martin's garden. It now leads into Collingridge's printing works.

Leading out of Cloth Street into Aldersgate Street, on the site of the house just described, by the south side of the Manchester Hotel, is a passage now without a name. It is protected by a gate and was known in the eighteenth century as Cox's passage.³

Three of the five houses mentioned as being in Cloth Street were at the back of Edward Walmsley's house, which was the Green Dragon Inn in Long Lane; they were held by Richard Toppin on lease with his houses in Longtyled-house Row, which is referred to below. The fifth house is described as consisting of '8 bayes enclosing two sydes of a large yard built open below and above with faire chambers and garrets over them, the whole length of the 8 bayes'. It was apparently to the immediate east of Dr. Martin's stables. In 1629 this street was called 'Green Yard Gate'⁴ in reference probably to the inn. In the parish map of 1828 'Wiggan's stable buildings' are shown here, which must have belonged to the Green Dragon; they are now covered by the Manchester Hotel.

¹ Vol. I, p. 308.

² Leases dated 39 Eliz. (1596-7).

³ See above, p. 211. ⁴ Bark's Book, Rentals and Sur., 5 Chas. I, Portfol. 113.

CLOTH FAIR : THE EASTERN END OF THE NORTH SIDE (pl. LXXXIXa, p. 238). Before its demolition in 1917 this part consisted of fifteen houses, Nos. 24 to 38, or if the Rising Sun Tavern, which now occupies No. 38, were two houses converted into one, the number of houses would then be sixteen, the same as given in the survey of 1616, where it is stated that 'The Starre Tavern' consisted of two houses so converted. The latter was probably a predecessor of the 'Rising Sun', which still remains standing, being outside the Corporation's scheme. In 1616 these houses were known as Longtyled-house Rowe. They were held on lease by five tenants at a total annual rent of £18 os. 8d., but valued as then worth £152 a year. Three of the leases dated from 1598, one from 1603, and one from 1604. One of the leases was held by David Dee, presumably the rector of that name; Richard Toppin had a lease of five houses in which, says the survey, the three houses in Cloth Street referred to above were included; and it adds '1 other being the *Ould Court House* in his own occupation',¹ meaning that the old court-house was not here but in the same lease. In our opinion the Old Court House was in Long Lane. It is not included in the 'particular' of Long Lane, apparently because it was included in the lease of these Longtyled-house Row houses. But the survey, it will be seen below, describes some houses under the description of 'From Smithfield Gate to the ould Court house', which can from internal evidence be none other than Barley Mow Passage, beginning at the south and ending in Barley Mow gateway; on the east side of the gateway is the Barley Mow tavern and this was probably the old Court-house. Toppin had one lease of two houses and another of one house in Long Lane, but they were all farther east than the Barley Mow and none in his own occupation.

One house in Longtyled-house Row had the sign of the 'Red Lyon', which on the plan we have placed opposite the end of Red Lion Passage, though in 1783 the vestry minutes refer to the Red Lion as being in King Street.² The proprietor at that time was severely reprimanded by the vestry for allowing card-playing in his house, and in 1803 his licence was cancelled (though renewed later) for allowing 'tippling' during Divine Service. The Dick Whittington at No. 24, referred to above, claimed to be the oldest licensed house in the City, but it is not once mentioned in the Vestry Minute Books; moreover, the house in the year 1800 is figured in the *European Magazine* as a butcher's shop, and in a drawing by T. H. Shepherd as a hairdresser's.³

¹ Above, p. 236.

² *V. M. Bk. iii*, 508.

³ See also *Lond. Topog. Records*, 1916, p. 147.

KINGHORN STREET, which up to the end of the nineteenth century was known as King Street, runs south from Red Cow Gate to the position of the gate already described as leading into the monastic close, for which reason no doubt it was known at the time of the survey as 'the Close gate rowe'.¹ In 1917 there were five houses on the west side, Nos. 6 to 10, and one on the east side which backed on to the north side of Middle Street. In 1616 there were ten houses, four let on a thirty-one years' lease from 1598 to one person, and six to another person at a total rent of £18 5s., valued at £76 a year. The first house mentioned was occupied by Francis Anthony, the well-known empiric, whose memorial is in the church.²

RED LION PASSAGE lies at the back of Kinghorn Street westward. The only house besides the schools standing on the west side was pulled down in 1917, being included in the Corporation's sanitary scheme, and the site was conveyed to the rector and churchwardens for an open space or playground. On the east side is a model dwelling known as Bartholomew House, erected in 1890. According to Ogilby's map of 1677 there was no thoroughfare through the passage to the Close precinct as there is now. In the survey it is called '*Harts horne rowe*' and consisted of three houses held on lease by Thomas Rogers for thirty-one years from Lady Day 1598, for which he paid a rent of £4 15s., valued by the surveyor at £32 a year. One of the houses was the sign of the Hart's horne, which contained, as already shown, 'a low chamber called the stone room under part of Sir Percival Hart's house'.³ Whether the name of Hartshorne has any connexion with Sir Percival Hart, or whether the name of Horne's yard in Rocque's map for Back Court (which was at the back of Hartshorn Row) refers to a man or to a corruption of the word Hartshorne, we cannot say: it is probably a mere coincidence that King Street should have been changed at the suggestion of the Metropolitan Board of Works in 1885 to Kinghorn Street.

CLOTH FAIR: THE EASTERN END OF THE SOUTH SIDE. There were twelve houses here before the demolition in 1917, numbered 12 to 23. No. 23 was rebuilt so recently as 1894 and Nos. 12 to 16 in 1892, so these were left to be pulled down after the War. No. 22 (pl. LXXXVIII b, p. 235) was known as Warwick House, because it had on its north front the arms of the Rich family (gu. a chevron between three crosses botony or) in a plaster cartouche.⁴ It was an old gabled half-timbered house of the end of the sixteenth century. In 1616 there were eleven houses here called 'Newman's Rowe', from one

¹ Above, p. 181.

² See below, p. 460.

³ Above, p. 77.

⁴ Now preserved in the Guildhall Museum.

b



WESTERN END OF CLOTH FAIR, LOOKING EAST
(see pp. 117, 240)

a



EASTERN END OF CLOTH FAIR, LOOKING EAST
(see p. 237)

PLATE XC



NO. 2 BACK COURT, CLOTH FAIR
(see pp. 123, 239, 242)

Humphrey Newman who had been an original leaseholder of Nos. 12 to 16 at the west end of the row. It is probable that at that time No. 23 at the corner of Kinghorn Street was reckoned as in that street, which would then make the number of houses tally with the number before the demolition. There were five leaseholders; the leases were, like those in the other streets, for thirty-one years. One was dated 1582, which as it is the first mentioned was probably Warwick House; three from 1598 and one from 1612; the rents paid amounted to £17 6s. 8d. and the yearly value was £88.

BACK COURT, before the demolition of the Cloth Fair houses, was a small yard at the back of Nos. 18 to 21. It was entered by a narrow covered way between Nos. 21 and 22 and continued as a narrow alley to the transept of the church. The difficulty of keeping this back alley clean and respectable was the origin of the sanitary scheme of the Corporation. The backs of the Newman's Row houses westwards, Nos. 12 to 17, projected over this passage until the close of the nineteenth century, when, in 1891, Nos. 12 to 16 were rebuilt. The backs of all the Newman's Row houses opened on to Back Court, on the south side of which, at its eastern end, still stood one of Thomas Rogers' two cottages, until it fell in 1904 (pl. XC), and two almshouses pulled down in 1896, all of which backed on to the Lady Chapel.¹ At its western end the south side of the alley was, in the first half of the nineteenth century, a burial-ground for the poor (pl. LIX, p. 119).

In the survey of 1616 Back Court is called 'The Ould Gallery' and consisted of twelve small tenements. The two houses at the eastern end just mentioned were held by Thomas Rogers with his three houses in Hartshorn Row. They were valued at £10 a year. The other ten, though they were all occupied, must have been small one-roomed cottages valued at £2 to £4 a year. In 1632 Lady Saye and Sele bought some of them to build her three almshouses,² which were, in 1632, placed against the Lady Chapel and the east end of the north aisle of the church. In the survey there is a note in another hand 'all thes that is cros is into the skole hous and ames houses built by my lady see'. Rogers' two houses were not marked with a cross; three or probably four, that were so marked, had been converted into three almshouses, and six would have stood against the church, below the school windows, and between the school-house turret stair, still standing, and the transept.

OUR LADY'S GREEN. There was a portion of the Fair precinct known as our Lady's Green, a name probably handed down from

¹ Above, p. 123.

² Below, p. 244; spelt Seal when subscribing to the tower, App. II, p. 535.

monastic times, but there was no street so named. It was that portion of the monastic fair ground that extended from the east end of the Lady Chapel to the north transept. This is shown, as to the east end, from an entry in 'Mr. Barks' book, referred to above, in which he describes 'Hartshorn Thomas Rogers house' which was in Red Lion Passage as being in 'Ladies Greene'. As to the space between the east end and the transept, when T. Rayner assigned his interest to Edward Holmes in a lease granted to R. Holmes in 1598, he refers to the three houses built on the site of the transept (referred to below) as being in Cloth Fair lately known as 'Our Ladys Green'.¹ And when in 1629 Alderman Sir Hugh Hamersley was in possession of the same lease and assigned it to the rector and churchwardens for the poor he described the property as in 'Ladies Green—lying upon the church on the south within the Cloth Fair', thus leaving no doubt as to the site of 'Our Ladys Green'.

Holmes before 1629 had built three houses on the transept site known as 'Holmes his buildings', leaving some eight booths on the property which possibly were those in Back Court.

CLOTH FAIR: THE WESTERN END OF THE NORTH SIDE (pl. LXXXIX *b*, p. 238). This includes Sun Court, New Court, and the east side of Barley Mow Passage, which all run at right angles to Cloth Fair. The houses in this section were not included in either of the Corporation's schemes, so are still standing. Sun Court takes its name from the 'Rising Sun' public-house on its east side (No. 38), which, as suggested above, was the successor of the Star Tavern.² New Court runs parallel with Sun Court, between Nos. 42 and 43, and turning east joins it and encloses a block of buildings consisting of the cloth and woollen warehouse (Nos. 39 and 40) and the old Jacobean house (Nos. 41 and 42), both referred to above.³ Barley Mow Passage runs parallel, again farther west, through a covered way (where was a parish gate)⁴ into Long Lane. The houses between it and New Court (Nos. 43 to 45) now present no features of interest.

The block between Sun Court and New Court is described, in the survey of 1616, as 'The 11 houses upon the square in Launderers Green'. Reference has already been made to this and the next block up to Barley Mow Passage as being the laundry ground of the monastery.⁵ The eleven houses were held under five leases, each for thirty-one years from 1614, which was therefore probably the date of the Jacobean house referred to above. The total annual rent paid was £7 6s. 8d. and the value assessed by the surveyor was £85.

¹ Parish Safe, D. 2 and 3, and Reg. Par. Doc. ii, 363.

² Above, p. 234.

³ Above, p. 210.

⁴ Above, p. 237.

⁵ Above, p. 184.

There is a note in the survey that 'In the midst of this square is containd a courte comon to all these tennants with a pumpe of very pure water in the middle thereof, into which courte there is an entry for all the tennants to come into their houses in the faire tyme whilst all the shoppes be ymployed'. This well was probably formed to supply water for the laundry.

The next block is headed in the survey as '*Thomas Rogers Builders*¹ in *Launders Green*', probably the same Thomas Rogers who is mentioned in connexion with Hartshorn Row;² but as the survey describes this block later on we will keep to the same order.

CLOTH FAIR: THE WESTERN END OF THE SOUTH SIDE. This now (1921) consists only of the north porch of the church; of ground vacant by the demolition, in 1914, of the houses Nos. 6 to 9 Cloth Fair; of the house No. 5 (demolished after the war under the Corporation improvement scheme), and of No. 4 not included in the scheme.

The survey of 1616 describes the houses then standing on the site of the north transept of the church under the title 'Holmes his buildings'. These consisted of the three houses referred to above; the original lease was for thirty-one years from 40 Elizabeth (1598) at a yearly rent of 20s., valued at £24 a year. The first of the three, described as 'situate close to the church wall', was in the tenure of Richard Holmes; the third was known by 'the sign of Three Tonnes'.

We learn from a deed in the parish safe, quoted above,³ that these three houses were built in 1598 by Edward Holmes (the elder), to whom Godfrey Rayner sold his interest in the lease in 1602. The lease subsequently came into the possession of Alderman Sir Hugh Hamersley (as stated above),⁴ who sold it to the rector and churchwardens for £10, the income to be applied to the benefit of the poor. Before this, however, the churchwardens somehow had the benefit of the lease because there are among the churchwardens' papers of the years 1616, 1617, and 1618, receipts from the steward of Lord Rich for 20s. for one whole year's rent 'for certain tenements called the three tuns sometime Holmes'. In the survey only one of the houses is called 'the three tuns'. Again in 1629 the churchwardens' accounts show that they 'received £8 at the three tuns' from one John Sankey for his whole year's rent. There is also a lease⁵ by the churchwardens for twenty-one years of the Three Tuns in Cloth Fair at a rent of £14, a previous lease of 1669 to be cancelled and £30 paid. There is also

¹ 'Buildings' probably intended.

² Parish Safe, D. 2.

³ Parish Safe, D. 8, *Reg. Par. Doc.* ii, 378.

⁴ Above, p. 240.

⁵ Above, p. 240.

a lease dated 1690¹ granted by the churchwarden to one George Webb of 'that shop or shed on the east side of the passage leading to the parish church, together with a room lying over the gateway' for 20s. down and 30s. paid yearly for the use of the poor. And in 1704 the same shop was let for six years at a rental of £3 a year.² The shop was one of 'Holmes' buildings', but we have no record of the room lying over the gateway.

The section westward of the north porch was called in the survey 'from the church to the Smithfield gate'. There were ten houses, the total rents due to Lord Rich amounting to £2 13s. 4d. but valued at £102. The dates of the leases varied from 1597 to 1606. The first seven houses are described as having 'prospects backward into the churchyard' (pls. XC, p. 239, XCI, XCII a). These would have been the picturesque Elizabethan houses demolished in 1914 (referred to above). The first is described as 'situate at the new north doore of the church'.³ The leases of the other three houses were held by Robert Chamberlayne, whose monument is in the church, and who died at sea the year before the survey was made. The first house was known by the 'signe of the Horslytter'; the third by the 'signe of the Coach with two stables of deale board, and was a coachman's shop'. It is described as 'joyning to the church in Smithfield containing at the entrance thereof out of Smithfield two stables for about 8 horses, one small yard and dwelling-house within the same opening on the churchway south and abutting on the churchyard east'. 'The Coach' therefore faced Smithfield (as shown on the plan) and with the second of Chamberlayne's houses (of which no description is given) was all there was, besides the gateway, to represent the façade of the great monastic church. The small yard referred to was brick paved, and in 1906 was built over when the lofty building at the west end of the graveyard was erected. Chamberlayne only paid 13s. 4d. ground rent, but the houses were valued at £50.

The surveyor then returns to *Thos. Rogers' buildings* as above. They consisted of four houses all leased to Rogers (at a sum not mentioned) for thirty-one years from 1609. One occupied by a blacksmith had a forge, one was empty, one was built from the ground floor to the first floor of brick, the remainder of timber. The fourth was a large house with a three-stall stable, a gate of entrance, a large room of three bays with a room and garrets over of the same size, and a cellar below. It joined at the north end the house of Thomas Back, which was in Long Lane and was also in Rogers' occupation. Rogers, says the surveyor, also had a house of his own used with this.

¹ Parish Safe, D. 9, *Reg. Par. Doc.* ii, 370.

² *Ib.* ii, 374.

³ Above, p. 117.



CLOTH FAIR GATEWAY, CHURCH PORCH, HOUSES BACKING
ON TO GRAVEYARD
(see p. 242)



BACKS OF CLOTH FAIR HOUSES
(see p. 242)

b



GOOD FRIDAY SIXPENCES
(see p. 328)

It contained a cellar, a kitchen, a hall over, two chambers and a garret, with a pump at the kitchen corner. At the back of the three-bays building there was 'a pretty court or yard enclosed on the east side with 5 bayes of stabling' and 'a house of office'. This must have been an important place seeing that it was valued at £46 a year, and Sir Percival Hart's house in the Lady Chapel was only valued at £40.

Mr. Bark¹ in his account of the profits of Bartholomew Fair, giving the number of shops as booths at fair time, says 'Launder's Green, Mr. Thos. Rogers his buildings viii bayes and one shop' and 'Launder's Green ye second rowe vii bayes and one shop'. The 'bayes' were probably the stalls of a stable used as booths.

BARLEY MOW PASSAGE east side is called in the survey 'From Smithfield Gate to the ould Court-house'. At present there is but one house numbered 51; it is at the back of the Barley Mow, which is No. 50 Long Lane, but in 1616 there were nine small tenements, or rather eight and two booths. The first is described as joining 'The Bores Head nr. Smithfeild Gate', which, with seven other tenements, were all held by one lessee at an annual rental of 32s. 6d. and valued at £43. The two booths at the northern end are described as 'the last of that rowe towards Mr. Rogers'. The rent of these two booths was only 10s., valued at 30s. The old court-house to which this passage led, which we have suggested was the Barley Mow Tavern, is not mentioned in the survey here or in Long Lane for reasons already given.²

Of WEST SMITHFIELD the eastern part only is in the parish, commencing with Nos. 55 to 57, which are south of the Smithfield Gate. The Gate House (over the gate) is also reckoned as part of No. 57, for, though in separate ownership to the house on the south of the arch, there is a common stair to the two houses. Nos. 55 to 57 are all half-timbered houses covered with tiles made to resemble bricks, such as were removed from the Gate House in 1916.³ Nos. 58 and 59 are the lofty building erected by Biggerstaff the bankers in 1907. They, together with the Smithfield Gate, occupy the position of the west façade of the church which the survey includes as mentioned above with the houses 'from the church to the Smithfield Gate'. The houses north of the entrance to Cloth Fair, Nos. 60 to 66, called in Henry VIII's grant to Rich *Le Ramyge*⁴ are not included in the survey of 1616, probably because they had been sold previously. Nos. 62 and 63 are in St. Sepulchre's parish, as we have seen.⁵ No. 60, which in 1616 was the 'Boar's Head', is now (1921) the London Joint City and Midland Bank; No. 66 is Lloyds Bank.

¹ *Rent. and Surv.*, R.O., 11/40 Midd., 5 Ch. I.

² See above, p. 68.

⁴ Vol. I, App. I, p. 511.

³ Above, p. 237.

⁵ Above, p. 205.

It is explained in the history of the Fair how the shops in the Cloth Fair precinct were reserved for Lord Rich during fair time to let as booths for the fair.¹ The leases also contained a covenant whereby the tenant undertook that there should 'not be entertained or harboured any inmates or more families than one in the same messuage at once without the consent of the parson and churchwardens of the parish of Great St. Bartholomew's obtained in writing', and that 'no tenant or lodger shall there use the trade of making tobacco pipes'.

THE ALMSHOUSES.

As these were in the Cloth Fair precinct they may be conveniently referred to here (pl. LXII, p. 120, and pl. LXXXVI *a*, p. 215). They were founded by Elizabeth, Lady Saye and Sele, a daughter of Elizabeth Scudamore, to whom there is a tablet in the church.² In her will, dated the 5th February 1631/2, she bequeathed to the parish 'the three houses and tenements she had built in the Cloth Fair upon ground she had bought that year of the Lord of Holland to place three widows in, and for their maintenance a house and tenement that she had bought that year, the corner house as you go by the church, of one Perry'.³

The almshouses had to be rebuilt in 1693 by the parishioners at a cost of £30.⁴ In 1763 one of the houses fell⁵ and was not rebuilt, and the other two were repaired by order of the vestry, which, in July of that year, empowered 'the churchwardens to repair the two almshouses which were still standing in Cloth Fair; to get the rubbish removed of a third which had lately fallen; to repair the house belonging to the almshouses and to enclose the ground where the demolished house stood'. This latter house had stood against the church in the angle formed by the junction of the Lady Chapel with the north ambulatory of the church; the other two, adjoining on the east, backed against the Lady Chapel.

These two remaining houses were again rebuilt in 1823 at a cost of £92,⁶ and the fact was inscribed on a tablet fixed outside the building as follows:

E. S. S.

1631.⁷

¹ Vol. I, p. 311.

² Wills, App. I, p. 554.

³ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 380.

⁷ 1632 present style (on a separate stone).

² See pedigree, below, p. 263; also App. II, p. 568.

⁴ Churchwardens' Accts., 1693.

⁶ Belfry cupboard, Recpt. Accts.

1823

Rebuilt at the Parish Expense.	
Rev. John Abbiss, Rector.	
Benjamin Clarke	} Churchwardens.
Charles Aldridge	
William Brough	} Overseers.
Samuel Stephens	
George Dover	
James Graham	
Michael Prendergast, Treasurer.	

The tablet is now preserved in the south triforium of the church.

In 1852 the vestry resolved to apply a certain £21 'for the purpose of erecting an almshouse on the spot adjoining the others where one formerly stood'.¹ But in the following April the resolution was rescinded for one reason that in the meantime, the site having been used as a burial-ground, 'there was no ground on which it could be built'. The evidence of one Samuel Stephens, who was overseer when the houses were rebuilt in 1823, was invoked to show that there had never been more than the two houses. He made an affidavit² that the two houses had the same frontage aforetime as then, and that when he was churchwarden from 1819 to 1821 he had given directions for the burial of the poor in the vacant site 'and that no almshouse or building existed on the said burial-grounds nor was any new ground enclosed for the churchyard'. Stephens, of course, was wrong about the original number of almshouses, but right as regards the burials; for, although these burials against the church wall were removed in 1864 to form a dry area round the church, still two bodies were found there in 1911 during the search for the foundations of a chapel.

Under the City of London Parochial Charities Act of 1883 the parish was deprived of its almshouses, and they were, in 1894, bought back from the commissioners for £150, and pulled down in 1897 for the restoration of the Lady Chapel of the church (as is shown later).³

LONG LANE PRECINCT.

That Long Lane formed a separate precinct is proved by the Hearth Tax Roll giving a separate list for 'Long Lane Precinct', and by the fact that it had its own constable and watch-house;

¹ *V. M. Bk.* vii, 391.

² *Ib.* vii, 407.

³ Below, p. 425.

in January 1705/6 Anne Doncastell is registered as being 'buried from the middle of Long Lane near the watch-house'.

Long Lane has already been referred to in the chapter on the bounds. John Stow, writing in the year 1598, said 'The north wall towards Long Lane being taken down a number of tenements are there erected for such as will give great rents', which date is confirmed by the fact that the leases in the survey of 1616 are dated 1597 and 1598. In 1720 Strype wrote:¹ 'The Lane or rather street is good; the houses pretty good for timber buildings, and is very well inhabited by shopkeepers who deal in apparel, linen and upholsterers goods, both new and old'. Now the western half of the street is largely occupied by butchers' cutlers and butchers' clothiers; the rest with traders of all kinds. No. 56 is still (1921) a timber house. It stands on the west side of Sun Court and has a wooden painted gable front and a wooden side. No. 73, on the eastern side of the Cloth Fair gateway, has a projecting window in front and a half-timbered back covered with tiles like bricks, as was the Smithfield gate-house. Here the licensed houses are numerous, but the numbers of those attending the meat market to be catered for are very large. There is at No. 50, the Barley Mow. The White Hart is at No. 69. Next door but one, Nos. 71 and 72, is the old Red Cow, which stretches across the Cloth Fair or Red Cow gateway. The Dick Whittington was next door in Cloth Fair, and the Hand and Shears in Middle Street (both already referred to) is only a few yards away. The presence of so many licensed houses within the parish has certainly been detrimental to the residents of the lower classes, both men and women. In the parish map of 1828 there was another house at No. 61 by the sign of the Sun and Punch Bowl, and the present White Hart bore the sign of 'The Grapes'. In 1697 there was a house with the sign of the 'Black Swan', for in that year one Mary Howard was 'buried from ye Black Swan in Long Lane'.²

In the survey of 1616 there were forty-six houses in Long Lane. The principal one was the Green Dragon Inn referred to above under Cloth Street. It stood on the site of the monastic garner³ and on that of a portion of the Manchester Hotel which is within the parish. We learn from the survey that the Green Dragon contained a hall, a kitchen, a large cellar, twelve lodging chambers, and three others, one stable, 51 ft. long and 18 ft. broad, another for eight horses and another for three, a court-yard 66 ft. square, a draw well, and a little room joining Cloth Fair. This inn is especially marked in Ogilby's map of 1677.

¹ Strype, *Stow*, Bk. iii, p. 284.

² See also licensed houses, below, p. 357.

³ Above, p. 176.

Thomas Back, the bailiff of Lord Rich, held a lease (twenty-three years from 36 Elizabeth—1594) of three of the houses; one he occupied himself and one was occupied by Thomas Rogers, which, says the survey, was joined at the back to Rogers' building in Launder's Green. This house would have been on the east side of the Barley Mow Tavern. Rogers' own house was on the west side of it, which the survey describes as 'contained in the rest of his building in Launder's Green', but he was not the occupier. The survey also says of it that it was 'the last towards Smithfield', by which we assume that the adjoining house at the corner faced Smithfield and not Long Lane.

From the Hearth Tax Roll¹ we learn that there were two houses in the Long Lane precinct assessed at 9 hearths; three at 8; three at 7; four at 6, and forty-five at 5 and under.

The surveyor of 1616 thus summarizes the inheritance of Sir Henry Rich in the Close, in Cloth Fair and Long Lane, as given in the survey of 1616:

<i>'General Conclusion.'</i>				£	s.	d.
Number of tenants	.	.	.	59	0	0
Number of tenements	.	.	.	208	0	0
Rent paid	.	.	.	334	0	2
Yearly value	.	.	.	2,099	10	0
Clear improvement	.	.	.	1,765	9	10

The profits of the faire, tolls, &c., coming to the Lord of the libertie said to be £140.

(Signed) GILBERTONE THACKER.
27th Decr., 1616.'

¹ Lay Sub. Hearth Tax, 147/627.

CHAPTER XV

INHABITANTS OF THE PARISH

It has already been shown¹ that the monastic close was always a parish and that the inhabitants had always had their own parish church, their own parish priest and their own burying-ground within the monastic walls, a not unusual custom with the larger monasteries. Those inhabitants not directly connected with the convent constituted the parishioners. They were all tenants of the prior and convent, and as such they materially increased the revenue of the house. The injunctions of 1303 ordered that the gates of the Close and of the houses within it were to be more strictly shut at the due hours,² indicating an increase in the number of inhabitants at that time. There were no parishioners in the Fair precinct until after the suppression.

Records of the numbers and identity of the earliest inhabitants and of their numbers do not exist. The earliest record of names is the Lay Subsidy Roll of 1318/9³ (12 Edward II), which gives those assessed in Farringdon Ward Without, but does not say to which parish each belonged. The same applies to the rolls of Edward III,⁴ of Henry IV,⁵ and of Henry VI.⁶ The parishes are first given separately in the roll of 34/5 Henry VIII⁷ (1543). It has therefore been necessary to go to the evidence of the wills of individual parishioners who were living here before the suppression; but these, of course, give no clue to the numbers living in the parish at any one time.

The account of Nicholas Wolfenden, the sub-prior, of rents and lease rents collected in the Close in 1517 should have given the numbers and names of the house-holders of that time, but it does not.⁸ The *Compotus* of Robert Glasyer, the collector in 1534, at Kimbolton Castle—being a roll 7 ft. long⁹—probably gives a full list, but access thereto has not been obtainable. After the suppression we have the subsidy roll of 1543 (see above) and a list of the rent payers and the rents they were paying in the following year (1544). This is contained in the 'particulars for grant',¹⁰ and it is somewhat amplified in the

¹ Above, p. 199.

³ Lay Sub. R., 144/3, 12 Edw. II.

⁵ Ib., 144/20.

⁸ Vol. I, p. 230.

¹⁰ *Aug. Off. Partics. for Grants*, No. 927.

² Vol. I, p. 144.

⁴ Ib., 144/4.

⁶ Ib., 144/31.

⁷ Ib., 144/23, No. 41.

⁹ *Hist. MSS. Com., Rep. i*, 13 a.

grant itself of the parish by the king to Rich. There are 62 names in the grant, so we may fairly estimate the population of the parish at that time as about 250. The number of those paying the lay subsidy in the roll of 1623¹ was 86, or say 350 people; but in the interval it must be remembered Cloth Fair and Long Lane had been covered with houses. In about 1666 the number had risen to 228,² or say 900 people; and in 1674 to 325,³ or say 1,300 people. In 1801, when a census was first taken, there was a total population of 2,645. The highest number reached was in 1851, when the total was 3,499. In 1891 it had fallen to 1,843; in 1901 to 1,441, and in 1911 to 913.⁴

As regards individual inhabitants we have a valuable record in the survey made for Sir Henry Rich in 1616, as described in the preceding chapter.⁵ But that only relates, as was shown, to those living in Cloth Fair, Long Lane and in the monastic buildings in the Close: it does not refer to those living in the many houses in the Close which the Rich family had already disposed of. For these we have, after the subsidy rolls, to turn to the Parish Registers, to the Churchwardens' Accounts, to the Calendars of State Papers, and to the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

The way in which the noble families living here in the first half of the seventeenth century intermarried indicates a social intimacy existing within the parish which seems of sufficient interest to justify the table here presented.⁶ They all were descendants, or had married descendants, of James Walsingham, the grandfather of Sir Francis Walsingham. There were, it will be seen, two groups, the Mildmays, the Carys, the Barretts, the Veres and the Fanes in one group; the Walsinghams, the Manwoods, the Masters and the Cranfields in another group, and these two groups were brought together by the marriage of Lionel Cranfield with Rachel Fane.

Short separate tables are also given of the descent of Lord Abergavenny and of the relationship of the Burgoynes, of the Scudamores, the Coddenhams and the Chamberlaynes, all inhabitants of the parish.

The following short notices of the more important inhabitants resident in the parish both before and after the suppression, may also prove of interest. The earliest record we have of a parishioner is of

WILLIAM, SON OF MARTIN OF ISYLDON, who kept a hostel in the Close, from which he dated his will⁷ at the end of the year 1349.

¹ Lay Sub. R., 147/505, 20 James I.

² *Ib.*, Hearth Tax, 147/627, 18 Charles II. Long Lane, 57; Cloth Fair, 78; Close, 93. Total, 228.

³ *Ib.*, 252/23, pp. 30/2, 26 Carl. II.

⁴ Below, p. 291.

⁵ See p. 263.

⁶ Above, p. 234.

⁷ Cal. Hust. Wills, i. 578.

JOHN DE BURSTALL, we have already recorded, was, with his wife, granted in 1357 a plot of land measuring 40 ft. by 24 ft. within the monastic gates on which to build a house, but which they might not demise without licence; he was also granted a pension of £12, having given the prior and convent £200.¹

JOHN CHISHULL, priest, in the year 1382 executed his will² 'in his lodging within the Close'. Though he had evidently not entered the order he probably took part in the religious life of the community. His will shows that he was not only a man of means but also that he had affection for both the canons and their church. For he instructed his executors to expend £5 in providing necessities for one of the canons—John Bataille. He had helped another canon, John Randish, by the loan of £10 which, on its repayment, was to go to the high altar. He bequeathed £10 for the painting of two pictures on the subject of St. Stephen, as related in the description of the south chapel.³ He directed that his body should be buried before the altar of St. Stephen. He appointed as his executors a brother priest, Walter Faireford, and also John Mirfield, the great physician, to whom we have referred as having a *domus inclusa* in the south triforium, and who himself was a great benefactor to the priory.

RICHARD BRIGGE, alias LANCASTER, who died in 1415, lived in the parish. He assumed the name of Lancaster because Henry IV, who was Duke of Lancaster, had made him the first Lancaster King of Arms.⁴ His will,⁵ in which he describes himself as *Ricardus Brigge alias dictus Lancaster Rex Armorum*, was witnessed among others by two fellow-parishioners, John Walden and Richard Banks.⁶ There was a memorial to him in the church in Stow's time, which was probably destroyed about 1642. His wife Katherine also adopted the surname of Lancaster in her will,⁷ which was made in 1426. She refers therein to a house and plot of ground in St. Bartholomew's in which she and her husband had lived by virtue of indentures made between the late prior⁸ and convent there and themselves. She desired to be buried in the same place as was her husband Richard, before the high altar. She left many bequests:

	s.	d.
For the decoration of the high altar	20	0
To each priest	3	4
To each canon not a priest	1	8
To each cleric who serves	1	0
To the prior	20	0

¹ Vol. I, p. 166.

² Wills, App. I, p. 531.

³ Above, p. 93.

⁴ Mr. Everard Green, Somerset Herald, gave me this information.

⁵ Wills, App. I, p. 532.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 534.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 535.

⁸ John Watford, 1404-1414.

She also left :

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To the prior and convent of the Carthusians	6	8
To the prioress and convent of the Minories	6	8
To each convent of the Dominicans in London	3	4
To the master and brethren of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew	6	8
To each sister who ministered to the poor there	4	
To each poor person there entertained	2	

Also :

To the brotherhood of the Holy Trinity in the church of St. Botolph, Aldersgate	3	4
To each of the two clergy of the church there	4	
To each anchorite in London	8	

All these she desired to pray for the souls of her husband and herself.
She also gave :

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To the prisoners of Ludgate	2	0
Of Newgate	3	4
Of the commonalty of Westminster	2	0
Of the Fleet	3	4
Of Marshalsea	1	8
Of the King's Bench	2	0
To the poor entertained at St. Mary's Bethlehem Hospital	2	0
To the fabric and treasury of St. Paul's Cathedral	6	8

She further bequeathed to the church of Langton, Lincolnshire, a chasuble ornamented with the king's arms, a stole, her missal, and a chalice. To the overseer of her will, John Fray, a baron of the exchequer, she left a golden tablet with the beautiful picture of St. Agnes and her smaller gold ring 'with the diamond', and to each of her executors four gold nobles. She also wished that wax torches should be distributed, two for the high altar of St. Bartholomew's, one for the Lady altar, and one for each of the altars of St. Michael and of St. John.

JOHN WALDEN, who died in 1417, though he dated his will at Tottenham,¹ must have had a house in the parish, for his widow Idonia, who had married as a second husband John Rote, in her will,² dated 1420, bequeathed a house in the parish to found a chantry for Bishop Roger Walden, her brother-in-law, and both she and her first husband were buried in Roger Walden's 'Chapel of All Saints'. Other particulars of these two inhabitants have already been given.³

WILLIAM THIRWALL, Esquire, described himself in his will,⁴ in 1432, as living within the Close of the priory and desired to be buried

¹ Wills, App. I, p. 534.

² Two wills ; App. I, pp. 530, 535.

³ Vol. I, p. 185.

⁴ Wills, App. I, p. 536.

'before the image of the Mother of God by the high altar on the south side'. There was a memorial to him in the church when Stow wrote, but it was destroyed with the rest.

Besides the good people dwelling in the close there were some bad ones. Herbert points out that the precincts of monasteries, and particularly those with the privilege of sanctuary (as was the case at St. Bartholomew's), were favourite haunts of chamber goldsmiths¹—men who worked bad gold. He quotes the amusing entry from the books of the Goldsmiths' Company in the year 1442. The wardens of the Company came to the prior and told him that there were some of these untrue workers within his precinct of which he was not aware. Whilst they were talking one of the gang, Tomkins by name, came up and was ordered to conduct them to his room. He did so, but refused to give up the key until compelled by the prior. In the room they found pieces of latten for letting into goblets, which were intended to be sold for silver, but 'while that yt was a doynge ye said false harlot² stole away out of ye place, or ellis he hadde be set in ye stokkes'.

WALTER SHIRINGTON, a canon of St. Paul's, has already been referred to.³ He was a person of some note and built a chapel and a library at St. Paul's. That he dwelt in the parish is shown by the instruction in his will, made in 1448, that his household should be kept together at St. Bartholomew's for a year and a day.

WILLIAM MARTYN,⁴ in 1531, described himself in his will as 'gentleman' 'dwelling within the close of the monastery of the glorious Apostle Bartholomew'. As already noted⁵ he desired to be buried before the image of St. Christopher. He desired that his patent of brotherhood of the chapel of the monastery of 'St. Barthilmews' and the patent of the brotherhood of the Charterhouse might, soon after his death, be presented unto the chapter-house there to pray for his soul. He bequeathed to a young canon in the monastery named Glasyer, whom he had taken for his son adoptive, 6s. 8d. to pray for his soul; no doubt this was Robert Glasyer the canon, who was the collector of rents within the precincts of the Close.

Martyn's will was not proved until the year 1537. He was probably the father of the William Martyn who, with Dorothy his wife, held a lease of a house and two small tenements in the Close in 1544:⁶ one of which tenements was called John Bates' house. His widow Dorothy went to live in Stepney, but willed to be buried at St. Bartholomew's beside her husband.⁷

¹ Herbert, *Livery Companies*, ii, 179. ² Original meaning: vagabond, knave.

³ Vol. I, p. 206.

⁴ Wills, App. I, p. 540.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 540.

⁶ *Aug. Off. Partics. for Grants*, App. I, p. 506.

⁷ Wills, App. I, p. 544.

SIR ROBERT BLAGGE or Blage, Knight, lived in the parish and died there before the suppression. He was the King's Remembrancer in 1502: he was addressed at 'Great St. Bartholomew's'¹ and was so described as the executor to the will of John Clerke (who also had a town house at St. Bartholomew's) in the year 1508.² He was a baron of the exchequer in 1511, and is so described in his own will and in the will of John Alexander,³ who left benefactions to St. Bartholomew's in the year 1513. He also held other appointments under the Crown.⁴ His house and garden were on the east side of Albion Buildings on the southern part of Aldersgate Ward schools, described as Mody's in the parish bounds.⁵ In his will⁶ he bequeathed his soul to Saints John Baptist, Jerome, Francis and Mary Magdalene, his body to be buried in the monastery of St. Bartholomew, where his first wife Katherine was buried. He bequeathed 66s. 8d. to the prior (Bolton) for his pains and labour to be done in his own person at his funeral, 20 pence to each canon, and 8 marks for the high altar and for newly painting 8 images (as already mentioned).⁷ He left £10 to be spent in 'peny mele for the poor' and 20 marks 'for the promotion and marriage of poor damsels'. He ordered two trentals of masses, and the singing for his soul for three years, saying twice in the week placebo, dirige and commendations. He was apparently buried on the south side of the sanctuary, for John Deane willed to be buried 'by the right side of the chapel, late Mr. Blage's chapel and now Sir Walter Mildmay's chapel, within the quire of great St. Bartilmew's'. As the Mildmay altar-tomb was on the south side of the sanctuary, this marks the position of Blagge's burial-place. This choice of burial-place by Rector Deane suggests that he and Blagge were friends, also the latter willed that an honest priest of good conversation should sing for the soul of himself and others in the chapel of Witton at Northwich, where Deane founded his school.

When describing the bounds⁸ we quoted from the king's grant to Rich, in which the king stated that this house of Justice Blagge he had the year before⁹ given to Sir John Williams of Roycote and Sir Edward North, and also an annual rent of 66s. 8d. issuing out of the same house, reserved by deed dated 20th February 1544 in favour of Sir John Porte. As Blagge died in 1522 it is probable that Williams and North as well as Porte were in occupation of the house before the suppression, and before the gift of the king, and so may be included here among the inhabitants.

¹ Hist. MSS. Com., ii, 327: MSS. Lord Edm. Talbot.

² Wills, App. I, p. 539.

³ *Ib.*, p. 539.

⁴ *D. N. B.*

⁵ App. I, p. 204.

⁶ Wills, App. I, p. 539.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 539.

⁸ Above, p. 206.

⁹ 24 Feb., 34 Hen. VIII (1543).

SIR JOHN PORTE, Knight, was a justice of the King's Bench and probably succeeded Justice Blagge, as the prior and convent granted him the lease of the house in the year 1533,¹ at a rent of 66s. 8*d.* His son John, knighted in 1546, was the founder of Repton school.

SIR EDWARD NORTH, Knight, was the first Baron North, one of the executors of the will of Henry VIII. He was treasurer of the Court of Augmentations from 1541 to 1544, and chancellor of that court in 1545. He was created Baron North of Kirtling in 1554.² In 1540 a warrant was signed by Sir Richard Rich and Sir Nicholas Bacon, at that time solicitor to the Augmentations, for North to retain in his hands £30 of the king's treasure, in consideration of his having built within his house a treasure house and bought divers new and strong iron chests for keeping the monastic treasure.³ The payment of this £30 is recorded in the following year, and it is specified that among other things it was for carrying the plate and jewels of Christ Church, Canterbury to North's house in London, thence to the king at Westminster, and thence to the master of the jewel-house.⁴ It would seem that the house at St. Bartholomew's was granted to Williams and North in 1543 for the purpose of a jewel-house, as Williams was the Keeper of the Jewels. In 1545 Sir Edward North took up his residence in the Charterhouse.

SIR JOHN WILLIAMS OF RYCOTE in the county of Oxford, Knight, after being associated with Thomas Cromwell as treasurer of the king's jewels, was the sole keeper of them from 1537 to 1545. A declaration by him of what he received in that period, including the plate from St. Bartholomew's, has been published (as already stated).⁵ In 1544 he succeeded North as treasurer of the Augmentations, and held the office until 1553. In 1554 he was created by Queen Mary Baron Williams of Thame and was appointed chamberlain to Philip II. He was lord president of Wales in 1559, and died the same year.

RICHARD MODY, to whom North and Williams sold their house, is described, in the Lay Subsidy Roll of 1543, as 'gentleman'. He was there rated at £120, which was higher than any one else. He had servants separately assessed (one at £4 and another at £3). In the 'particulars for grant' he is described as an 'Esquire'. Besides Williams' and North's house he had held a house (92-93) in Bartholomew Close prior to 1544, as already seen.⁶ It was subsequently granted by Rich as part of the glebe, and as such was rated higher than any other glebe house. In the year 1546 he and his wife Katherine

¹ Aug. Off. Decrees, v, 42 b, 20 Feb., 24 Hen. VIII (1533).

² *D. N. B.*

³ L. & P., For. & Dom., xv, No. 631, 4 May 1540.

⁴ L. & P., For. & Dom., xvi, No. 745, 4 May 1541.

⁵ Vol. I, p. 256.

⁶ Above, p. 224.

sold by common recovery¹ two messuages and a garden to Richard Bartlett for the sum of £80. As Bartlett's house adjoined Mody's house and garden, bought of Williams and North, this transaction probably refers to the latter house and garden. We have no other records of Richard Mody.

THOMAS ANDREWES, whose wife Agnes and garden are referred to in the description of the bounds in 1544, is described in the Lay Subsidy of 1543 as 'gentleman', and was assessed at £40. In the 'particulars for grant' he appears as paying an annual rent of 106s. 8d. As we have no further records concerning him it may be that Mody acquired his house and garden, as well as North's, and then sold both to Bartlett. In support of this view are the facts that there were two messuages included in the sale to Bartlett, that Andrewes' and North's properties together made one square block, now represented by the Aldersgate ward schools, and that the whole block together has become alienated from the parish.

SIR RICHARD RICH, the Chancellor of Augmentations, as already seen, took up his residence in the prior's house by or before February 1540;² that is, within four months of the suppression. All records concerning him have already been described.³

RICHARD BELLAMY, gentleman, was a dweller in the Close and a friend of John Deane, then the parish priest; also of Dr. Bartlett, of John Burgoyne and other parishioners who witnessed his will. This will,⁴ which was both dated and proved in January 1538/9, seems to be of sufficient interest to print here in full.

'In the name (&c.) . . . The xi day of January In the yere of our Lord God ml. fyve hundreth XXXVIII . . . I RICHARD BELLAMY wⁱⁿ the precycte of the Closse of the monastery of Saint Bartilmewe in West Smythfelde of London gentleman being sicke in body and hole mynde . . . to be buried in the body of the church of the said monastery of Saint Bartilmew's bitwene the Fonte sett there and the holy image of our Lord Jusu Criste secunde parsonne in Trinitie nere unto the place where my children doo lye. Item I bequeth unto the high awter of Saint Bartilmewes aforesaid for tithes negligently forgotten iiis iiiid Item I bequeth unto the chanons of the said monastery because I am a brother w^t theym of their chapter Seall xiiis iiiid Item I will that the said chanons doo bringe my body from the house where I shall dye if it be within the precincte of the said close unto the churche of the said monastery and there to singe placibo and dirige and masse of Requiem in the morowe after, then to have other xiiis iiiid Item I will my body honestly to be buried w^tout pompe or pride Item I will that

¹ *Feet of Fines, Cities and Towns, London*, 38 Hen. VIII.

² Vol. I, p. 263.

³ Vol. I, pp. 289-296.

⁴ Wills, App. I, p. 540.

my exect shall kepe my months mynde and then he to make a recreaçon unto the worshipfull of the said parishe of Saint Bartilmewes Item I will that there be dealte at the tyme of my burying or else the day folowing unto honest housholders sogenors or dwellers wⁱⁿ the said precyncte and will take money every of them to have viiid a pece Item I will that there shall be a preest singe for me wⁱⁿ the parishe church of Harrowe or else wⁱⁿ the church of Hadley where I was born by the space of an hole yere after the discretion of my said executor and the said prest taking for his salary or wages vj li. xiijs iijd . . .

'These being witnesses Richard Bartlett doctour of Phisick John Burgoyne gentilman Richard Warde gentilman John Deane priest with diverse other.' (Proved 28 January 1538/9 at Lambeth.)

RICHARD BARTLETT,¹ described as a doctor of medicine in the king's grant to Rich in 1544, held a house in the Close at that time at a rent of 53s. 4d. We have already seen, when describing the bounds, that his house and garden were on the site now occupied by Albion Buildings. As his name does not occur on the Lay Subsidy Roll of 1543 we assume that he only became a parishioner late in that year or in 1544; but on the 11th January 1539, he, together with John Deane, then the priest of the parish chapel, and John Burgoyne, a parishioner, witnessed the will of Richard Bellamy, quoted above. In 1546 (as mentioned)² he increased his holding in the parish by a purchase of two messuages and a garden from Richard Mody.

He was a physician of great eminence, and his services were highly valued by Henry VIII, for when, in the year 1532, the Princess Mary was parted from her devoted mother, and her health gave way in consequence, Dr. Bartlett was paid £20 by the king for giving her his attendance.³

Dr. Bartlett was four times president of the College of Physicians, in 1527, 1528, 1531, and 1548. He died in 1558, and was buried on the 22nd January. His funeral is described by Machyn⁴ as taking place 'with a dosen of Skochyons of armes and ii whyt branchys and ii torchys and iii gret tapurs'. He was a friend of Sir Walter Mildmay and his wife. He bequeathed⁵ to Sir Walter 'one pflatt hoope of golde beinge graven within *ab occultis meis* ~~31E~~ (Christe)', and to Lady Mildmay a ring with a small emerald spark in it. His will⁶ made in January 1556/7 was proved in May 1558. He desired to be buried in the church of 'Great St. Bartilmewes'. One of his executors

¹ Not Bartlot as in *D. N. B.* See his and his nephew's wills, App. I, pp. 544, 546.

² Above, p. 255.

³ Strickland, *Lives*, v, 173, quoting privy purse exs. Hen. VIII, pp. 146, 202.

⁴ Machyn, *Diary*, p. 164.

⁵ Wills, App. I, p. 544.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 544.

was 'Mr. William Cooke Doctor of the Lame', in whom he put his special trust and confidence.

He directed his executors to dispose of two-thirds of the residue of his property 'in charitable deedes, for the relief and comforte of the poore, as clothinge of the naked or suche as lacke clothes, shirtes or smockes, in carynge of suche as be sore and sicke, helpinge of the bedreden lame, visitinge the poore sick people in Bethlem and in other prisons in London and the suburbs and in helpinge the poore religious persons'. To the rector Sir John Deane he left 20s. and his 'worstead gowne furred'. He gave 'towards making of the church wall 20s.', and towards making of a 'sollar' ¹ in the parish church at his executors' discretion, and £6 to the 'friars of St. Bartilmewes'.² His 'bason and ewer of silver' he gave to the warden and fellows of All Souls College, Oxford, and his chalice, corporax case and vestment to the churchwardens of Castell Moreton, Worcestershire, for the parishioners there to pray for his soul. His lands and messuages within the close wherein he then dwelt he left to his three nephews, Thomas, Richard, and John Bartlett, sons of his brother Edmund.

Sir Norman Moore tells us ³ that the great Dr. Caius praised Dr. Bartlett's learning, and attended his funeral with the College of Physicians at St. Bartholomew's, and that he owned the copy of Mirfield's great work on medicine, *Breviarium Bartholomei*.

It appears by the will of his brother, Thomas Bartlett,⁴ in the year 1583, that he and this brother had sold the lands and houses in Bartholomew Close to Sir Walter Mildmay and to one Vincent Randall, a mercer, which is confirmed by the Subsidy Roll of 1563/4,⁵ in which Sir Walter Mildmay is assessed at £100 in lands and Barnard Randall (evidently a successor to Vincent) also at £100.

THOMAS BILL, called Thos. Bylle in the lease of his house in the Close granted him by the king in 1542,⁶ and Doctor Bylle in the Lay Subsidy Roll of 1543,⁷ was there assessed in lands and fees at £51. In the 'particulars for grant' he is called Thomas Bylton and described as paying a yearly rent of 53s. 4d., but in the grant to Rich he is styled 'Thomas Bill Doctor of Medicine'. He, at his death in 1551, bequeathed ⁸ 'to the poore people of greate Saynt Bartilmewes Close 6s. 8d.', and gave to Agnes his wife for her life his 'house and gardyn' within the parish. As the entry of his house in the king's grant to Rich comes next to that of Thomas Andrewes it was

¹ A solar was an upper chamber.

² The Dominicans were then in possession.

³ *Fitzpatrick Lectures*, 'Lancet', 18 Nov. 1905.

⁴ Wills, App. I, p. 546.

⁵ Lay Subsidy R. 145/218, 5 Eliz.

⁶ Cal. State Pap. xvii, No. 1258. Leases, 33 Hen. VIII.

⁷ Lay Subsidy R., 144/123, 34/5 Hen. VIII.

⁸ Wills, App. I, p. 544.

probably on the north side of Westmoreland Buildings, next to Thomas Burgoyne's.

DR. NICHOLAS, stranger; a foreigner, assessed at £50, appears in the Lay Subsidy Roll of 1543, but we have otherwise no record concerning him.

DR. JOHN CAIUS, a still better-known physician than Dr. Bartlett, appears in the Subsidy Roll of 1563/4 as 'Doctor Cayues physicion £50'. He was lecturing in London on anatomy from 1544 to 1564, but for how long he occupied a house in Bartholomew Close we have no record: he describes himself in his will in the year 1573 as 'of St. Bartholomew the Less next unto Smithfield'. In 1557 he refounded Gonville Hall, Cambridge, which has since been known as Gonville and Caius College.¹

The family of BURGoyNE lived in the parish for several generations in the sixteenth century. Even in the fifteenth century one Thomas Burgoyne, under sheriff for the city, was associated with the parish, inasmuch as between the years 1455 and 1459 he was appointed to keep the court of Bartholomew Fair on behalf of the city with Thomas Brian, the steward of the prior. He lived in a large house within the precinct of the hospital. He was serjeant at mace 1458-1460, and in his will² (1468) he desired to be buried before the great cross in the church of the hospital of St. Bartholomew, where he had a monument.³

JOHN BURGoyNE was a resident in the parish before the suppression. In the year 1533 he was, with his son Thomas, appointed⁴ by Prior Fuller auditor of accounts of rents of the monastery collected in London. He appears as such in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (1535), his stipend as auditor being 60s. a year. In the year 1508 he was a witness to the will⁵ of his fellow parishioner John Clerke, and in 1539 to that of John Bellamy. He died in August 1540, and is referred to in the 'particulars for grant' as 'John Burgoyne Esquire now deceased', his rent being 40s. His will,⁶ dated the 9th and proved on the 27th August 1540, runs:

'I gyve and bequeith after my decesse to the said Thomas my son my lease and terme of yeres of and in a mesuage and a gardyn thereto adjoining with the appurtennecs in great saint Bartilmewes at London wherein I nowe dwell which I have of the lease of the late prior and convent of Saint Bartilmewes aforesaid.'

¹ D. N. B.

² P. C. C., 1 Wattys, m. 4^d.

³ N. Moore, *Hist. St. B. Hosp.* ii, 30, 35.

⁴ Harl. Chart., 83, A. 43, 25 Hen. VIII.

⁵ Wills, App. I, p. 539.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 541.

This house and garden, as we saw when dealing with the bounds, was north of Westmoreland Buildings and in later years was the site of London House. John Burgoyne named his youngest son Bartholomew; he was a secular priest and was to pray for three years for his soul. His elder sons, Thomas and Robert, were his executors, and the will continues:

'and my brother Thomas Burgoyne, clercke person of Sandaye¹ and my sonne Bartilmew Burgoyne to be supuysors (supervisors) of this my said testament and last will and farther I bequeith to my said brother Thomas Burgoyne clerck parson Sanday fourty shillings for the pains to be taken therein.'

'Sir John Deane clerck perishe priest of great saint Bartilmewes' was the first witness.

THOMAS BURGOYNE was the eldest son of John Burgoyne. As his house and garden are described in the bounds as immediately to the north of Thomas Andrewes' house, which would be on the north side of Westmoreland Buildings where part of London House afterwards stood, that was probably the position of his father's house; his brother Robert being farther north again, as shown in the map (pl. LXVIII, p. 131). We learn from the 'particulars for grant' that his appointment as auditor to the monastery with his father, as mentioned above, was for life and the stipend was 40s., payable from the rent of his house in the Close. On the suppression of the monastery he was allowed a moiety only by the Court of Augmentations, to that court he was appointed auditor, and as such he signed the 'particulars for grant' and of the bounds. In the Lay Subsidy Roll of 1543 he was assessed in lands and fees at £104, a higher amount than any other owner except Richard Mody (£120). We have not found his will, but his brother Robert's will² shows that he was still living in 1546 and his daughter Margaret's³ that he was not living in 1566.

After his death his widow Anne married SIR ROBERT CATLIN, who was the chief justice of the Queen's Bench from 1559 until his death in 1574. Catlin probably occupied his wife's house in the Close. He was evidently a leading parishioner, because Bishop Grindal, when wishing to take the lead from St. Bartholomew's church for St. Paul's,⁴ realized the importance of getting the goodwill not only of Lord Rich and Sir Walter Mildmay but also that of the Lord Chief Justice. Among the State Papers there is a letter from Catlin in the year 1572. In Catlin's will,⁵ dated 24th May, 16 Eliz. (1574), after directing that he

¹ Perhaps Sandy, Beds.

² See below, p. 260.

⁴ Lansdowne MSS., No. 6, Art. 55. See p. 303.

³ See below, p. 261.

⁵ Wills, App. I, p. 546.

should be buried in Sutton, co. Bedford, and leaving 26*s.* 8*d.* for the poor of St. Bartholomew's, he says :

' I will that my saide wyfe (Anne) shall have the occupacon and custodie of all my hanginge of the storye or fable Acteon and Diana hanginge in the chamber in our house at greate Seint Bartilmewes called the carpette chamber . . .

' Also I will that the same my wyfe shall have to her owne proper use all other hanginge whatsoever beinge in the same house of Saint Bartilmewes and occupied there with all other household stuffe pewter brasse, &c. and other ymplements of household . . .

' My daughter Mary Spencer to have the occupacon and custodie of my bedde of crymson velvett with the curteins of crymson sarsonette and the quilte of crymson sarsonet belonginge to the same and also my best bedstede of danske worke ¹ and the testern of yellowe stripped satten and blewe velvett with flowers of golde with the curteins of blewe and yellow cersonett and also my hanginge of the story of Kinge Davide with all the partes of the same.'

He also left tapestry at his house at Newnham, Bedfordshire.

ROBERT BURGOYNE, the second son of John, also lived in the Close. His house, as we saw when describing the bounds, was to the north of his brother's, on what is now the site of Manchester Avenue. He died in 1545, or early in 1546, and made his will before his brother Thomas died, for he left his eldest son Robert to be brought up by ' his uncle Thomas '.² He had two daughters, Dorothy and Elizabeth, and there was a child still to be born when he died. Like the king, though not a Roman he was not a protestant, for he made a bequest ' for dirige masses of Requiem and trentall of masses of the V wounds of owere Lorde the trinyte the hollye gooste and of owere Ladye to be songe and said at St. Bartilmewes '. Whatever position he held was probably due to Sir Richard Rich, for in his will he says :

' I geve and bequethe to the righte worshipfull Sir Richard Riche Knyghte my especiall good maister to be good Mr to my wife and children in all further causes as they shall honestlie require him, twentie poundes stirlinge. And to my especiall good Ladye Elizabeth his wife for a Remembrance five poundes thirteen shillinges and foure pence.'

There were also legacies to his ' sister Anne Burgoyne ', no doubt his brother Thomas's wife, and to his nephew and godson Robert Burgoyne, and to his nephew John Burgoyne, the elder brother. There were also legacies for his cousin John Doddington and for several late abbots of different monasteries, showing where his sympathies lay. He had probably attended the auctions of the goods of some of

¹ Damask.

² Wills, App. I, p. 542.

the suppressed houses (or perhaps of St. Bartholomew's only), for he was possessed of several church vestments. He says in his will :

' I give and bequethe unto the church of Hackneye one cope, to Saint Bartholomewes in London one coope and one vestmente with the apparrell. To Watton at Stone church [Herts.] twoo coopes, to Sutton church one coope (where he was born). To Dunter church one coope, to Sandaye church one cope, to Polton church one coope and to Langforde church one coope.'

One of the witnesses to the will was Thomas Catlin, some relation no doubt to Sir Robert who married the widow of Thomas Burgoyne.¹

As to the children of Thomas Burgoyne, just referred to as nephews of Robert : of the elder, John, we have no record, other than that he was alive in 1584, when his brother Robert bequeathed him £30. The younger, Robert, godson of his uncle Robert, died in 1584. Though he had been living at St. Giles's in the Fields, in his will,² where he describes himself as 'gentleman', he desires to be buried 'within the parishe church of Greate Saint Bartholomew'. He gave and bequeathed 'to Ladye Anne Catlyn' his 'naturall and derely beloved mother one ringe of goulde of the value of ffyve markes'. Another to his cousin Robert, his uncle Robert's eldest son, who had been brought up with him. Thomas Burgoyne also had a daughter Margaret. She died in the year 1566 and was buried at Sutton. In her will³ she said :

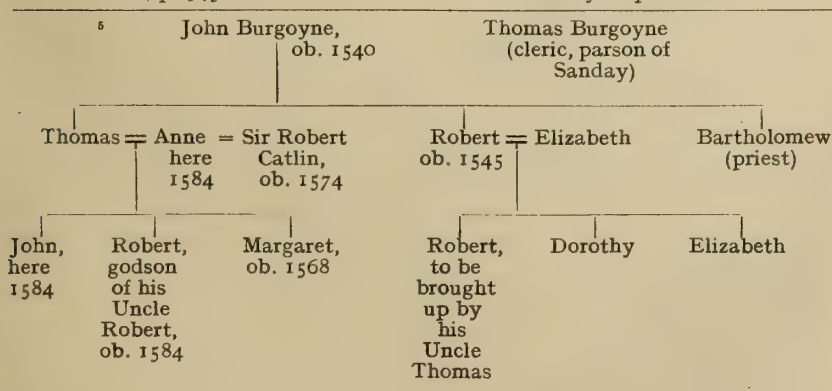
' I bequeath unto Sir Robert Catlyn Knighte the ciffe justice of Englande, my father-in-lawe,⁴ twenty markes. Item I gyve unto my brother John Burgoyne thee hundreth poundes which he hathe in his handes. Item I gyve unto my brother Robert Burgoyne thre score poundes . . . Item I gyve to be distributed to the poore people of greate St. Bartylmews in London ffortie shillings.⁵

¹ Above, p. 259.

³ *Ib.*, p. 545.

² Wills, App. I, p. 546.

⁴ Really step-father.



RICHARD DUKE was a clerk of the council¹ of the Augmentations, and as such he signed the particulars of the parish bounds with Sir Richard Rich and Thomas Burgoyne. In the 'particulars for grant' in 1544 he is shown as in possession of the lease of a house in the parish valued at £40 which had been demised to Richard Ward. In 1563 he was assessed for the subsidy² 'in landes £200'; the highest assessment in the list.

THOMAS TYRRELL also occurs in the 'particulars for grant' as having a small house in the Close for which he was paying 20s. a year, and also in the Subsidy Roll of 1543 when he was assessed at £3. He was a king's messenger, and in the latter year he was paid out of the Augmentation Accounts in June for riding 644 miles 53s. 8d., in August for riding costs 38s. 10d., and for livery coat 33s. 4d.³

DOROTHY PAVER, widow, was a well-to-do person dwelling in the Close. In the Lay Subsidy Roll of 1543 she appears as Dorothe Payvor and was assessed at £26. In the 'particulars for grant' of 1544 she appears as Dorothy Paver paying a rent on lease of 40s. Her will, in which she is called Dorothe Paner, is dated in September and was proved in October 1548. It seems of sufficient interest to give in full in the Appendix.⁴

SIR WALTER MILD MAY, Knight, to whom reference⁵ has already been made and to whom reference will again be made when describing his monument in the church,⁶ was assessed for the subsidy of 1563 in the parish 'in landes £100'. His possessions in the Close were considerable, and after the date of the subsidy, in 1566-1567, he bought by fine⁷ from 'Hy. Coddendam Esq. and Elizabeth his wife' (afterwards the wife of Philip Scudamore) '8 messuages, 4 tofts and 4 gardens in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great and of St. Botolph Aldersgate', for the sum of £200.

It has already been seen that he at one time owned the frater⁸ and the cloister;⁹ also that Dr. Bartlett and his brother Thomas had sold him half their inheritance in the Close¹⁰ (now Albion Buildings). There can be no doubt that this was Sir Walter's dwelling-place, and that he added to it a garden in St. Botolph's parish of which he had obtained a 200 years' lease from Christopher Tamworth, at a yearly rent of 4d.: for he says in his will¹¹ that his 'meaning and intention was that his garden should go and continue in the occupation of such person as should have his dwelling-house in Great St. Bartholomew's'.

¹ Index, Cal. Pat., 1541.

² Lay Sub. R.; 145/218, 5 Eliz.

³ Cal. L. & P., For. & Dom., 34 Hen. VIII (1543), No. 436, p. 262.

⁴ Wills, App. I, p. 543.

⁵ Above, p. 137.

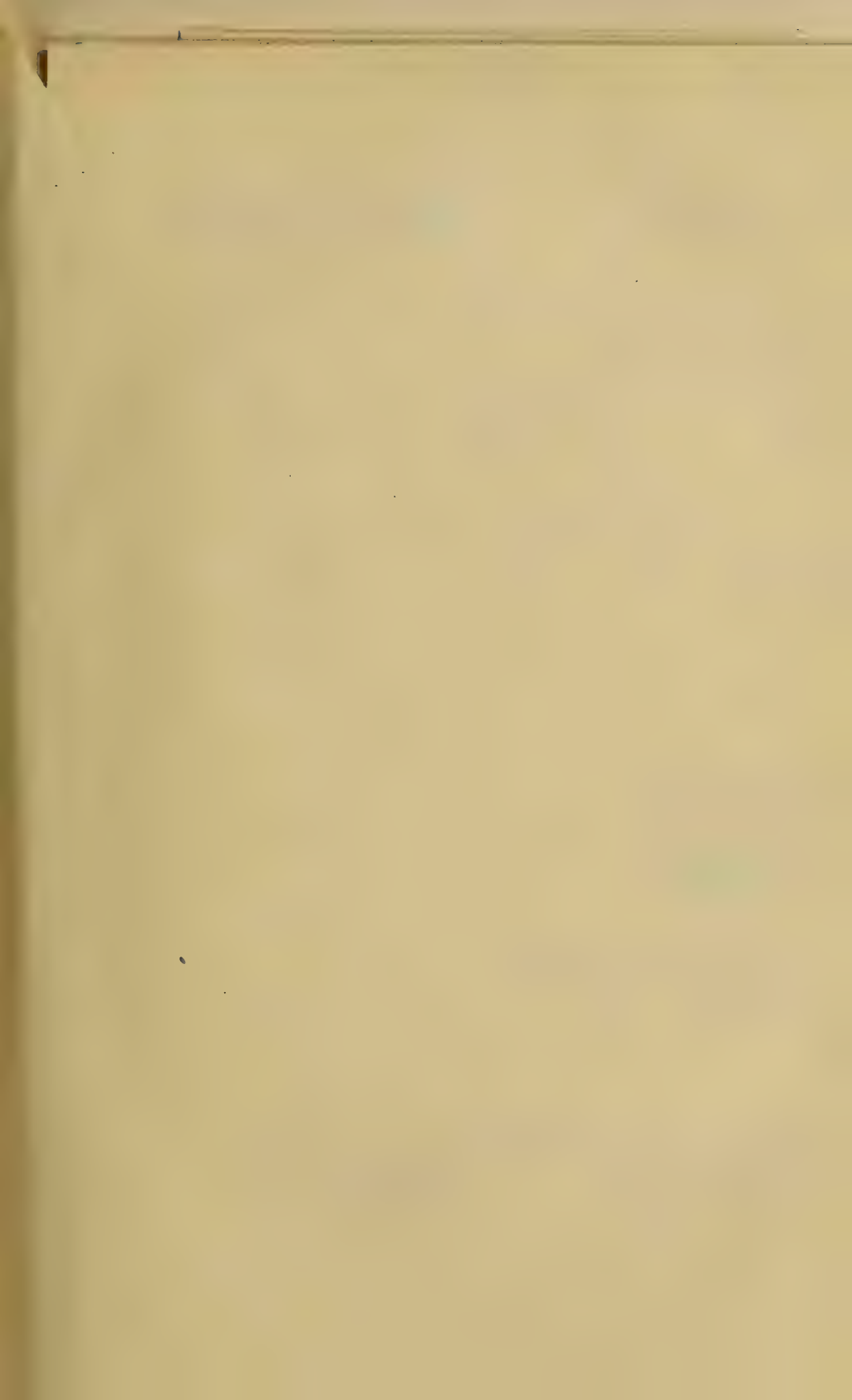
⁶ Below, p. 451.

⁷ *Feet of Fines, London*, 9 Eliz.

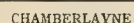
⁸ Above, p. 156.

⁹ Above, p. 137. ¹⁰ Will Thos. Bartlett, App. I, p. 546.

¹¹ *Ib.*, p. 548.



DURING THE LATTER HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH AND THE FIRST HALF OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES



His son, Sir Anthony Mildmay, inherited this house and garden, and his elder daughter Mary in turn inherited them from him. She married in the year 1624 Sir Francis Fane, afterwards first Earl of Westmorland of the second creation, and continued to reside there. The house and garden were then named Westmoreland House; a name which is still perpetuated in the parish in 'Westmoreland Buildings'. The garden acquired from Christopher Tamworth may have been either that which in the bounds is described as Thomas Andrewes', or the part adjoining on the south which, in the year 1544, Williams and North had sold to Mody (as seen above).¹

Sir Walter Mildmay is an historical personage who served faithfully four sovereigns—Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth (pl. XCIII, p. 264). He was born about the year 1520. His father, Thomas Mildmay, was a commissioner for receiving the surrender of the monasteries and was also one of the auditors of the Court of Augmentations. It was in this way, we may assume, that the family became associated with St. Bartholomew's parish, where, both before and after the suppression, many members of that court resided. Sir Walter Mildmay was knighted in 1546, and the next year he was appointed to report on the Crown revenues. He was appointed in 1548 a commissioner for the sale of chantry lands, because he was a man of 'tried wisdoms, and faithfull discrecion'.² From that time he was constantly being appointed to such-like posts of trust, which concerned the monetary affairs of the kingdom. In 1550 he was, with others, directed to examine the accounts of the king's mint. In the following year he had the superintendence of a new mint at York. In 1552 he was appointed a commissioner to settle with the crown accountants the effect of a fall in the value of money, and also to superintend the receipt by the crown of plate, jewels, bells, and the like, surrendered by the monasteries and chantries.

Under Queen Mary he was treasurer of the forces and was sent to the relief of Calais. Under Queen Elizabeth he was made a privy councillor and employed, amongst other things, in directing the issue of a new coinage. In 1556 he became chancellor of the exchequer,³ which office, with that of a sub-treasurer of the exchequer, he held at the time of his death in 1589. Among the Hatfield MSS.⁴ is a warrant, issued in 1577 to Lord Burleigh and Sir Walter, to buy gold and silver bullion for the public service; and in 1579 he addressed the Council on the necessity of a reformation in the weights of standard gold throughout the realm and of preventing the clipping of the current coin; he also made proposals for the new management of

¹ Above, p. 255.

² Acts P. C. 1547-1550, p. 186.

³ D. N. B.

⁴ Hist. MSS. Com., Rep. 1, MSS. *Marquis of Salisbury*, p. 216.

the mint.¹ Being so great a financier it is of some interest that his tomb should have been restored in 1870 by his descendant Mr. Henry Bingham Mildmay, a partner in the great banking house of Baring Brothers. The Barings were the London agents for the Bingham of Philadelphia, and the connexion was brought about by one Miss Bingham marrying Sir Henry Mildmay and another Miss Bingham marrying a Mr. Henry Baring.

Sir Walter Mildmay entered Parliament in 1552 as member for Malden, and the next year as member for Peterborough. His wife Mary was sister of Sir Francis Walsingham, but he does not seem to have taken much part in politics, with the exception of the case of Mary Queen of Scots, and in that he played a leading part with Walsingham. In 1568 he recommended her detention in England, whither she had fled from Loch Leven to seek the protection of Elizabeth. He visited Queen Mary in 1570 when she was transferred to Chatsworth. He was also sent to her in 1582 and 1583. In October 1586 it was Sir Walter Mildmay who was sent to Fotheringay Castle to inform her of her coming trial. On the 3rd November following he made a speech in parliament against the queen which is preserved among the Tanner MSS.² in the Bodleian Library, from which the following are extracts :

' My m(aste)rs you have herde very wisely and plainly declared unto you a most rare & abhominable conspiracy intended against her majesty our most gracious soveraigne . . . I have thought it my duty to speake myne opinion of three speciill points wch. consene the same, viz. against whom the treason was comitted, by whom it was concluded and to what end it was entended. It was comited againste our most gracious soveraigne in goinge about to take awaye her life. It was concluded upon by the quene of Scots a principall actor & rote of that conspiracye ; it was done of flatt purpose to kill our soveraigne, sett the crown of this realm on the Q. of Scots hed, alter religion, overthrow us all & lay upon us or our posteritie the hevey yoke of Rome known to a nombr. of you ' . . .

In the end he gave ' flattly his oppinion y^t the rote of these evells must of necesitie be taken awaie ' . . .

The indictment was drawn up jointly by Walsingham and Mildmay, and Mildmay was one of the special commissioners at the trial. Queen Mary was beheaded on the 8th February 1587. Though Elizabeth signed the death warrant she alleged that she had never intended its execution to take place. The blame was fastened on William Davison, her secretary and a member of the commission, whose prosecution in the Star Chamber was urged by Mildmay. At his trial³ it was

¹ Acts P. C., x, 437, 29 Dec. 1578. State Pap., 1579, Jan. 24.

² No. 78, f. 16.

³ Hist. MSS. Com., Rep. 4, *Lord Bagot's MSS.*, p. 340.



SIR WALTER MILD MAY, KT.
(see p. 263)



HENRY RICH, EARL OF HOLLAND
(see p. 293)



SIR ROGER MANWOOD, KT.
(see p. 267)

[illegible]

MANWOOD'S LETTER
(see p. 310)

stated that 'the Queen gave Davison the warrant signed to be kept secretly, none to be privy except the Chancellor and Walsingham. Davison took it to Walsingham . . . and then went to the Lord Treasurer and divers others of her Majesty's Privie Counsellors. The Lord Treasurer asked if it was to be sealed : Davison said Her Majesty was content and would not be more troubled in the matter. Afterwards he came to the Lord Chancellor, affirming the same and upon this the Lord Chancellor passed the seal'.

Sir Walter Mildmay gave judgement for a fine of 10,000 marks and imprisonment during Her Majesty's pleasure for 'misprision and contempt'.

Sir Walter Mildmay was a great anti-papist, and we see no Christian emblem on his tomb.¹ In 1584 he founded Emmanuel College at Cambridge, on the site of the house of the Dominicans ; on which occasion the often-quoted conversation, as reported by Fuller, is said to have taken place :

Queen Elizabeth said : 'Sir Walter, I hear you have erected a Puritan foundation.'

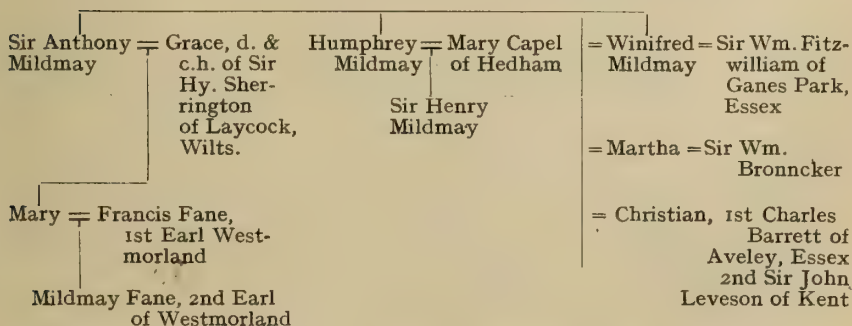
To which Mildmay replied : 'No ! Madam ; far be it from me to countenance anything contrary to your established laws ; but I have set an acorn which when it becomes an oak, God alone knows what will be the fruit thereof.'

In 1569 he had written to Sir William Cecil (Lord Burleigh), 'The Queen's safety and the preservation of the cause of religion are the two pillars on which the security of the state are founded'.

The justice clerk, writing in 1589, concerning the nomination of commissioners, said, 'It is needful to be the wisest man in the world. If Master Secretary [Sir Francis Walsingham] can be spared from the court, I could earnestly wish him one and Sir Walter Mildmay another'.²

¹ Below, p. 451.

² Sir Walter Mildmay = Mary, d. of William Walsingham, by Joyce, d. of Edmund Denny and sister of Francis Walsingham



THE EARL OF WESTMORLAND. Francis Fane (or Vane), K.B., the first earl, inherited Sir Walter Mildmay's house as mentioned above¹ through his wife Mary Mildmay. As neither the Earl's nor Mildmay's names occur in the subsidy of 1623 or 1624, it is possible that Sir Anthony Mildmay, who did not live in the parish and died in 1617, let the house to the Lord Chief Justice Hobart, referred to below, whose name does appear in the Subsidy Roll and at the same assessment, £100, as Sir Walter Mildmay's in 1563; and that the earl did not come into possession until about 1625, when Sir Henry Hobart died. Anyhow, the earl died in the parish, at Westmoreland House,² on the 22nd March 1628/9, a fact which is recorded in the parish register, though he was buried five days later at Apthorpe (also recorded). His widow, Mary Mildmay, continued to live, as Dowager Countess, in the parish until 1640. In 1628 she was one of those who subscribed £10 towards the building of the tower. Among the State papers, letters from her occur as 'Mary Countess of Westmoreland to Secy. Dorchester dated from her house at St. Bartholomew's'. In 1638 the marriage by licence of her fourth daughter Rachel with Henry Bouchier Earl of Bath is recorded in the parish register; she being aged 25 and he 45. Rachel subsequently married, as a second husband, the third Earl of Middlesex, who was also a parishioner.³

MILDMAY FANE, the second Earl of Westmorland, succeeded his father and continued to live here. On the 26th May 1629, the churchwarden records having paid 'for ringing of a peale for the Earl of Westmorland 2s.', and in 1645 the churchwardens' account shows a gift of '£1 10s. to the poor from Mildmay, Earl of Westmorland'. In 1643 is recorded in the register the death of 'Lady Elizabeth Vaine⁴ (3rd) daughter of the Honorable Mileme⁵ Earl of Westmorland 8th June'.

The Earl was fined and his estate was sequestered by Parliament in 1642, and although the sequestration was discharged two years later he had still to petition the Council of State⁶ that the soldiers quartered in his house in Bartholomew Close might be removed.

SIR ROGER MANWOOD, Knight, was a resident here from 1585 or earlier, in which year he dated a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham⁷ from 'Great St. Bartholomew's' and in November 1586, he wrote a letter to Sir Walter Mildmay complaining that a Mr. Neale had 'withheld a subscription to a rated order of the parish'.⁸ This was

¹ See p. 263 and table.

² Collins, *Peerage*, ii, 203.

³ See table, p. 263.

⁴ Vane or Fane.

⁵ For Mildmay.

⁶ *Cal. State Papers*, 1651, p. 261.

⁷ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1581-1590, p. 159.

⁸ Below, p. 310.

probably William Neale who was churchwarden with Philip Scudamore in 1574.

Manwood was a native of Sandwich, of which he was for some time recorder.¹ From 1578 to 1592 he was Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. In 1591 he was rebuked by Queen Elizabeth for sale of offices, and the next year he was accused of various malpractices, arraigned before the Privy Council, and deprived of his office; his bust, in Hackington church, Kent, where he was buried, is the earliest example of a Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer being decorated with the collar of SS.² He died on the 14th December 1592 (pl. XCIII, p. 264).

His widow, Dame Elizabeth, in her will proved in February 1594/5, left 20s. 'to the poor people of Great St. Bartholomewes'.³ His son, Sir Peter Manwood, who was a great antiquary, had a son, Sir John Manwood, who was married at St. Bartholomew's in 1627 to Lavinia daughter of Sir John Ogle of St. Peter le Poor. Sir Peter also had an only daughter Elizabeth who, in the year 1615, married the fifth Sir Thomas Walsingham of Scadbury, Chislehurst,⁴ a distant cousin of Sir Francis Walsingham. Sir Roger had a daughter Anne, who married her neighbour Sir Percival Hart,⁵ whose town house was, as we have seen, in the Lady Chapel.

SIR THOMAS WALSHINGHAM must have had a town house at St. Bartholomew's, for in the churchwardens' accounts of the year 1631, on the 20th April among the receipts for pew money occurs, 'Item of Sir Thomas Walsingham and his Lady £1 6s. 8d.' : as this was 6s. 8d. more than the pew rent paid by any one else in the parish, it must have been a pew of some importance. The rent or sale of pews went towards the expenses of the poor and not to the rector.

After the death of his wife, Elizabeth Manwood, in the year 1632, Walsingham married Elizabeth Bowme, the widow of Nathaniel Master,⁶ whose great-nephew James Master⁷ in later years resided, when in London, on the west side of Bartholomew Close. James Master appears in the rate books of the parish from the year 1682 to the time of his death in 1702, and there is a tablet to his memory in the church.⁸

In addition to the foregoing, many of whom held posts in or under the Government, in the seventeenth century, there came members

¹ *D. N. B.* ² See fig. and explanation of col. of SS. in *Arch. Cant.* i, 74, 93.

³ Wills, App. I, p. 551; table, p. 263.

⁴ Webb, Miller, and Beckwith, *Hist. Chislehurst*, p. 112 (ped.).

⁵ Hasted, *Kent*, i, 312 b.

⁶ Webb, Miller, and Beckwith, *Hist. Chislehurst*, pp. 112, 151 (ped.).

⁷ James Master, whose *expenses book* is published in *Arch. Cant.* xv, 152 et seq., was son of Nathaniel Master.

⁸ See p. 470.

of the nobility to reside here, occupying chiefly the monastic buildings converted by them into dwellings.

Of SIR PERCIVAL HART we have already written fully when describing the Lady Chapel.¹

EDWARD NEVILL LORD BERGAVENTNY (ABERGAVENTNY) was in occupation of the dorter, being a tenant of Lady Scudamore. He was the sixth Baron Bergavenny: he was summoned to Parliament as such from the year 1604 to the year 1621, and he died in 1622.² He probably used the dorter as his town house during that period. He unsuccessfully claimed the earldom of Westmorland in the second year of James I, but, through his cousin the Hon. Mary Nevill, who married Sir Thomas Fane, the lineal descendant of the younger son of the first earl of Westmorland, the earldom was recovered by the new creation of her son Sir Francis Fane as the Earl of Westmorland,³ who, as stated above, came to live in the parish after marrying Mary Mildmay.

SIR CHRISTOPHER NEVILL, the second son of Lord Bergavenny, unlike his elder brother Henry, lived or held property in the parish, for he appears in the Subsidy Roll of 1624, where he was assessed 'in lande' at £10. In 1643 he was assessed at £600 by the committee for the advancement of money.⁴ In the following year, 1625, there appears in the churchwardens' accounts a Mr. Neville, who was probably the same person; and, inasmuch as his name appears there among the 'desperate arrearages', he had probably at that time ceased to reside in the parish, and so the churchwarden was unable to recover his dues. Later on the name of Sir Christopher Nevill, in company with Lionel Earl of Middlesex, Edward Lord Herbert, and Lady Mary Wootton, occurs in an undated certificate from the constables and churchwardens of St. Bartholomew the Great 'of clergy and laity who made any stay within the parish, after the time limited by His Majesty's proclamation'.⁵

The great-grandson of Sir Christopher succeeded to the barony of Bergavenny on the tenth baron dying childless.

SIR HENRY CARY probably occupied the infirmary,⁶ a house adjoining the dorter.⁷ This was not Sir Henry Carey as written in the rental, who was the second Earl of Monmouth, but Sir Henry Cary the first Viscount Falkland, K.B., so created in 1620.

¹ Above, p. 79.

² His will, P. C. C. 106 Savil, is dated 19 Jan. 1621/2 and proved 2 Dec. 1622.

³ See table above, p. 263.

⁴ *Cal. Proceedings of Committee for Advancement of Money*, i, 36.

⁵ Hist. MSS. Com., Rep. 7, *Cal. House of Lords MSS.*, 256 a.

⁶ Above, p. 174.

⁷ See plan, p. 77.

He was the controller of the household of King James I from 1617 to 1621. Sir Henry Cary's sister Jane married Sir Edward Barrett, whose house adjoined Sir Henry Cary's at St. Bartholomew's.

His father, Sir Edward Cary, Knight, was half-brother to Sir Francis Walsingham.¹ He was master of the jewel office to Queen Elizabeth and King James, and was living at St. Bartholomew's, where he died in 1618, for he was described in his will as 'of Aldenham, co. Herts, now of Great St. Bartholomew near Smithfield'.²

In the parish register (No. 1) occur the following entries :

'Elizabeth daughter of Sir Henry Cary baptized 15th November 1617.

'Lucie the daughter of Sir Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland and controller of the King's Majesty's household and one of his Privy Council and Elizabeth his wife, was baptized the 23rd Decr., 1619.'

And among the marriages occurs that of Victoria Cary, another daughter, married to Sir William Uvedale on the 27th February 1639/40.

SIR HENRY CAREY, the second Earl of Monmouth, married a parishioner in the person of Lady Martha Cranfield, a daughter of the first Earl of Middlesex, and their daughter Philadelphia was baptized at St. Bartholomew's on the 17th July 1627, but that does not imply that they resided here.

SIR EDWARD BARRETT appears in Lord Holland's rental as a tenant of Lady Scudamore, of a house adjoining that of Sir Henry Cary, which probably was—as already seen³—that of the master of the farmery. He was assessed for the subsidy of 1623 'in lande' £50. He was the son of Charles Barrett of Belhus, Essex, and of Christian Mildmay, the daughter of Sir Walter Mildmay, his wife. He married, as just seen, Sir Henry Cary's sister Jane. He had probably left the parish by 1625 or 1626, for he appears among the churchwardens' 'desperate arrearages' of those years for 5s.

LADY SCUDAMORE, who held the superior leases of Lord Bergavenny's and Sir Edward Barrett's houses, was the second wife of Sir Philip Scudamore. She was still the lease-holder in a later rental of the year 1642. She died in 1649 at the age of seventy-three, and was buried at Croydon.⁴ She is described on her tombstone there as 'Dame Ruth Scudamore' and as 'singularly accomplished'. From the same source we also learn that she was the daughter of Griffith Hampden of Hampden, co. Bucks (the home of John Hampden), and was married three times: first to Edward Oglethorpe, son and heir

¹ See table above, p. 263.

² Above, p. 174.

³ Wills, App. I, p. 553.

⁴ Anderson, *Croydon Church*, p. 108.

to Sir Owen Oglethorpe, co. Oxford, Kt.,¹ by whom she had two daughters; secondly to Sir Philip Scudamore of Burnham, co. Bucks, and thirdly to Henry Leigh, Esq., son and heir to Sir Edward Leigh of Rushall, co. Stafford, Kt., by whom she had one son, Samuel. She was buried in the name of Scudamore because of her second husband's title.

SIR PHILIP SCUDAMORE, Kt., her second husband, was knighted at the coronation of James I in 1603. Besides living at Burnham he was also a parishioner of St. Bartholomew the Great, for, as already said,² he served the office of churchwarden with William Neale from the year 1574 to 1578. Besides the leases of the dorter and of Sir Edward Barrett's house, he was the owner of the house over the Smithfield gate, and of three houses in Duck Lane.³ His freeholds he left to his 'dear cousin Sir Robert Chamberlain', his leaseholds he settled on Dame Ruth, his second wife.⁴

His first wife, Elizabeth, was the widow of Henry Coddendam, auditor of the mint, also a parishioner, who in the Subsidy Roll of 1563 was rated to the parish at £26 13s. 4d. She died in 1593, ten years before her husband was knighted, and was buried at St. Bartholomew's. The tablet to her memory in the north ambulatory records that Sir Philip Scudamore 'travelling beyond the seas died at Antwerp in the year 1611'.

ELIZABETH SCUDAMORE by her first husband had three daughters: ⁵ Alice, the eldest, married Robert Chamberlayne of Sherborne, by whom she had a son, Sir Robert Chamberlayne.⁶ The second daughter, Dorothy, married Thos. Piggott (Esq.) of Dodershall; and the third, Elizabeth, married first Sir William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, and for a second husband Richard Fiennes, Kt., Lord Saye and Sele, a widower, who died in 1613. Lady Elizabeth founded the almshouses ⁷ and died in 1632. She was buried at St. Bartholomew's, where her name is in the register as Affra Lady Saye and Sele. The Christian name first written has been erased and Affra (that is dust) ⁸ written in its place, probably due to a wish expressed before death—an act of humility in accord with that of Dr. Westfield, the rector in her time, who wrote for his own epitaph *Episcoporum infimus, peccatorum primus*: ⁹ among the subscribers to the tower in 1628 occurs 'Lady St. Ledger', whose Christian name is also given as Aphra.¹⁰

¹ See table, p. 263.

² See p. 229.

³ See p. 229.

⁴ Wills, P. C. C., 49 Wood.

⁵ See table above, p. 263.

⁶ *Cal. State Pap., Dom.*, 1616, p. 559 (121), an account of 13 pp. of 'Wood sold for Sir Robert Chamberlain in Sherwood Forest'.

⁷ Above, p. 215.

⁸ Mr. Challoner Smith drew my attention to the meaning of this name. Compare Micah i. 10.

⁹ See below, p. 320.

¹⁰ See App. II, p. 535.

SIR ROBERT CHAMBERLAYNE mentioned above was also knighted at the coronation of James I. He held the lease, as we have seen, of three houses in the parish facing Smithfield, and there is reason to believe that, like his maternal grandmother, he lived in the parish, though his father lived at St. John Street, Smithfield.¹ He is commemorated in the church by a monument on the north side of the quire, on which is his effigy in a kneeling posture. On the tablet it is recorded that he made a journey to the Holy Land, but perished between Tripoli and Cyprus.²

WILLIAM NEALE. The first reference we have to the Neales in connexion with the parish occurs in the year 1574, when, and until 1578, William Neale was churchwarden with Philip Scudamore. Their accounts, to which is also added an inventory of church goods, are preserved in the parish safe.³

In the year 1586 Sir Roger Manwood, at that time Judge of the Common Pleas, wrote the letter to Sir Walter Mildmay referred to later⁴ complaining that Mr. Neale had withheld a subscription to a rated order. In 1589 William Neale appears as the first of the witnesses to Sir Walter Mildmay's will. Then in 1597, in the will already referred to above, Anne the wife of William Neale (late wife of Richard Culverwell) bequeathed⁵ to her 'niece Jane Bottes one Flaunders cheste of Lynnen and all things therein beinge now remainienge in the house of the said Mr. William Neale my husband situate in the parish of great Saint Bartholomew's neare West Smithfeilde London in the greate chamber there'.

In the year 1601 a certain William Neale made a will proved 7th November 1601 by 'Francis Neale his son'⁶ in which he is described as 'of Warneforde in the countie of South (hants) esquire' in which mention is made of 'his manor of Cranborne Dorset' and 'a lease of the parsonage of firemyngton Devon'. Although no mention is made of any property in the parish of St. Bartholomew we incline to think that this is the William Neale we are considering because he bequeathed 'unto the poore people of the parishe of Saint Bartholomewe's the Great the sum of five poundes': a considerable sum unless the donor was intimately acquainted with the parish, for it was worth more than £20 of our money. If this assumption is correct, then Sir Thomas Neale was another and probably the eldest son. Thomas was knighted in 1604, and this and the reference of 1616 mentioned above are the only records we have of him.

¹ *Cal. State Pap., Dom.*, 6 Oct. 1589.

² Below, p. 458.

³ Parish Safe, Deed 1. See below, p. 309.

⁴ Below, p. 309.

⁵ Wills, App. I, p. 546.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 552.

But in 1669 an arrangement was come to by the vestry¹ with one Thos. Neale Esq.' concerning his tenant having made some building upon the churchyard wall whereby it was agreed that Neale should pay £5 as a fine and 6*d.* as a yearly rent for the building on the wall for the term of 500 years.

ARTHUR JARVAIS, mentioned in the rental of 1616, was living in the late prior's house, at the back of which—that is, in the ancient sacristy—he kept the office of the Pipe of which he was clerk from 1603 to 1624 (as already seen).² His house was valued at a rent of £100, a higher valuation than any other in Lord Holland's rental. In 1623 and in 1624 he was assessed in lands at £20.

SIR HENRY NORTH, Kt., is mentioned in the rental as holding a 'garden or square plot of ground walled about with bricke, between Rugman's Rowe on the north and the houses on the narrow alley leading out of the Close through the Half-moon on the south, Doctor Martin east and that waste ground before the gates of Mr. Jarvais and Sr. Percival Hart west, by lease granted to Mr. Robert Paddon, auditor, bearing date 14 Junii 34 Eliz. (1592) for 31 years from Bartholomew tyde before, yeilding there per ann. [blank] And is worth p. ann. £10 os. od.'

We have no record as to whether he had a dwelling in the Close, but having a thirty-one years' lease granted to him of this plot of land suggests that it was merely for building purposes. He was probably the grandson of the great Sir Edward North and youngest son of Sir Roger North; he was knighted in 1586.³

SIR HENRY HOBART, described in the Lay Subsidy Roll⁴ as 'commissioner' was the first baronet and was Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. In 1619, when his son Henry was, on the 7th December, baptized at St. Bartholomew's, he is described in the parish register as 'Henry Lord Hubbort, Lord Cheefe justice of Cte. of Common Pleas and Baranett, Channclor to Prince Charles'. He was created Baronet in 1611, Lord Chief Justice in 1613, a post he retained till his death in 1625, and Chancellor to Prince Charles in 1617. In the subsidy of 1623⁵ and of 1624⁶ he was assessed at £100 in land. In 1623 he addressed a letter from 'St. Bartholomew's' to Sir Edward Conway, the Ambassador to Germany,⁷ and, as his son was baptized here and his daughter Frances was married here in 1629 to Thomas Hewitt, no doubt he resided in the parish.

¹ *V. M. Bk.* i, 36.

² Metcalf, *Knights*, p. 221.

⁴ Lay Sub. R. 147/505, 20 James I (1623).

⁵ *Ib.*, 147/505, 20 James I.

⁷ *Cal. State Pap.*, 1619-1623.

² Above, p. 163.

⁶ *Ib.*, 147/515, 21 James I.

SIR JOHN HOBART, his son, apparently also lived in the parish, for the baptism of his daughter Philippa in 1617, of his daughter Dorothy in 1620, of his son Henry in 1623, and of his daughter Frances in 1626, are all recorded in the parish register. The first two were children of his first wife Philippa, daughter of Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester. There was also a son Henry whose burial is registered in 1621. Philippa, the daughter, also died in infancy, as her burial is recorded in 1618. The second Henry, and Frances, and a John whose baptism is not recorded, were children of Sir John's second wife Frances, daughter of John, Earl of Bridgwater. The burial of this second Henry, and that of John, both in January 1623, are in the parish register.

SIR HENRY WALLOP, Kt., was also assessed for the subsidy at £100 in land, which, with that of Sir Henry Hobart, was the highest assessment on the roll; Sir Edward Barrett coming next with £50 in land, to which sum the next year Wallop's assessment was also reduced. He was knighted in Dublin in August 1599,¹ perhaps on the death of his father, the Lord Justice of Ireland, which occurred in Dublin the same year. The family were probably living in the parish up to 1629, for in that year his daughter Katherine was married in the church to William Hemingham; but as he appears in the churchwardens' accounts of 1625/6 among the 'desperate arrearages' for 5s. it is likely that he was away a great deal.

SIR HORATIO VERE, Baron Vere of Tilbury, apparently resided here for some years, his daughter Dorothy was baptized in the church in 1617, he was assessed for the subsidy in 1623 and 1624 at £20 in land, his daughter, Mistress Elizabeth, was married in the church in 1626 to John Lord Houghton, and his daughter Mary in 1627 to Sir Roger Townshend. Vere was knighted in 1596² and created Baron Vere in 1625. He was a great soldier and saw much fighting in Holland, where he took over the command of the English from his brother, Sir Francis Vere, in 1604, and he sailed for the Palatinate in charge of the troops in 1620.

SIR GEORGE MANNERS was assessed here in lands in 1623 and in 1624 at £40. He was living here as early as 1614, for in that year Sir Henry Anderson addressed a letter to him 'at his house in Saint Bartholomew's'³ and in 1625/6 he appears in the churchwarden's account as in arrears for 7s. 6d. He succeeded his brother Francis as seventh Earl of Rutland in 1632. He married Frances, widow of Ralph Baesh, Esq., a sister of Sir Henry Cary, the first Viscount Falkland, to whom reference has already been made as a parishioner.⁴

¹ Metcalf, *Book of Knights*, p. 210.

² *Ib.*, 137.

³ Hist. MSS. Com., Rep. 12, 444, *MSS. Duke of Rutland*.

⁴ Above, p. 268.

SIR THOMAS CHEEKE (or Cheke) was assessed in lands at £40 in the year 1623, but not in 1624. In the parish register appears 'Lucie daughter of Sir Thomas Cheeke and Lady Essex his wife baptised 6th Jany. 1623/4'; and 'Richard Rogers Esquire and Jane Cheeke d. of Sir Thomas Cheeke married 8th April 1641'. This Sir Thomas Cheeke was a grandson of Sir John Cheeke, tutor of Edward VI, and Lady Essex was the daughter of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick.

SIR HENEAGE FINCH, Kt., Recorder of London (1620) and Speaker of the House of Commons, was a parishioner here. In 1625 he had to take a house nearer to the Houses of Parliament; for he wrote ¹ 'in regard to my house, as St. Bartholomew's was too farre from the Parliament house, I hired a house in Chanon Rowe near Westminster of my Lord Viscount Grandison', but he did not apparently relinquish his house here. In 1623 and in 1624 he was assessed for the subsidy at £20, when he was described as 'recorder and commissioner'. The burials of two sons and three daughters are recorded in the parish registers; also the baptism of a son John on the 3rd April 1627, and eight days later, the 11th April, the death of the mother, Frances Lady Finch and her burial at Estwell, Kent, on the 17th April, appear in the register. As the birth of the eldest son Heneage, the future Lord Chancellor and first Earl of Nottingham, is not recorded in the registers the parents had probably not then (1621) arrived. Two daughters, by his second wife Elizabeth, were baptized here, Frances on 4th March 1629/30 and Anne on 20th October 1631. In 1628 Sir Heneage Finch contributed £10 to the building of the present church tower, and in 1631 the churchwardens' accounts show a receipt for 'the knell, the pall and cloth and coffin of the Recorder Finch'.

SIR JOHN HAYWARD, Kt., D.C.L., the historian, was assessed to the subsidy both in 1623 and in 1624, and had then been residing for some years in one of the glebe houses, now Nos. 92, 93 Bartholomew Close.² He wrote the 'Annals of the first four years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth'.³ Before that he had written 'The first part of the life and reign of Henrie the iiiii', dedicated to Essex, which gave so much offence to Queen Elizabeth that he was committed to prison. He had one child, Mary, who was married at St. Bartholomew's on 16th January 1622 to Nicholas Roe, Esq., who was knighted three years later. Hayward seems to have been an eccentric man, judging from his will. His daughter Mary predeceased him, leaving one child Mary, to whom Hayward in his will (dated 30th March 1626) left

¹ Hist. MSS. Com., Rep. 1, 43, *Finch MSS.*

² See p. 222.

³ Published by Camden Society, No. 7, *Hayward's Annals*, p. 32 et seq.

the lease of his house at St. Bartholomew's.¹ He had evidently quarrelled with his son-in-law, for he says that 'Sir Nicholas Rowe (Mary's father) shall have nothing to doe with the said house, or any parte of the profitts thereof'. It is also evident that he was not on the best of terms with his wife, for he says, 'I give to my wife the bedd wherein she lieth, with all things pertayning thereunto, and two other of the meanest bedds for servants, which together with all my former legacies unto her and her thirds which she may clayme out of the lands in Totenham I esteeme enough in regard to the small porcion she brought me, and regard of her unquiet life and small respect towards mee, a greate deale to much'. Then as regards his burial he says, 'My breathluse putrifying carkase I leave to a private unceremonious Buriall, where I shall hereafter appoint. And my desire is that my grave bee made eight foot deepe at the least, where my bones are like to remain untouched; and I utterlie dislike that my bodie be ripped, cutt or any waies mangled after my death, for experience to others. Also I will that a monument be erected over the place of my buriall, wherein I desire that my executor does not beare an over-sparing hand.' (There is, however, no monument of him at all at St. Bartholomew's, where he was buried 28th June 1627.) 'To the poore of the parish of Great Saint Bartholomew's London,' he says, 'where I have long remained, I give ten pounds.'

A LADY HATTON was assessed for the subsidy of 1624 at £20. This was the widow of Sir Christopher Hatton, cousin of the Lord Chancellor, who died in 1619, at which time apparently she came to live in this parish. Her maiden name was Alice Fanshawe. In the correspondence of the Hatton family, published by the Camden Society, there is a letter of hers written to her son Christopher at Jesus College, Cambridge, the year after her husband's death. This son was created the first Baron Hatton in 1643. He married and probably lived in the parish, for his son Christopher was baptized here on 6th November 1632. This latter Christopher was created first Viscount Hatton in 1683. Lady Hatton (the grandmother) appears among the subscribers to the building of the church tower in 1628 as 'Alice Lady Hatton widdow £3' and her son as 'Sir Christopher Hatton, Knight of the Bath, £10'.

ANNE COUNTESS OF DORSET was living here in 1629, for Sir Francis Willoughby addressed her that year 'at her house in Great St. Bartholomew's'. She was then the widow of Richard Sackville,

¹ Will, P.C.C. 67 Skynner. See *Hayward's Annals*, Cam. Soc. xli. He was granted a 40 years' lease of one of the glebe houses in the Close, 1 Nov. 1622, by Dr. Westfield, the rector, at £16 a year.

Earl of Dorset; but in 1630 she married the Earl of Pembroke. Her daughter, the Right Hon. Margaret Sackville, co-heiress of the Earl of Dorset, was married at St. Bartholomew's in 1629 to Nicholas Lord Tufton, Earl of Thanet. His nephew, Richard Sackville, when he was Lord Buckhurst, and before he succeeded to the earldom, married Lady Frances Cranfield, daughter of the first Earl of Middlesex, then living at St. Bartholomew's, and their daughter, Lady Elizabeth Sackville was baptized at St. Bartholomew's in 1648.

THE EARL OF BOLINGBROKE, though not in the Subsidy Roll, is shown by the entries in the parish registers to have lived in the parish. His great-uncle, Lord St. John, second Baron St. John of Bletshoe, was apparently here for a time in 1595, for in April and November of that year he wrote letters dated from 'St. Bartholomew's',¹ and in July 1596—the year that he died—he addressed a letter from here to Lord Robert Cecil.² Like Sir Walter Mildmay and Sir Roger Manwood he was on the commission to try Mary Queen of Scots at Fotheringay.

Oliver St. John, the fourth baron, was created Earl of Bolingbroke in 1624. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Paulet, Esq., and died in 1646. Among the marriages in the parish register of 1623 occurs 'Periant Dochery Esq. and Martha d. of the Hon. Oliver Lord St. John 19th Dec.'

He married twice, for in 1626 appears in the register the baptism of 'Frances daughter of Oliver Lord St. John and the Lady Arabella, 9th April'. This Lady Arabella, the daughter of John Egerton, the first Earl of Bridgewater, was therefore the second wife.

In 1628 is entered in the register the marriage of 'John Viscount of Rotherford and Lady Dorothe daughter of the Lord Oliver St. John, Earle of Bollingbroke, 19th May', and Lady Dorothe's death is registered on the 27th June following. She was taken to Hemesden, co. Hertford, for burial on the 29th of the same month.

In 1638 the death of 'Sir Valentine St. John son to the earl of Bollingbroke' is registered on the 12th May.

The last entry concerning the earl in the parish books is in the churchwardens' accounts of 1645, which shows that he then gave £1 10s. to the poor of the parish. Reference has already been made to the gift of a house, No. 86 Bartholomew Close, made by the Countess of Bolingbroke in the year 1666. In 1642 the Earl joined the Parliamentarians; his son Oliver St. John died of wounds received at Edgehill.

¹ Hist. MSS. Com., Rep. I, *Cal. of MSS. Marquis of Salisbury*, pt. v, 167.

² *Ib.*, pt. vi, 244.

EDWARD LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY, the philosopher, historian and diplomatist, dated a letter in the year 1633 from his house at St. Bartholomew's. He was probably only here for a short time. In the churchwarden's account for 1632/3 occurs 'Mar. 12 recd. of my Lord Herbert for his licence for Lent £1 6s. 8d.', which was the highest amount payable under Queen Elizabeth's act of 1562; the lowest was 6s. 8d.

LADY BENNETT at the same time paid 6s. 8d. for her licence. She was the widow of Sir Simon Bennett, daughter of Sir Arthur Ingram and sister to Lady Nevill, wife of Sir Christopher Nevill.

THE EARL OF MIDDLESEX, whose long residence here has been fully dealt with when describing the prior's house, also paid 6s. 8d. 'in part of the same' licence.

We get other evidence of the well-to-do dwellers in the Close from the 'Proceedings of the Committee for the Advancement of Money for the Parliament'. In December 1642,¹ a letter was sent to the Lord Mayor to nominate assessors of privileged places, such as 'Martin's le Grand and Bartholomew's the Great'. There is a list of eleven people in 1642 who subscribed loans in this parish ranging from £2 to £56 17s. 4d.²

LADY DIGBY would have lent, but Parliament had taken her two coach-horses which cost £50.³ In 1643 she was assessed by the above Committee at £200,⁴ but was excused from paying in consequence of the death, in Ireland, at that time of her first husband, the first Lord Digby of Geashill.⁵

LADY BERKLEY, described as of 'Great St. Bartholomews', was assessed in 1643 at £125;⁶ and in the same year one John Smith wrote to Sir Edward Hyde 'Lord Berkley may be heard of at his house in Gt. St. Bartholomew's'. In 1644 search was made 'for plate and treasure said to be walled up in the house of Mr. Fox, Great St. Bartholomew's'.

LADY VERE OF TILBURY AND LADY ALICE HASTINGS, both of this parish, were assessed at £200 each. A 'public faith certificate' was ordered for Lady Hastings, guaranteeing repayment with 8 per cent. interest. She was the seventh wife of Sir Gervase Clifton, the first wife being Lady Penelope Rich. She appears in the churchwardens' accounts as giving 5s. to the poor.⁷

In 1645 HENRY RICH, EARL OF HOLLAND, was assessed at £1,500,⁸

¹ *Cal. Proc. Com. Advancement of Money*, i, 7, No. 78.

² *Ib.* i, 9, No. 98.

³ *Ib.* i, 9, No. 98.

⁴ *Ib.* i, 189.

⁵ *Ib.* i, 23.

⁶ *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Rep. 5, pt. i, 347. A.D. 1643, *Cholmondeley MSS.*

⁷ Margaret, daughter of Sir George Hastings, was buried here in 1654.

⁸ *Cal. Proc. Com. Adv. Money*, ii, 628.

and in 1648 all his goods in his house, and his rents at Kensington and St. Bartholomew's, were ordered to be seized and sequestered, and on the 9th March the following year he was beheaded.

In 1648¹ information was given that SIR EDWARD WORTLEY, Bart., of Great St. Bartholomew's, had in his hands a jewel worth £1,500, given by the Countess of Devon to Sir Henry Griffith's lady, and for which Sir Henry had not compounded.

SIR RICHARD HOWELL of Cloth Fair was assessed in 1645 at £600 by the Committee,² and was ordered to be brought up in custody to make payment.

In the year 1645 MAJOR GENERAL SKIPPON appears in the churchwarden's account as giving 8s. to the poor. He was at the battle of Newbury, and was wounded at the battle of Naseby: he was sergeant-general under Fairfax and directed the siege of Oxford in 1645.

By the time of the Commonwealth the zenith of the social height of St. Bartholomew's Close was reached, and from that time to that of the great plague in 1665 the nobility gradually moved elsewhere.

The Hearth Tax reveals this, for in the Hearth Tax Roll of 1666 there are only five people with a title:

LADY BRIDGETT LIDDALL,³ had fourteen hearths and therefore lived in a large house;

SIR WILLIAM WYLD⁴ had twelve hearths;

LADY VANE, ten;

SIR HENRY MASSINGBERG,⁵ nine; and

SIR WILLIAM GLASKOCK, seven.

The same tax, levied in 1674, shows that all these persons had then gone away; but a certificate preserved among the House of Lords MSS., of the year 1675, from the constables and churchwardens of the parish, of clergy and laity who made any stay within the parish after the time limited by King Charles's proclamation, includes the names of LIONEL, THIRD EARL OF MIDDLESEX (who died 26th October 1674), EDWARD, THIRD BARON HERBERT OF CHERBURY (who was buried in Westminster Abbey in 1678), and SIR CHRISTOPHER NEVILL, the brother of Henry Nevill, the seventh Lord Bergavenny.⁶

In addition to those inhabitants of the Close named above, there are many titled people recorded in the Church Registers of the first

¹ *Cal. Proc. Com. Advt. Money*, ii, 887.

² *Ib.* i, 571.

³ Widow of Sir Thomas Liddall, Knt. of Ravensworth, co. Durham. Her daughter Frances married Thomas, son of Lady Vane of this parish.

⁴ Of Gunby, created Baronet by Cromwell, 1658; title renewed at Restoration.

⁵ A judge of the Common Pleas. His wife was buried here in 1661, and his daughter Martha in 1663.

⁶ See above, table, p. 263.

half of the seventeenth century of whom we have no other record, but the following list of them may be of interest :

BAPTISMS.

Thomas son of Sir Thomas Brookes, Kt.	2nd April, 1617.
Thomas „ Sir Henry Kingswell, Kt.	19th „ „
Anne daughter of Sir Thomas Bludder, Kt.	26th Aug., 1618/9.
Henry son of Sir Thomas Littleton, Kt. & Bt.	26th April, 1621.
Edmond „ Sir Giles Bray, Kt.	1st May, 1621.
Robert „ Lord Thomas Bruce	19th March, 1626.
Anne daughter of Lord John Houghton	25th July, 1627.
Charles son of Sir Charles Smith, Kt.	26th March, 1628.
Henry „ „ „	17th March, 1629/30.
Edward „ Sir John Jenynnes, Kt.	26th Novr., 1637.
Edmond „ Sir Edmond Bowyer, Kt.	1st March, 1640/1.
Henry „ Sir Robert Croocke, Kt. ¹	14th Octr., 1641.
Villars daughter of Sir Richard Conquest	17th May, 1643.

MARRIAGES.

Sir Thomas Wiseman, Kt. of Ravenhall in Essex & Elizabeth Sydley of Chart, Kent.	14th Decr., 1616.
Sir Henry Mildmay, Kt. & Anne Holliday d. of Alderman Holliday	6th April, 1619.
Sir William Gray, Kt. & Baronet & Cecil Wentworth d. of Sir John Wentworth	16th June, 1619.
Sir James Pointz, Kt. & Mary Smith	6th June, 1622.
Sir Isaac Wake, Kt. & Mistress Anne Bray	18th Decr., 1623.

BURIALS.

Philippa d. of the Hon. Kt. Sir John Heale	9th Feby., 1645/6.
The Lady Alice wife unto Sir Thomas Pamer, Kt.	28th Apl., 1621.
Sir Thos. Tracy, Kt. was buried in the chancel	18th May, 1621.
Susan d. of Sir Horatio Veare, Kt. and Mary his wife	24th May, 1623.
Sir Henry Southwell, Kt. out of Wm. Jaquis' house in Cloth Fair	30th Decr., 1624.
Lady Eliz. Bennett, Lady unto Sir Simon Bennett deceased and d. to Sir Arthur Ingram who died the 13th and was buried in the quire on the s. side of the Communion Table close by Mr. John Ingram, gent., her brother	20th June, 1636.
Sir Richard Gargrave	28th Decr., 1638.
Lady St. Ledger—churchwarden says received for her coffin 6 <i>d</i> .	1631.

There were but few others living during the first half of the seventeenth century to whom we need refer, and three of these were foreign sculptors.

¹ He married Elizabeth Villiers here, 26 November 1640.

MAXIMILIAN COLT was the English name of Maximilian Poictrin, the sculptor, of Utrecht.¹ He lived in the parish. His first appearance in the parochial records is in the churchwardens' accounts for the year 1631, when an entry runs: 'Recd. of Max. Colte in arrerages for the burial of his two children, £1 13s. 6d.' and 'towards the building of the steeple 16s. 6d.', and 'paid to Max. Colt in part of his debt for the schoole £2 10s. 0d.': thus no money passed between them. For what reason the churchwardens owed him money for the schools we do not know. As his name appears in a list of foreigners living in Farrington ward in 1618 he was probably in this parish at that time.²

Both he and his brother John (who was also a sculptor) came to England in the sixteenth century. A certificate of the Lord Mayor of foreigners in St. Bartholomew the Great parish, dated the 28th October 1635,³ includes, among ninety-two foreigners in all, the French Ambassador and his family and household of twenty persons; John Colt, a French sculptor, born at Artois, who had dwelt here for about fifty years; also Maximilian Colt, a younger brother, similarly described, who had dwelt here about forty years and had two sons and two daughters, all English-born. Only Maximilian occurs in the two subsidy rolls of 1623 and 1624: in one he is assessed in land at £10 and in the other at £5. He worked as a sculptor and statuary and became master carver to King James I. His most important work was the tomb of Queen Elizabeth in Westminster Abbey (coloured by John de Crits) and the monuments to the infant princesses Sophia and Anne also in the Abbey.⁴ He also carved the decorations of court barges which de Crits coloured. He was a prisoner in the Fleet in 1641;⁵ from which he was released by the warden. This occasioned a petition to the House of Lords praying for an inquiry into the warden's lenient conduct.⁶ The date of his death is not known, but he was living in 1647.⁷ His brother John died in 1637. The entry in the register is 'John Coult, stone cutter, was buried the 9th August'. In 1641 there is another entry 'John Coult the son of John Coult and Elizabeth his wife was buried the 9th June'. John Coult, the father, made the effigy of Queen Elizabeth which was carried at her funeral in 1603, for which, and for providing some articles of underclothing, he was paid £10.⁸

¹ *Huguenot Soc. Proceedings*, vii, No. 1, p. 75.

² *D.N.B.*

³ *Cal. State Pap., Dom.*, 1635, p. 91.

⁴ *Huguenot Soc. Proceedings*, vii, No. 1, p. 75.

⁵ *D.N.B.*

⁶ *Ib.*, quoting *Hist. MSS. Com.*, 4th Rep., iii.

⁷ As 1 and 2 above.

⁸ *Archæologia*, vol. lx, pt. 2, p. 553, quoting from the Lord Chamberlain's Records and the Declared Accounts in the Pipe Office.

Maximilian Colt made the effigy for the funeral of Queen Anne of Denmark, in 1619, for which he was paid £16¹ (in place of £20 15s. 7d. demanded!). He also made the figure of King James I, in 1625, for a similar purpose, for which he was paid, including all the accessories, £57 3s. 4d.² These effigies are still to be seen among 'the ragged regiment' at Westminster Abbey.

In the office book of the Board of Works appears the line 'Max. Colte, Master Sculptor, at £8 a year; 1633'.³

When Strype⁴ wrote his edition of Stow's survey in 1720 there was the following inscription in the church, in the figure of a rose, 'Here lieth the body of Abigall Coult, the daughter of Maximilian Coult; who departed this life the 19th day of March 1629, in the 16th yeere of her virginity'. The inscription has now disappeared.

HUBERT LE SUEUR was a still more famous sculptor who lived in the parish. He was a native of France and pupil of Giovanni Bologna and Pierre Tacca. He came to England about the year 1619⁵ (some say 1628).⁶ His name does not appear on the subsidy rolls of 1623 and 1624, as he did not come to reside here until 1630. He was first patronized by Richard Weston, the first Earl of Portland, of whom he executed a statue in the year 1634, now in the Guardian Angel (north-east) Chapel at Winchester. He was then patronized by King Charles I, of whom, and of King James I, there are statues in bronze inside the nave of Winchester Cathedral flanking the west door. He also made the fine equestrian statue of Charles I (1630-3), which was not set up in its present position at Charing Cross until 1674 in consequence of the great rebellion. He made many statues in bronze for the king and queen in the years 1636 and 1637. One agreement with the king for statues to be charged at £340 is attested by Inigo Jones. He also executed a commission for Archbishop Laud, of statues of the king and queen at St. John's College, Oxford, for £400.⁷ These are still in the inner quadrangle of the college. There is a fine bronze bust by him of Sir Thomas Richardson (who died in the year 1634) in the south aisle of the nave of Westminster Abbey. The marble bust of James Rivers (d. 1641) in the south aisle of St. Bartholomew's the Great has been attributed to Le Sueur (pl. CI a, p. 462), but on what grounds we do not know.⁸

The Lord Mayor's certificate of 1635⁹ of those born beyond seas, referred to above, says that le Sueur had dwelt here for five years

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. lx, pt. 2, p. 556.

² Knight, *London*, ii, 58.

³ *Huguenot Soc. Proceedings*, vii, 77.

⁴ *Cal. State Pap., Dom.*, 1633-4.

⁵ *Cal. State Pap.*, 1635, pp. 591-3.

⁶ *Ib.*, 557.

⁷ Strype, *Stow*, Bk. iii, 237.

⁸ *D. N. B.*

⁹ Murray, *Modern London*, 118.

and had three children English-born. He had four men servants, three French and one English. He left England at the outbreak of the Civil Wars and returned to France. He was living in Paris in 1651 and still styled himself 'Sculpteur du Roy'. There is a fine medal of him by Warin.

JOHN MILTON, the poet, who was Latin secretary to the Council of State during the Commonwealth, and wrote much against the king and the bishops, was ordered to be arrested at the time of the Restoration and two of his political publications were burned by the public hangman at the Old Bailey. He is said to have concealed himself in consequence in Bartholomew Close for four months, and by tradition in one of the Elizabethan Houses on the south side of Cloth Fair facing the churchyard; but we have found no record that that was so. He may possibly have come with the Independents from the Abbey and found shelter in Middlesex House, which was in the Close precinct. He was arrested during the summer, fined, and then released.¹

AMERIGO SALVETTI,² the name taken by Alessandro Antelmelli in the year 1599 when he fled to London, died in the parish and was buried in the chancel of the church. His father and his three brothers were tortured and then executed on a charge of high treason against the Republic of Lucca in 1596. He was pursued by the government of Lucca until 1627. Eventually he acted as the Tuscan representative at the English court and was 80 years of age when he died. The register reads 'Seneor Amorego Mounseir Silvetto agent to the Duke of Tuskin was burryed the 3rd of July 1657'.

THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR referred to in the Lord Mayor's certificate of 1635³ as living in the Close, is also referred to in a report by Inigo Jones and two others to the Council on a house in Bartholomew Close then being repaired and intended for gold and silver works:

'We do find there 3 large shedds of timber joyning together raised up and now found in a square piece of ground adjoyning upon the garden wall of the french ambassador now lodging there and upon some part of his house.'

This seems to indicate one of the large houses on the east side of the Close formerly occupied by the Burgoynes. After going to see rooms in the Tower which had been used for the Irish mint they eventually found some stables at St. Bartholomew's opening towards the street which they recommended to the Council.

¹ *D. N. B.*

² *Hist. MSS. Com., Rep. 2, pt. i, p. 2, MSS. H. D. Shrine.*

³ *Cal. State Pap., Dom., vol. cccxi, Doc. 51, Jan. 12, 1635/6.*

The KING'S OFFICE which regulated PLAYING CARDS was in the year 1637¹ in St. Bartholomew's parish, as appears by an order that a search should be made for any defective cards and such when found should with the moulds be carried to 'his majesty's office for cards in Great St. Bartholomew's'. We have already seen that the office of the pipe had been, early in the seventeenth century, in Mr. Jarvais's house in the sacristy chapel.

The report of the Lords' Committee appointed by the House of Lords to view and consider the *Public Records* in London² states that none of the Decrees of the Court of Star Chamber was to be found; the last notice of them that could be got was that they were in a house in St. Bartholomew's Close, London. But we cannot locate this house, nor that of the king's office of the playing cards.

It will be seen from what has been written above that there were, until the middle of the seventeenth century, many government officials and judges, as well as these minor government offices in the parish. The Court of Augmentations was represented by Sir Richard Rich, the Chancellor; by Sir Edward North and Sir John Williams, successively the treasurers and keepers of the monastic jewels; by Thomas Burgoyne and Sir Walter Mildmay, successively the auditors, and by Richard Duke, clerk of the Council of the Augmentations. Later Sir Edward Cary was the master of the Jewel Office to Queen Elizabeth; Sir Henry Cary was the controller of the household; Henry Coddensham was auditor of the Mint; Arthur Jarvais clerk of the Pipe, and Thomas Tyrrell was a king's messenger. Of judges there were resident here within the period Sir Roger Manwood, chief baron of the Exchequer; Sir Robert Catlin, chief justice of the Queen's Bench; Sir Henry Hobart, chief justice of the Common Pleas, and finally Sir Heneage Finch, recorder and speaker of the House of Commons.

OTHER PARISHIONERS.

DR. FRANCIS ANTHONY lived in Close Gate Row, now named Kinghorn Street, Cloth Fair, where he was assessed in the subsidy roll of 1623 at £10 in land. He was a celebrated empiric, and has been accorded a notice in the *Biographia Britannica*,³ and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. His father, Derrick Anthony, was a goldsmith and chief engraver of the Mint to King Edward VI, to Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth.⁴ Under the latter queen he

¹ *Cal. State Pap.*, 1637/8.

² A copy of the report is in the belfry cupboard of the church.

³ See vol. i, 221.

⁴ Visitation of London, Harl. Soc.

also held a post in the Jewel Office. Francis was born on 16th April 1550. He proceeded to Cambridge in 1569, where he graduated M.A. in 1574. He made considerable studies in chemistry, and in 1598 he published a treatise on a medicine made from gold which he called *aurum potable*. But he had no licence to practise in physic from the College of Physicians and by them he was summoned in the year 1600. He confessed that he had practised physic in London for six months without a licence and had cured twenty persons to whom he had given purging and vomiting physic, and to others a diaphoretic prepared from gold and mercury. Being examined, he was found inexpert, was interdicted practice, committed to the counter prison and fined £500. On appeal to the Lord Chief Justice, however, he was liberated; but afterwards he promised to pay the fine and to submit himself to the interdict. Not long after he again offended, and was fined £5, which fine, on his refusal to pay, was increased to £20, and he was again committed to prison. The College also commenced a suit at law against him and obtained judgement; but on the entreaties of his wife he was released. All this brought him into notoriety, and by the aid of certain learned bodies who differed from the College of Physicians he seems to have obtained the M.D. degree. But certain physicians still wrote against his *aurum potable*, to which Anthony replied in an earnest and modest defence in Latin, to which he added certificates of cures by his nostrum. This reply, which showed knowledge both of chemistry and physic, was in due course printed by the Cambridge University press. The controversy over *aurum potable* was continued by the faculty, but this only further advertised the remedy and increased Anthony's practice. His biographer, however, says that he 'was a man of unaffected piety, untainted probity, of easy address, great modesty and boundless charity'. He died on the 26th May 1623, aged 73, and was buried on the 29th¹ in the north aisle of the church near where his tablet now stands.² By his will it appears that he also had a house at Barnes, in Surrey.³

By his first wife Alice, daughter of William Hawes of Essex, he seems to have had no children. By his second wife Judith he had two daughters, Bridget and Elizabeth,⁴ and three sons; one, Francis, was baptized at St. Bartholomew's on the 29th January 1616/7⁵ and, dying in infancy, was buried there on the 17th April 1620. The other sons, John and Charles, do not occur in the registers; they were both physicians. John was born in 1585;⁶ he sold *aurum potable*

¹ Parish Reg. i, 134.

⁴ Parish Reg. i, 3.

² Below, p. 460.

⁵ Ib. 125.

³ Wills, App. I, p. 555.

⁶ *Biograph. Brit.* i, 222.

and lived handsomely on the proceeds. It was he who erected the tablet to his father's memory. It was to his wife Mary, who had been long sick, that Dr. Westfield, the rector, granted licence in the year 1640 to have meat and broth for eight days during Lent.¹ After her death, John Anthony married as a second wife 'Mrs. Sary W. Higgs widow on the 17th February, 1644/5'.

WILLIAM HOGARTH, the painter, was born at No. 58 Bartholomew Close. The register of his birth is entered by error at the end of register No. 4,² which was apparently intended for the registration of such nonconformist parishioners as were not baptized in infancy. It runs as follows: 'William Hogarth was borne in Bartholmew Closte next door to Mr. Downinges the printers, November ye 10th 1697 and was baptised ye 28th November 1697' (pl. XCV, p. 286). On reference to the rate books of the parish, which are exceedingly valuable parochial records because the collectors' books year by year were entered up in the same rotation till at last the houses were numbered in the years 1693 and 1698 (the intervening years being missing), we find the order of names: 'Wm. Edwards, Capt. Roycroft, Wm. Downing, Widow Gibbons'. It is not likely that Capt. Roycroft, one of the most important men in the parish at that time, would have taken the Hogarths as lodgers, but we know widow Gibbons did take lodgers, as five years later the birth of Timothy Hensley is registered as 'born ye 4th of May 1702 att widow Gibbons' house in Bartholomew Closte next door to Mr. Donnans ye printer'; we may therefore safely assume that Hogarth was born at Widow Gibbons' house.

We have been able to show above that William Edwardes' house was divided into two and to trace one of these two houses down to Vanderplank's, which it is known was numbered 54 Bartholomew Close;³ the other house, which was numbered 55, we have traced down to Thomas Britain. Roycroft we have traced down, also by the rate books, to Lupton and Hoby's, numbered 56,⁴ and Downing's to David Luke's, numbered 57, and in like manner Widow Gibbons' to William Lepard's, which was numbered 58, and No. 58 was therefore Hogarth's birthplace. That widow Gibbons' house was numbered 58 is corroborated by the fact that the occupiers of the two houses on the west of hers have been traced down to William Howard's and John Eliot's, which it is known were No. 59 and No. 60 respectively when the houses were numbered. The house no longer stands, as it was absorbed into the premises of Evans Sons, Lescher & Webb Limited with No. 60.

¹ Parish Reg. i, 199, and below, p. 315.

² Parish Reg., No. 4, p. 17 a.

³ Numbered 54 in the Post Office Directory of 1801.

⁴ *Ib.*, numbered 56.

William Hogarth's father, Richard, was a schoolmaster, as fully set out by Mr. Austin Dobson.¹ In 1695 he apparently had his own dwelling in the Close (though his name does not occur in the rate books), because there is an entry in the register 'Sarah Brooke was borne ye 6th August 1695 in Bartholomew Close att Mr. Hogard's house ye schoolmaster's'.²

William's sister, Mary Hogarth, is registered in register No. 4 as 'borne in Bartholomew Close November ye 23rd 1699';³ her baptism is recorded separately in register No. 5 on December 10th⁴ of the same year. The other sister, Ann, we are told, was born in St. John's Street, Clerkenwell, and therefore baptized at St. Sepulchre's.

Hogarth, before he became famous, seems to have drawn handbills and such-like; for there is a print depicting the interior of a ready-made clothes shop kept by his sisters (pl. XCV). Below on the left is 'W. Hogarth delt.' and on the right 'Jane Ireland fc.' and the handbill says:

' Mary and Ann Hogarth

from the old frock shop the corner of the Long Walk facing the cloysters. Removed to ye King's arms joyning to ye Little Britain gate, near Long Walk, sells ye best and most Fashionable Ready-made Frocks, suits of Fustian, Ticken and Holland, stript Dimmity and Flañel wastcoats, blue and canvas Frocks and Blue Coat Boys' drars. Likewise Fustians, Tickens, Hollands, White stript Dimitys, White and stript Flañels in ye piece by Wholesale or Retaile, at Reasonable Rates.'

After the great fire of 1666 Charles II granted the governors of the Hospital permission during pleasure on account of their losses by the fire to convert the rooms in this great cloister into seventeen shops, by the rents of which they were able to maintain sick and wounded soldiers, seamen, &c.⁵ This cloister at fair time had in 1703 an unenviable reputation. Both sides of the cloister were taken up by seamstresses and milliners and had become very disreputable early in the eighteenth century.⁶

In addition to those of Hogarth's paintings which are well known, there are on the staircase of the great hall of St. Bartholomew's Hospital two very large pictures by him which he presented to the hospital: the subject of one is the 'Pool of Bethesda' and of the other 'The Good Samaritan' with figures seven feet high. For this gift he was made a governor of the hospital. There is also a large

¹ *Memoir of Wm. Hogarth*, 1907.

² *Ib.*, No. 4, p. 50 a.

³ *Cal. State Pap.*, 1668-9, p. 139.

⁴ Parish Reg., No. 4, p. 2 a.

⁵ *Ib.*, No. 5, p. 79.

⁶ Malcolm, *Anecdotes*, p. 313.



W. Hogarth del.

J. Ireland fecit.

Mary & Ann Hogarth

from the old Frock-shop the corner of the Long Walk facing the Cloysters, Removed to y^e Kings Arms joyning to y^e Little Britain-gate, near Long Walk. Sells y^e best & most Fashionable Ready Made Frocks, suites of Fustian, Ticken & Holland, stript Diminty & Flanel, Waistcoats, blue & canvas Frocks, & bluecoat Boys Dr^s. Takenise, Fustians, Tickers, Hollands, white stript Dimintys, white & stript Flannels in y^e piece; by Wholesale or Retale, at Reasonable Rates.

WILLIAM HOGARTH'S SISTERS

(see p. 286)

William Hogarth was borne in Bartholomew Close next door to Mr Downings the printer November 20th 1697 & was baptiz'd y^e 28th November 1697

HOGARTH'S BAPTISM IN PARISH REGISTER

(see pp. 58, 285)

picture by him in the hall of Lincoln's Inn. He is buried in the churchyard at Chiswick.

Among the inhabitants of the parish who belonged to the middle classes, reference may be made to :

THOMAS ROYCROFT, who lived and carried on his business as a printer at No. 56 Bartholomew Close, now occupied by Willmott & Son, Ltd., machine rulers. He was very eminent in his profession. We first hear of him in connexion with Dr. Brian Walton's Bible, known as the great London Polyglot, which he commenced to print in the year 1653. It included the original texts in Hebrew (with the Samaritan Pentateuch), Chaldaic, and Greek with the translations of the Jewish and Christian churches, viz. the Samaritan, Chaldaic, Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Aethiopian, Persian, and the Latin Vulgate, with the Latin translation of them all.¹ Nine languages were used, though no one book of the Bible is printed in so many. In the New Testament the four Gospels are in six languages, the other books only in five ; those of Judith and the Maccabees only in three.

In 1669 Roycroft printed in addition Dr. Edmund Castell's Heptaglot Lexicon in two volumes uniform in size with the Bible. Reed says that a large number of copies of the Lexicon, then in course of printing, was destroyed in the Fire of London in 1666,² but as we have no other record of the great Fire having reached the parish they may have been housed elsewhere.

In 1660 Roycroft had, with Dr. Castell, petitioned the king for the enforcement of an order for the importation, duty free, of the remainder of 5,000 reams of royal paper for the printing of this Lexicon ;³ and in October of the same year King Charles, because Roycroft was ' the sole master printer in printing that great work and whose abilities in printing the Oriental languages was above any other printer in the kingdom ', appointed him his printer of all books to be printed in the seven oriental languages during his life.⁴ In 1664 a royal warrant was issued to search the houses of Thomas Roycroft and others in the parish for unlicensed books and papers, and to bring the printers of such before a secretary of state.⁵ One, Widow Dover, was reported as the printer of various such books, but Roycroft was not.⁶

Roycroft continued to remain in the royal favour, for in 1668 the king requested the master and wardens of the Stationers' Company to admit Roycroft as a member of the court, ' having contributed

Reed, *Letter Founders*, p. 171.

³ *Cal. State Pap.*, 1660-1.

⁵ *Cal. State Pap.*, 1663-4, Nos. 162-5.

² *Ib.* 176-7.

⁴ Sloane MSS., 856, f. 6 b.

⁶ *Ib.*, 1664-5, No. 92.

much to repress licentious practices in the mystery of printing, to which command the court unanimously agreed.¹ He was master of the Company in 1675, and in 1677 he gave them two silver mugs.

Roycroft served the parish as a vestry-man from 1666-77, during which time he regularly signed the vestry minute books in conjunction with Anthony Burgess, the rector, and John Whiting, the father of the man who endowed the schools of the parish.

He died on the 10th August 1677, and a marble tablet was erected to his memory in the church by his only son Samuel, who succeeded him. His wife's name was Elizabeth. The records of the burial of their daughter Elizabeth in 1666, and of the christening of their daughter Mary in 1669, are entered in the parish registers.

SAMUEL ROYCROFT, his son (called Captain Roycroft), was also a printer. On a leaflet printed by him in 1681, and preserved in the belfry cupboard, he described himself as 'printer to the Honorable City of London'. In 1678 he 'fined' for all parochial offices, and in 1712 he gave to the vestry eleven blank Lottery tickets in the South Sea Stock worth £7 14s. for thirty-one years, 'for the benefit of the poorest and most industrious housekeepers having charge of children and who were not receiving alms of the parish'.² He apparently continued the printing business at 56 Bartholomew Close, but in 1716 he was living in part of the converted Lady Chapel. He changed his pew in the church in 1708, and on his death in 1719 his 'great pew' was sold, half for five guineas and half for seven guineas for the benefit of the poor.

Among other printers in the parish were:

SAMUEL BAGSTER, who printed a subsequent edition of Walton's *Polyglot* in 1831, and occupied premises on the north side of Westmoreland Buildings.

JOHN DARBY, the printer of the General Atlas, who lived at No. 61 Bartholomew Close. He appears in the rate books from 1676 to 1717.

WILLIAM DOWNING, the printer, next door to whom William Hogarth was born in 1697, lived at 57 Bartholomew Close: his house is referred to in 1680 as the place where a press messenger went to seize a sheet of a pamphlet entitled 'Malice defeated' for a Mrs. Cellier.³

His father, Robert Downing, first appears in the registers in 1624: he was registrar of the parish in 1653. William was buried on the 3rd January 1702/3. William's son Joseph was churchwarden in 1715 and so continued for three years. In 1734 William bequeathed

¹ *Cal. State Pap.*, 1664-5, p. 409.

² *V. M. Bk.* ii, 42, and App. II, p. 565.

³ *Cal. State Pap., Dom.*, 1680, p. 607.

the interest on £50 for either the poor or the schools of the parish.

Printers are well represented to-day by MESSRS. ADLARD & SON and by MESSRS. W. H. & L. COLLINGRIDGE.

THOS. ILLIDGE, a glass engraver, who lived at one time at No. 6 Bartholomew Close, in 1814 at No. 10, and in 1824 at No. 61, was a man who rendered many services to the parish. He appeared for it at the Court of King's Bench (20th May 1818) when one John Whitaker, who had been organist to the church, was charged with refusing to take the office of constable, though duly elected thereto as an inhabitant of the parish. Illidge, who was described by the Counsel for the defence as 'the tall gentleman in black', in cross-examination said he had known the parish for twenty-six years. He helped the vestry very materially in their action against St. Botolph's parish concerning the disputed bounds, and he was instrumental in getting Thomas Hardwick appointed to survey the parish and to make the plan of it, which, completed by Thomas Bedford, hangs in the west vestry room over the church porch. At the request of the vestry he collected a considerable amount of material for a history of the parish, which is still in the belfry cupboard.¹ He was publicly thanked by resolution of the vestry in 1831 'for the unwearied exertions he at all times manifested for the best interests of the parish'. The resolution was presented to him engraved on vellum.²

Of the QUAKERS³ who lived in the parish, there are various records in the registers. 'Mr. Eillott ye quaker' is mentioned in 1697.⁴ Also a 'Mrs. Elliott a quaker buried from her house in Cloth Fair', 'Mr. Howard's mother, a quaker, buried from ye Black Swan in Long Lane'; 'William Howard born at the same place 18th Sept.' All these entries occur in the year 1697. In the year 1704 the narrow area on the north side of the church was allotted to the Quakers as a burial-ground. John Eliot, a quaker, lived a long and useful life in the parish. An interesting account of him will be found in the Eliot papers printed⁵ in 1893 and 1894. In 1769 he is shown by the book of the poor's rate collector to be then living at No. 60 Bartholomew Close. On the outside of the present building are the two stones already referred to,⁶ one recording the rebuilding in 1767 by this John Eliot and his wife Mary. In the year 1768 John Eliot refused either to 'fine' for or to serve the office of sidesman to which he had been duly elected. It shows in what respect he was

¹ Drawer 17, Bundle 6.

² In 1841 he was living in Cole Street, Southwark (Illidge's notes, sec. 8).

³ Founded by Geo. Fox in 1646.

⁴ Reg. 4, births, 21 December 1697.

⁵ At first for private circulation, then in 1 vol. 1895.

⁶ Above, p. 214.

held that the vestry 'agreed not to press him thereto'. He died in 1813. His son John Eliot, the fourth and last generation of John Eliots, appears by the rate books to have moved, at his father's death, to the smaller house next door (No. 59), and there he remained till his death in 1830. He, too, was held in great respect, for in the year 1820 the vestry resolved that as he was a native and a great benefactor to the poor, he should not be chosen to any office. In his will he left £30 to the poor of the parish.¹

MR. JOSEPH BOORD, J.P., was, with Mr. W. H. Jackson, churchwarden of the parish for some years at the time of the first restoration of the church in 1863 (pl. XCVI, p. 374). He and Mr. Foster White were the principal promoters of the work, and he and the rector, Mr. John Abbiss, were the principal contributors to it. He was born in 1804, at which time, and many years before, his firm as Swaine & Co. carried on business as distillers at No. 1 Holborn Bridge. In 1841 they moved to Bartholomew Close, the name of the firm being changed to Swaine & Boord; in 1860 it became Boord & Beckwith, and finally, when in 1867 Mr. William Boord, the son of Joseph, was taken into partnership, it became Boord & Son. The firm remained in Bartholomew Close until 1900, when they moved to 115-121 Tooley Street. Mr. Joseph Boord died on the 14th December 1875.

SIR WILLIAM BOORD, Bart., who was born in 1838, became the head of the firm on his father's death. He was a liberal supporter of the second restoration of the church, which commenced in 1885; he also filled the office of churchwarden from 1887 to 1896. In 1873 he won the borough of Greenwich for the Conservatives, on the death of Sir David Salomons. Mr. W. E. Gladstone was the senior member at that time, but when, at the next general election, Mr. Boord was returned at the head of the poll, Mr. Gladstone went to Midlothian. Mr. Boord represented Greenwich until 1893, and was made a baronet in 1896. He died on the 2nd May 1912.

CENSUS RETURNS.

The following figures from the population tables show the steady growth in the numbers of the inhabitants of the parish during the first half of the nineteenth century, and the continuous and rapid decline since, a decline which is still in progress. The number of houses has also decreased. After the suppression the houses were large, as they were required for the aristocracy. After the middle of the seventeenth century the character of the population changed, and the large houses gave place to smaller ones. From the middle

¹ Benefactions board in the church, below, p. 507.

of the nineteenth century business men began to live away from their places of business, and dwelling-houses gave place to large factories and warehouses, with a corresponding decrease in the number of houses, and this process too is still going on.

Area, in statute acres, 9.0 in 1841, 9.3 in 1871, 8.9 in 1891; this variation may be caused by the surveyors estimating that the bounds extended further into Little Britain and Long Lane at one time than they did at another.

	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921 ³
POPULATION:													
Male .	1258	1345	1427	1440	1746	1826	1680	1468	1126	869	636	420	167
Female .	1387	1424	1504	1483	1668	1673	1746	1646	1247	974	805	493	206
Total .	2645	2769	2931	2923	3414	3499	3426	3114	2373	1843	1441	913	373
Families or separate occupiers }	602	624	796	753	(not given)			784	(not given)		436	277	123
HOUSES:													
Inhabited .	324	337	350	309	339	337	333	321	261	230	200	281	4
Uninhabited	8	4	16	19	11	16	24	57	79	26 ¹	124 ²	48	—
Building .	—	—	2	8	6	3	—	—	6	—	—	—	—
Total .	332	341	368	336	356	356	357	378	346	256	324	329	—

Seymour says that the number of houses in the year 1734 was 324.⁵

¹ Occupied though not inhabited houses seem to be omitted.

² 114 of these were occupied.

³ Unrevised at time of going to press.

⁴ Not tabulated at time of going to press.

⁵ Seymour, *Survey*, i, 751.

CHAPTER XVI

THE DESCENDANTS OF RICH AND THE ADVOWSON

BEFORE recounting the history of the rectors and their times, some account of those who exercised the right of presentation to the benefice may be of interest.

In monastic times the cure of the parish church, which was within the monastic church, was supplied by the appointment of a priest by the prior and convent; and John Deane, so appointed, continued to act as parish priest for four years after the monastery was suppressed.

In the year 1544 Henry VIII himself exercised his right of patronage and appointed the same John Deane¹ the first rector and incumbent for the term of his life, and granted that his successors, incumbents, should for ever be called rectors. At the same time the king granted the right of patronage to Sir Richard Rich and his heirs, to be held in fealty only and not in chief, for all services and demands whatsoever. He directed that all future persons presented should be instituted and inducted by the ordinary. It is not recorded in the episcopal registers that Deane was so instituted,² neither is it of his immediate successor Ralph Watson.³

The benefice was valued for the king, in 1535, at £8,⁴ which sum at the suppression was allotted to Deane by the Court of Augmentations as an annual stipend, and the king directed that it should be so assessed for firstfruits and tenths.

In the year 1555 Rich granted the advowson to Queen Mary,⁵ and on her death it was inherited by Queen Elizabeth; who in 1560 regranted it to Rich.⁶ Whether Rich exercised his right of patronage and presented Ralph Watson in 1565, or whether Queen Elizabeth presented by lapse, is not recorded.

The history of Sir Richard Rich, the first Baron Rich, has already been given.⁷

His eldest son Robert succeeded him in 1567 as second Baron Rich, and presented Robert Binks to the benefice in 1576, and James Stancliffe in 1580. Lord Rich accepted the doctrines of the reforma-

¹ As already shown above, p. 271.

² Above, p. 272.

³ Below, p. 307.

⁴ Bacon, *Liber Regis*, 566. In 1737 and 1768 it was valued at £120.

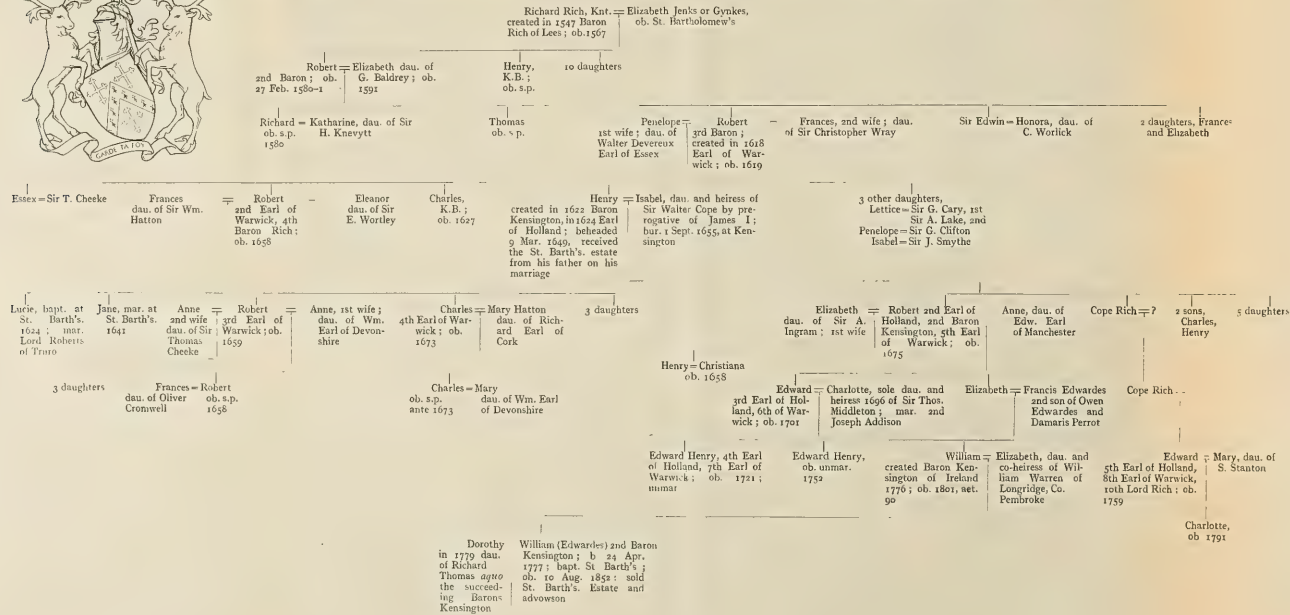
⁵ See Vol. I, p. 276.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 286.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 289.

SIR RICHARD RICH AND HIS DESCENDANTS

OWNERS OF THE SUPPRESSED MONASTERY OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW, WEST SMITHFIELD, AND THE ADVOWSON OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT CHURCH



tion and made some figure at the court of Queen Elizabeth.¹ He married Elizabeth, the daughter of G. Baldrey, Esq., and died in 1581.

His eldest son Richard having predeceased him without issue in 1580, he was succeeded by his second son Robert, the third baron, who, in 1582, presented John Pratt to the rectory. At Pratt's death Rich allowed Queen Elizabeth to present 'by lapse' David Dee in 1587; but he again exercised the patronage in 1605, when he presented Dr. Westfield. This Lord Rich held puritanical views. He was associated with the queen's favourite, Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, in most of his successes, and married the earl's sister, Penelope Devereux, in 1580, which led to much unhappiness as she was in love with Sir Philip Sidney. It was to her that Sidney's sonnets 'Astrophel and Stella' were addressed. After Sidney's death she lived in open adultery with Lord Mountjoy, whom she married after she had been divorced by Rich. In 1616 Lord Rich, on the 14th December, married, at St. Bartholomew the Great, Frances, the daughter of Sir Christopher Wray, and widow of Sir George St. Paul. He was created Earl of Warwick in 1618 and died the next year.

It was this Robert Lord Rich who 'developed' the St. Bartholomew property, and covered the parish with narrow streets and small houses. With the view of continuing to maintain the place as a 'liberty', he obtained in May 1583 from Queen Elizabeth² an exemplification of the enrolment of the charter of confirmation of the privileges granted to the monastery by Henry VII in 1489,³ and a month later, 15th June 1583, he was granted by the queen an *inspeximus* of the charter of feoffment, whereby his grandfather granted the glebe houses to the rector of St. Bartholomew's.

Robert was succeeded in his title by his eldest son Robert, who thus became the fourth Baron Rich and the second Earl of Warwick; but in the property of St. Bartholomew's he was succeeded by his youngest son Henry, on whom it had been settled in 1612⁴ as a jointure for his wife Isabel Cope, the daughter and heiress of Sir Walter Cope, builder of Cope Castle, Kensington.

This Henry Rich by his good looks greatly attracted King James I, who not only gave him Isabel Cope the heiress to wife, but also lavished large sums of money and honours upon him (pl. XCIII, p. 264). In 1622 he was created Baron Kensington, and in 1624 Earl of Holland, in consequence of which he renamed Cope Castle, Holland House. He was sent as ambassador to France on the negotiations for King Charles's marriage

¹ J. Sargeaunt, *Hist. Felsted School*, from which much of this information is gleaned.

² See above, p. 232.

³ Vol. I, p. 220.

⁴ See also below, p. 319.

with Henrietta Maria, but on the outbreak of the Civil War he sided with the Parliament. In 1643 he went over to the king at Oxford, but he was not welcomed there, so, after the battle of Newbury, he again joined the side of the Parliament. Later on he plotted a rising in the king's favour at Kingston-on-Thames, but he was taken prisoner at St. Neots, and was beheaded 9th March 1649.¹

We have no evidence that this Henry, first Earl of Holland, lived at the family mansion, the old prior's house in the Close, but ² Lucie, a daughter of his sister, Lady Essex Cheeke, was baptized in the church in 1624, and Lucie's sister Jane was married there in 1641.

In 1644 the earl presented John Garrett to the benefice, on whose death during the Commonwealth the earl's widow, the dowager Countess of Holland, presented Randolph Harrison, by virtue of her jointure. His institution was not registered at St. Paul's until the Restoration in 1660, but the presentation must have taken place in or before 1655, as the dowager died in August of that year.

The Earl of Holland's eldest son Henry did not succeed to his father's titles, as titles were then suspended, and he died (without issue) in 1658. He did not present to the benefice, as the rector, Randolph Harrison, outlived him.

The second son Robert succeeded at the Restoration to the titles as the second Earl of Holland and second Baron Kensington, and on the death of his cousin Charles, in 1673, he also succeeded to the titles of the fifth Earl of Warwick and seventh Baron Rich. He showed much activity in the cause of the Restoration. In 1663 he presented Anthony Burgess to the benefice of St. Bartholomew's on the resignation of Randolph Harrison. It was for this second Earl of Holland that the collection of charters and deeds was made in 1663.³ He died in 1675.

He was succeeded by his eldest son Edward, who thus became the third Earl of Holland and sixth Earl of Warwick. This earl led a loose and profligate life and, as the result of a drinking bout, killed a man in a duel, was found guilty of manslaughter, but was merely dismissed with a caution. He married in 1696 Charlotte, the daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Middleton, and died in 1701. After his death his widow married Addison the poet. He did not present to St. Bartholomew's because Anthony Burgess, the rector, lived until 1709.

Edward's only child, Edward Henry Rich, succeeded his father as fourth Earl of Holland and seventh Earl of Warwick. He presented

¹ Above, p. 278.

³ Add. MSS. 34768; and above, Vol. I, p. xxv.

² *Ib.*, p. 274.

John Pountney in 1709, and died unmarried in 1721. A further presentation was made of Thomas Spateman¹ in 1719, but the episcopal register at St. Paul's says that this was made by '*Edwardus comes de Warwick*', the name and title of Edward Henry's successor to the titles but not to the Bartholomew property. As Edward, however, was not Earl of Warwick until after the death of his cousin Edward Henry in 1721, we may assume that the scribe of the register accidentally left out the name Henry which he properly inserted in the entry concerning John Pountney in 1709.

Edward, the second cousin of Edward Henry, succeeding to the titles, thus became the fifth Earl of Holland and eighth Earl of Warwick, and died in 1759; but the advowson went with the rest of the Bartholomew property to an aunt of Edward Henry, Lady Elizabeth Rich, who had married Francis Edwardes, the second son of Owen Edwardes, of Trefgarne, Pembrokeshire, by Damaris, daughter of James Perrot, Esquier.

Their eldest son Edward Henry Edwardes succeeded to the estates, and in 1738 he presented Richard Thomas Bateman to the rectory. He died unmarried in 1752.

Edward Henry was succeeded by his younger brother William Edwardes, of Johnson, Pembrokeshire, who became possessed of the property on the death of his mother, in accordance with the will of his brother Edward Henry made in 1737. On the death of Rector Bateman in 1760 or 1761, William Edwardes did not claim the patronage, and in 1761 Bateman's successor, John Moore, was collated by the Bishop of London 'by lapse'. On the death of Rector Moore in 1768, however, William Edwardes did exercise his right, and presented his first cousin Owen Perrot Edwardes to the living. In 1776 William Edwardes was elevated to the peerage of Ireland by the title of Baron Kensington, the former barony of Kensington, enjoyed by the Earls of Holland and of Warwick, having expired in 1759 on the death of Edward, the fifth Earl of Holland, without a son. He married, in 1762, Elizabeth, the youngest daughter and co-heiress of William Warren, Esq., of Longridge, Pembrokeshire, by whom he had an only son William, who was baptized at St. Bartholomew's on the 24th April 1777. William Edwardes, the father, died in 1801, aged 90 years.

His son William, the second Baron Kensington of the new creation, some time before 1814, sold the advowson to William Phillips, Esq., of Grosvenor Place, Middlesex, so there is no occasion to follow the history of the Edwardes family further.

¹ Below, p. 334.

William Phillips, the new patron, had married, as a second wite, a Miss Abbiss, whose brother John Abbiss was, at the time of the purchase of the advowson, at Oxford awaiting ordination. On the death of the rector, O. P. Edwardes, in 1814, Phillips presented John Richards Roberts to the benefice. At the expiration of five years Roberts resigned, by arrangement, and Phillips presented John Abbiss.

The Rev. Frederick Parr Phillips, the son of William Phillips, of Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey, and honorary Canon of Winchester, inherited the advowson, and presented William Panckridge in 1884 and Borradaile Savory in 1887.

Frederick Abbiss Phillips inherited, and presented, in 1907, William Fitzgerald Gambier Sandwith, the present rector.

On the death of Mr. F. Abbiss Phillips in 1908 the patronage devolved jointly on his widow, Mrs. Bowen-Buscarlet, of Stoke d'Abernon, and her son, Noel McG. Phillips, of Wanborough Manor, Guildford.

PART IV
RECTORS AND THEIR TIMES



FIG. 8. SIR JOHN DEANE, RECTOR 1544-1563.
(See p. 300.)

CHAPTER XVII

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY (Second Half)

JOHN DEANE, RECTOR, 1544-1563.

WE have now to consider the rectors of the parish church of St. Bartholomew the Great. From the time of the suppression of the monastery to the close of the sixteenth century there were six rectors ; during the seventeenth century there were four ; during the eighteenth, five ; and during the nineteenth, four.

The parish church had had, no doubt, its parish priest from the twelfth century, and there was no break whatever in the continuity at the time of the suppression, for John Deane was priest there before that event, in 1539 ;¹ he is described as parish priest in 1540, and in 1544 he was created the first rector by the king for the term of his life. By the latter year the nave and also the parish chapel² had been pulled down, so that Deane, as parish priest, must have taken possession of the conventual church as the parish church, some time in the year 1543 or earlier. Probably in 1542 the building up of the west end of the quire on the pulpitum wall was begun, and the north arch of the crossing on the top of the existing stone screen.

We have shown³ how John Deane continued his work as parish priest and rector during the Dominican occupation until the second suppression by Elizabeth in 1559 ; we have now to consider the records of the four years until his death in 1563. John Deane had held his post through the varying and momentous changes of the twenty years between 1539 and 1559 ; and he continued to hold his post through the scarcely less momentous first four years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. As nothing is recorded to the contrary, we may assume that Deane conformed to the Act of Uniformity and the Act of Supremacy passed by Elizabeth's first Parliament.

Deane was always known as ' Sir ' John Deane, a complimentary title given to the clergy at that time, as ' Reverend ' is to-day. He thus describes himself in his deed of statutes of the Witton Grammar School,⁴ which he founded by Northwich in Cheshire :

' I, Sir John Deane, prest, one of ye sonnes of Laurence Deane, late of Shurlache, in the Parisshe of Davenham, in the countie of

¹ See Vol. I, p. 273.

² *Ib.*, p. 262.

³ *Ib.*, p. 274.

⁴ J. Weston, *Witton School* (pamphlet), 1899.

Chester, Prebendary in Lincolne, and person of Great Saint Bartholomewes, neare Smythfeilde, in London, ffounder of the ffree Grammar Schole at Northwyche, in the countie of Chester aforesaid, erected in the Name of Jesus, at the feaste of Sainte Michell tharchaungell, in the yere of our Lord God a thousand ffive hundred ffyfte and aightte.'

The prebend of Lincoln, to which he was installed on the 13th January 1551/2, was that of Buckingham.¹

The initial letter 'I' in the above statutes contains his illuminated portrait.² He is depicted there in his academic gown with a fur tippet, a scarf and a doctor's cap (p. 298). The details of the face are almost undistinguishable, but the portrait was probably entirely conventional. His right hand supports a closed book and from his left proceeds a scroll which is carried overhead, and contains the legend '*Miserere Mei Deus et averte faciem tuam a peccatis meis. Amen.*'

It was in the year 1558, during the occupation of the Dominicans at St. Bartholomew's, that Sir John Deane founded this Grammar School at Witton. The deed of feoffment by which the endowment was made is lost, but there is a copy in the British Museum,³ dated the 26th October, 4 & 5 Phil. & Mary. He had for long been connected with the parish of Northwich, for he says in his will that he was born there. In the year 1548 the sheriff of Cheshire certified to the Court of Augmentations that 'ij chalices and one other of Northwyche parish church' were 'in the hands of Sir John Deyne, preste'.⁴

Sir John Deane was a man of property, as will be seen by his will, and had possessions in Northwich, some of which at any rate he acquired from the king after the suppression of the monasteries. Thus in the royal grants in August 1543 occurs :⁵

'John Deane, clerk, grant in fee, for £54 of two salt pits (*salinas*) formerly in tenure of Wm. Sudlowe, and now of Thos. Sudlowe,⁶ and two more in tenure of George Sudlowe in Northwich, Cheshire, which belonged to Basingwarke monastery⁷ with the lead (estimated at 40 "les weightes" in each two) and a messuage in tenure of Thos. Bromfelde in Northwiche. Oteland 17th July, 35 Henry VIII.'

The township of Witton is contiguous to the eastern side of the town of Northwich, whose buildings extend into Witton. The school was built in the Witton churchyard. It was endowed by Deane with

¹ Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii, 122.

² The accompanying reproduction was made from an etching by Mr. W. H. Fromont, of Handbridge, Chester, for the author in 1910.

³ Harl. MSS. 2099, Art. 19, p. 421.

⁴ Ormerod, *Cheshire* (A.D. 1882), iii, 886.

⁵ *Cal. State Pap.* xviii, pt. 2, No. 107.

⁷ A Cistercian abbey in Flintshire.

⁶ A cousin of Rector Deane.

lands in Wirral, and houses in Chester, parcel of the estates of the dissolved guild or fraternity of St. Anne in Chester.

From the statutes we learn that the master was to be a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge, and that his stipend was £12 a year. The scholars were to be taught 'the good literature both laten and greeke, and good authors such as have the veraie Roman eloquence, joyned with wysdome especyally Christayne authours, that wrote their wysdome with clean and chaste laten, eyther in verse or in prose ffor my entente is by ffoundinge of this schoole especiallye to increase knowledge and worshippe of God and our Lord Jesu Christe and good lyffe and manners in the children'.¹

Another of the statutes is on 'Old orders and customs to be observed':

'Also to th'ende that the schollers have not an evill opynyon of the schoolemaister, nor the schoolemaister shulde not myslyke the schollers doinge for requiringe of customes and orders, I will that uppon Thursdaies and Saturdaies in th'afternoones and uppon hollydaies they refreshe themselves. And that a weeke before Christynmas and Easter accordinge to the olde custome, they barre, and keep forth of the schoole, the schoolemaister in such sorte as others scollers doe in greit schooles: and that as well in the vacacons as the daies aforesayed, they use their bowes and arrowes onlye, and eschewe all bowling, cardinge, dysinge, quytinge and all other unlawfull gaumes, upon payne of extreame punnysshment, to be done by the schoolemaister; and that every scholler have and use in the church his prymer, wherein is contaynd the vii psalmes, the psalmes of the passion, and suche like.'²

In the year 1893 the pupils of the Witton Grammar School presented to St. Bartholomew's a memorial slab inlaid with brass and inscribed to the memory of the founder of the school. This now lies on the floor of the church, near his grave, on the south side of the sanctuary.³

As rector of Stanmore Parva Sir John Deane had enjoyed a yearly stipend of £6 13s. 4d. As rector of St. Bartholomew's his stipend was £8, as allotted to him by the Court of Augmentations, but this was superseded in 1544 by the endowment of the rectory with the glebe houses in Bartholomew Close amounting to £11.

We learn from his will that for some time before his death he occupied part of a house in St. Botolph's (Aldersgate) parish, but we cannot identify it. In 1544 he had a lease of a dwelling-house with a chamber above in Petty Wales for which he paid a yearly rent of 6s. 8d.⁴

¹ J. Weston, *Witton School*, p. 7. Also Harl. MSS. 2099, Art. 20, p. 481.

² *Ib.*, p. 9.

³ See description below, p. 449.

⁴ *Aug. Off. Partic. for Grants*, No. 927, App. I, p. 506.

There are but few parochial events to chronicle during Deane's rectorship after Queen Elizabeth came to the throne. Lord Rich was the dominating personage in the parish at this time, though he probably was then mostly resident in Essex. We record elsewhere¹ the agreement the Corporation, after many endeavours, eventually obtained from him in the year 1561 as regards the water supply, which after serving the parish also served the hospital.

In the same year (1561) came to a successful end the dispute, which commenced in 1559, with St. Sepulchre's parish as regards paying the subsidy of the fifteenth granted to Philip and Mary in the year 1558.

The collectors of the parish of St. Sepulchre lodged a complaint before the barons of the Court of Exchequer (27th October, 1 Eliz.—1559)² that whilst they were assessed for the tenth and fifteenth the parishioners of St. Bartholomew the Great, though rightly assessed at £20, refused to pay. On the advice of the Court the collectors distrained for the £20 by seizing a silver cup belonging to John Everton of St. Bartholomew's.³ The parishioners of St. Bartholomew's therefore complained to the Court, whereupon a commission was appointed to inquire into the matter.

Briefly stated, the commissioners found that the parish ought not to be a contributor to the subsidy with the parish of St. Sepulchre: that St. Bartholomew Close had always been a parish of itself, having its own parish church and services within that of the monastery and distinct from St. Sepulchre's: that they ought not to pay and never had paid any money to the collector of St. Sepulchre's: that no sum of money had been paid to the fifteenth from the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great and that the inhabitants were not taxed thereto, and finally that it was so before the suppression of the monastery.

After that, the parishioners of St. Sepulchre's having four times failed to appear before the Court, a writ of summons was issued to them to appear on the 2nd May 1561 to hear judgement. It was then ordered by the Court that the collectors should give back the distress they had seized, and that the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great should be released from the £20 assessed and charged upon them; and also from any future sums towards any fifteenth and tenth that might be granted to the queen. Thus the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great obtained a continuance of the exemption from paying and collecting subsidies granted to the monastery in the year 1440.⁴

¹ Above, p. 193.

² Memo. R., M'as, 2/3 Eliz., Rot. 231. An exemplification was granted and a copy included in Lord Holland's cartulary.

³ Wills, App. I, p. 545.

⁴ Vol. I, p. 212.

Some three months before Sir John Deane's death, which occurred in October 1563, the church of St. Bartholomew the Great was nearly brought to total ruin by the action of Edmund Grindal, Queen Elizabeth's first bishop of London, in trying to strip the lead from the roof of St. Bartholomew's for the benefit of St. Paul's: it was due to the queen's first secretary that this threatened calamity was averted. The matter arose thus:

On the 3rd June 1561 the spire of St. Paul's Cathedral was struck by lightning, and, together with the roof, which like the spire was of wood covered with lead, was entirely destroyed by fire. It was difficult to obtain sufficient lead for covering the new roof, so Bishop Grindal, on the 3rd July 1563 wrote the following letter.¹ It is addressed 'To the honorable Sir William Cecill, Knight, Secretarie to the Queen's Majesty'.

'Bycause some have dyed lately neare my house here² I dare nott come to the Courte to speake with you, nottwithstanding I shall praye you to have your furtherance in this matter folowyng, wh. I have communicated with my L[ord] Keper [Bacon] who semeth nott to mislyke off it.

'St. Bartholomew's churche, adioying nynge [nigh] to my L. Riches house, is in decaye and so encreaseth daylye: it hathe an heaue coate off leade,³ which would do verie goode service for the mother churche off Powles: I have obtyned my L. Riches good wille, and iff I coulde obteyne my L. chieffe justice⁴ off ye K[ings] benche and Sr. Walter Myldemaye's assente, I wolde nott doubte to have the assent also of the whole parisshe, that the leade might goo to the coveringe off Powles.

'Now remayneth only this scruple, How shall the parisshe be provideff off a churche? That is thus answered. Ther is an house adioynynge⁵ which was the Fratrie (as they tearmed it) a verie fayre and a large house, and indeede alreadye, iff it wor purged, lacketh nothing butt the name off a churche; well buylded off free stone, garnished within rounde abowte with marble pyllers, large windows, etc. I assure you without partialitie, iff it wer dressed up, it were farre more beautifull and more conveniente than the other. It is covered with good slate. If we might have the good leade, we would compounde with my L[ord] Riche for convertynge the sayd Fratrie to a churche and we wille also supply

¹ Lansdowne MSS., No. 6, Art. 55, also quoted by Strype, *Life and Acts Ed. Grindal* (1710), p. 63.

² The plague was brought to London after the surrender of Havre, 20,000 died in London. The Spanish Ambassador, Bsh. Alvaro de Quadra, died of it, 26 Aug. 1563.

³ Elizabeth's grant to Rich especially reserved 'all bells and all lead' to herself. See Vol. I, p. 287.

⁴ Justice Catlin, a parishioner. See above, p. 259.

⁵ Already referred to above, p. 155.

all imperfections off the same, and nott desyre thee parisshe to remove tyll the other be meate and conveniente to go to.

'We think that the matter is very reasonable, for what is more reasonable than that the children shoulde clothe theyr naked parentes? Owre churche is *Matrix Ecclesia* (as the Canons tearme suche churches), which is all one with Mater.

'I praye you let us have your helpe in it, to my L[ord] chieffe justice and Mr. Myldemaye, iff they be *difficiles*, and also iff you shall think it conveniente to moove Queen Majestie (wh. my L. Keper thinketh not amiss) lett us have your helpe that waye also.

'I will repayre to you when the Courte comethe to Richemond or att some other conveniente tyme, to understande what you think goode.

'Godde kepe you

from London 3 Julii, 1563.

Yor. in Christe

EDM. LONDON.'

Sir William Cecil's reply has not been found, but from the following letter from the bishop it would appear that he was not favourable to the scheme. A letter addressed: 'To the honorable Sir William Cecil, Knighte, secretarie to the Queen's Majestie':

'I received yesternight beinge the XIth off this Julye a letter from my LL. for makynge a Certificate off the state of my diocese, wh. I will answer (Godde willynge) with all possible spede.¹

'I have received also from you 3 letters, the firste was concerning S. Bartholomews, and a certificate off the convocation.

'Re S. Bartholomews, I meane nott to pulle downe, butt to change a churche, more comodious than the other, onlesse strawnge opinion should arise, that prayers were more acceptable under leade, than under sclate.....

[The remainder of this letter is on other matters.]

I comitte you to Godde

from Fulham XII Julii, 1563.

Your in Christe

EDM. LONDON.'²

Reference is made elsewhere to the description given above of the frater.³

As already stated, Sir John Deane died in October 1563. An

¹ Concerning the demand of the Privy Council for statistics of the number of papists, see Birt, *Eliz. Settlement*, p. 443.

² *The Times* reporter, after the reopening of the church in 1868, seems to have had some knowledge—though imperfect—of these letters, for he wrote: 'The structure is of great antiquity, being coeval with the priory of St. Bartholomew, founded and built by Rahere A. D. 1113; it was then used as the "Fratric House", but on the church of the monastery being pulled down for the purpose of repairing "Old St. Paul's" with the materials, it was fitted up and consecrated'!

³ Above, p. 153.

inquisition taken the year following found his niece Alicia, daughter of his brother Richard, his heir.¹

His will,² which is too long to give *in extenso*, is dated the 6th April and was proved on the 22nd November 1563. In it he describes himself as 'person of the parishe church of Greate St. Bartillmews nighe West Smithfeilde London'; he willed his 'Bodie to be buried by the righte side of the Chappell late Mr. Blage's Chappell and nowe Sir Walter Myldmaye's Chappell within the Quire of greate Saynte Bartillmews where I have allredie made my grave' . . . 'with funeral expenses honest and not sumptuous'.

This is the Sir Robert Blagge to whom we referred as an inhabitant of the parish.³ He was probably a lifelong friend of Rector Deane, because he was born (he tells us in his will) at Northwich, as was Deane. Sir Walter Mildmay's tomb was originally opposite Rahere's in the sanctuary; the right side of it would therefore be in the position in which the memorial slab to Sir John Deane has been placed. Deane bequeathed 'to the pore houshoulders in the pishe where my bodie shal be buried xxs.', also 'to the pore houshoulders in Northwiche where I was borne fyve markes', also 'amongst the pore ffolkes in saint Bartillmews Spittle xxs.' and 'to the prisons of nugate ludgate the kinges benche and the Marshalsey everie house of them vs.' . . . 'To Katherine that dwelte with Mr. Doctor Barthelet xxs.' (probably an old servant). 'To Margerie Storke, my tenant's daughter of the halfe Mone three poundes and my kowe (cow)' . . . 'To Thos. Storke her brother three poundes and my mare and her coulte.' He also willed his executors should give to the poor at the day of his burial £10 'in breade and money'. He bequeathed to his cousin John Deane a ring of gold, having the two letters of his name graven thereon, and £20 in money towards the charges of serving his livery. To Margaret, late wife of John Lambe, and then wife of Luson, the lease of certain tenements in Paradise in St. Bartholomew the Great parish, or, if she died before the expiration of the lease, then to Ellen Oxe her daughter. To his loving friend Richard Durante, gentleman, and his wife £6 13s. 4d., to buy black gowns, and his 'velvet jacket, and a gold ring weighing three pounds (*sic*) having a death's head to turn about on it'. This Richard he made the principal executor of his will concerning his movables. He bequeathed to Thomas Temple, his boy, £10. To Brian Storke and his wife and their children £5 for black gowns and coats, and all the movables in the parlour where he lay at the time of his death and his coverlet. To all his servants in the house 10s.

¹ Ormerod, *Cheshire*, iii, 157, ed. 1882.

² Wills, App. I, p. 545.

³ Above, p. 253.

As regards his lands and tenements, he left to his godson and cousin, John Deane, son of Richard Deane, in tail, his four Wicke houses in Northwich, Cheshire; also his tenements in Shortlache, Cheshire, and Haies Croft or Cannon Crofte, near a land called the school-master's land in Northwich, his lands and tenements in Barmton in the parish of Budwoethe, Cheshire, sometime belonging to Norton Abbey, the issues of rents and yearly profits to be distributed amongst the poor scholars of his free school and parish of Wynton.

He left to John Deane, his cousin, and his daughter Dorothy two tenements in the parish of St. Botolph, Aldersgate. To John Sudlowe all that part of the house wherein he (John Sudlowe) then dwelt, as it was then divided from the part which Sir John Deane himself had lately occupied, in St. Botolph's parish; together with six other tenements south-west of the same house. He left to Brian Storke and Alice his wife all his tenement called the Half Moon together with the parlour chambers and shop thereunto belonging adjoining which were three little tenements in the parish of St. Botolph on the north side of the Half Moon, from the issues of which Brian and Alice were to keep and bring up one Gilbert Hobson until he was twenty-four years of age, to whom they were also to pay £23. They were to give yearly 10s. in coal, wood or money, amongst the poor householders of St. Bartholomew the Great parish on Christmas Eve with the advice of the churchwardens of the parish.¹

He demised to his godson, John Sudlowe, son of Thomas Sudlowe, that part of the house which he had himself lately occupied in the parish of St. Botolph, together with five cottages in Long Lane adjoining the same house.²

He bequeathed to Richard Lambe the son of John Lambe all his tenements called Petywales, in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, then in the several tenures of the said John Deane, clerk, Augustine Turner, Rowland Belmer, Frenchman, William Anger, Frenchman, Mother Mighee, widow, and Thomas Collins; and also two tenements south-west from the Half Moon in St. Botolph's parish in the tenure of Nicholles and Purforde.

He appointed John Deane, Richard Durante, and Brian Storke executors of his will and John Sudlowe, overseer, who also with Richard Lambe and Robert Oxey, alias Norries, were witnesses.

There was a codicil in which he bequeathed to the reparation of the parish church 26s. 8d., to John Sudlowe and his wife £5 to buy

¹ App. II, p. 367.

² The house he had occupied was therefore on the site of the present Manchester Hotel.

black gowns, to each of his servants in St. Bartholomew's and St. Botolph's parishes a quarter's rent; to his cousin Alice Barlowe of West Chester a girdle with a pendant of parcel gilt. To Sir Henry of St. Sepulchre's a lined black gown and 20s.; to Thomas Carpenter 10s.; to Twite his godson 20s. Thomas Bryan and Marjorie his sister had died since he made his will in April, so he gave Marjorie's portion to Elizabeth Bryan her sister, and to his cousin Oliver Bendford and to his son (Sir John's godson) his mare and colt in Culleston in recompense for his cow. He also gave to 'myne hoste Brian Storke' one of his kine with the option of buying the other of his executors. The will was proved 22nd November 1563, by John Deane and Richard Durante, executors.¹

RALPH WATSON, RECTOR 1565-1569.

After the death of Sir John Deane in October 1563, it would appear that about two years were allowed to elapse before another appointment was made.

Hennessy says that Ralph Watson was appointed some time in the year 1565, and that he died in June 1569,² but he does not give the source of his information. Newcourt gives the name only,³ and no dates at all.

Watson's presentation and institution are not entered in the episcopal registers, as is the case with all his successors; but Grindal's register,⁴ when recording the institution of the next rector, states that the rectory was 'vacant by the natural death of Randolph Watson, clerk, the last rector'.

There are no further references, either to the rector (as such) or to the church during this period in the public or in the parochial records; as the earliest parochial record dates only from the year 1574. Before he was rector of St. Bartholomew's Ralph Watson was the vicar of Heston, Middlesex, to which he was presented by King Edward VI in February 1551/2; a benefice which he resigned in the year 1560.

If Lord Rich, the rightful patron of St. Bartholomew's, did not, as would appear, present within six months, it is possible that Watson may have been presented by Queen Elizabeth by lapse for that turn, as in the case of David Dee in 1587.

ROBERT BINKS, RECTOR 1570-1579.

Seven months after the death of Ralph Watson, on the 6th January 1570, Robert Binks, clerk (variously spelt Binkes,⁵ Bincks,⁶ and

¹ There are many other legacies too numerous to give here.

² Hennessy, *Nov. Rep.* 101.

³ Newcourt, *Rep.* i, 295.

⁴ Reg. Lond., Grindal, 153.

⁵ *Ib.*

⁶ *Ib.*, 198.

Binckes¹ in Grindal's register and Bynkes in his will), was instituted to the rectory of the parish church vacant by the death of Ralph Watson, the last rector; to which he was presented by Robert Lord Rich,² the second baron.

We have no records concerning him or his doings other than that in the year 1579 he granted a lease of two of the glebe houses to Morice Pleman.³ It was during his rectorate, on the 9th May 1574, that the following inventory was made which, with the churchwarden's account of the period, from the 9th May 1574 to the 9th February 1578, all on one sheet of paper, is the oldest document in the parish safe.⁴ This list is of some interest as it shows what vestments were in the church at this time, in accordance with the ornaments rubric inserted in the Prayer Book by Queen Elizabeth in the first year of her reign (1559).

'Certayne things appertaining to the churche as followethe :

- Imprimis* A Comunion cloth of redd silke and goulde.
- Itm* A Comunion coppe of silver withe a cover.
- Itm* A beriall cloth of red velvet and a pulpitte cloth of the same.
- Itm* Two grene velvet quishins.
- Itm* A blewe velvet cope.
- Itm* A blewe silke cope.
- Itm* A white Lynnen abe⁵ and a hedde clothe⁶ to the same.
- Itm* A vestment of tawney velvet.
- Itm* A vestment of redd rought velvet.
- Itm* A vestment of grene silke with a crosse garde of red velvet.
- Itm* A crosse Bannor of redd tafata gilted.
- Itm* Two stoles of redd velvet.
- Itm* Two white surplices.
- Itm* Two Comunion table clothers.
- Itm* Two Comunion towels.
- Itm* One olde Bible.
- Itm* One great booke.
- Itm* One olde sarvice booke for the minister.'

By the same churchwarden's account we learn that the levelling up of the floor of the church was done at this time, for the largest item in the account is as follows :

'The charges of the raisinge of the flower of the said church and new sittings and mendinge of the pewes xlii. xixs. viiij.⁷

The bells also were put in order, and 8s. was paid for a new bell wheel, 1s. for repairing another, and 11s. 6d. for new ropes for all the bells.⁸

The rector died in 1579. In his will⁹ dated the 15th August of that

¹ Reg. Lond., Grindal, 89.

² Ib., 153.

³ Ib., 89.

⁴ App. II, p. 524.

⁵ Albe.

⁶ Amice.

⁷ John Hope, the parish clerk, drew my attention to this.

⁸ App. II, p. 525.

⁹ Wills, App. I, p. 546.

year he described himself as 'Robert Bynkes, clerke, parson of the parish church of Great St. Bartholomew in West Smithfeilde in the suburbs of London'.¹ He left 'all and singular his goodes cattells chattels bothe reall and personelle . . . leases plate jewells brass pewter linnen naparie beddinge implements and stuffe of household whatsoever . . . within the parish of St. Bartholomew as elsewhere' to his 'nephew Robert Bynckes, taylor'. As the will was not proved letters of administration were granted.

It would seem from this will that rector Bynckes left neither wife nor child.

JAMES STANCLIFFE, M.A., RECTOR 1580-1581.

James Stancliffe, clerk, succeeded and was instituted on the 2nd April 1580 'to the rectory of the parish church of St. Bartholomew the Great, vacant by the natural death of Robert Bincks, clerk, the last rector' to which he was presented by the Hon. Robert Rich¹ (the second baron) the patron.

We have no records concerning this rector other than that he was a fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. on the 2nd November 1570, and M.A. on the 21st June 1575.² He occupied the position of rector for only eighteen months, resigning on the 10th October 1581.

JOHN PRATT, B.A., RECTOR 1582-1586.

On the 6th April 1582, 'John Pratt, clerk', was instituted to the rectory of the parish 'vacant by the spontaneous resignation of James Stancliffe, clerk, the last rector' to which he was presented by Robert Lord Rich³ the patron (that is the third baron, the second baron, his father, having died the year before). Newcourt⁴ records that he graduated B.A. from Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Rochester, and priest by the Bishop of London (Aylmer) on the 29th September 1579.

No records of his doings have come down to us other than that in the year 1583 he granted three leases of the glebe houses, two for forty years and one for thirty-nine years. He was chaplain to the Lord Chief Baron, Sir Roger Manwood, who was living in the parish.⁵ A letter from Manwood to Sir Walter Mildmay, dated the 14th November 1586, forms the second oldest record in the parish safe of St. Bartholomew's.⁶ It complains that a Mr. Neale⁷ had withheld

¹ Reg. Lond., Grindal, 198.

² Reg. Lond., Grindal, 204.

³ Above, p. 266.

⁴ Foster, *Alumni*.

⁵ Newcourt, *Rep.* i, 295.

⁷ See above, p. 291.

⁶ Parish Safe, D. 1 a.

a subscription to a rated order. (The administration of the Poor Law was at that time in the hands of the justices, and was not made parochial until 1601.) The letter is in the cursive hand of the Elizabethan period and is somewhat difficult to decipher (pl. XCIV, p. 265).¹ It runs thus:

'To the Right Hon. Sir Walter Myldmaye, Knight, one of her Mat^{es} most honorable pryveye counsill—May yt pleas yr honr contrary to yr dyrecon and note under yr hand, Mr. Neale refuseth to pay the xv *ls.* for hymself, and the x *ls.* for you, and knoweth by Mr. Ffinche and this bearer appoynted collector that my xx *ls.* is payd and by my menys (means) Mr. Colleshilles x *ls.* also, his wth drawing doth hynder and staye all the rest of the collection. his pretence is that a surplusege wyl be, which is no cause of stay or breache of the rated order, ffor after things dew payd for I undertake yr honor shall see and dyrect thaccompt and surplusege which shall remayne and therefore his pretence ys answeyrd. Myself would not have my word touched for a ffarre more vawew, and Mr. Neale dyd as well gyve his word as I whereof he ought to be carefull and not by his backward wylfullness to hynder the hole. The Remedy only is your advertisement unto him presently to accomplyshe the order taken according to yr note and rate. This xiiiith of November 1586.

yr friend & servant

ROGER MANWOOD.'

Evidently Sir Roger was very angry, but six years later he was himself deprived of office for various malpractices.

Sir Walter Mildmay at this time had been living in the parish for twenty years. It was this year (1586) that he had, together with Sir Roger Manwood, served on the commission at Fotheringay to try Mary Queen of Scots, who was executed on the 6th February following.

John Pratt, the rector, resigned after being at St. Bartholomew's for about four years. He was admitted to the vicarage of Newnham, Herts., on November 13th, 1586, which we may assume was about the time of his resignation of St. Bartholomew's. He resigned Newnham the following year in favour of the vicarage of Norton, Herts., which he held until his death, which occurred some time before February 1633.²

DAVID DEE, M.A., RECTOR 1587-1605.

On the 15th June 1587, David Dee, clerk, M.A., was instituted to the rectory 'vacant by lapse of time' to which he had been presented

¹ Deciphered by John Hope, parish clerk.

² Newcourt, *Rep.* i, 296. This John Pratt must not be confused with John Pratt, archdeacon of St. David's, collated 1557, died 1607.

'by the illustrious and dear princess Elizabeth Queen of England, for this turn the true patron'.¹

David Dee was a Shropshire man and a great-grandson of Bede Dee, a great man in those parts.² He graduated B.A. from St. Mary Hall, Oxford, 19th November 1568, and M.A. the 12th July 1572. On the 8th February 1577/8 he was licensed to marry 'Marciam Roper, spinster', and by her he had children, one of whom, Francis, was Bishop of Peterborough in the year 1638. In 1580 he was made Vicar of Sherborne, Dorset. His successor at Sherborne was not appointed until 1585,³ but whether Dee remained there so long is not clear; for one Ursula Garrett, a well-to-do person, living in one of the glebe houses⁴ in her will dated the 5th July 1581,⁵ after desiring to be buried 'within the parish church of St. Bartholomew', bequeathed among other gifts to the church, 10s., and also to 'Mr. Dee preacher' 10s. That this was the future rector is suggested by the fact that later in the will (probably in 1584, the year the will was proved) occurs 'witness of the reforming of certain things in this will, David Dee, minister', but he is not described as Vicar of Sherborne. Anyhow, it would seem thereby as though he had some connexion with St. Bartholomew's as early as 1581, the year after he was appointed to Sherborne. In 1587, as stated above, he was made rector of St. Bartholomew's and on June 27th, 1598, he was admitted to the prebend of *Consumpta per mare* in St. Paul's, but he resigned it before the 13th December following,⁶ for what reason does not appear.

It was during David Dee's rectorate, as was shown when dealing with Cloth Fair,⁷ that the great amount of building took place in the parish; but whilst these building operations were going on the rector was engaged in lawsuits with the tenants of the glebe houses, as already described.⁸ From these proceedings he would seem to have been of a litigious disposition; and if the evidence of Ann Lupton, one of the defendants, is reliable he had also other faults. In her demurrer, in the year 1590, Ann Lupton said that the action was grounded on no just cause but only on Dee's 'troublesome disposition'. And later, in a reply to his 'insufficient' answer, she said that he, pretending to be in Holy Orders of priesthood and a minister of divine service, had very greatly abused his position (and had done something which the mutilated condition of the document renders illegible); but nothing repenting of the same foul

¹ Reg. Lond., Grindal, 232.

² Wildman, *Short Hist. of Sherborne* (1902), p. 46.

³ Reg. Lond., Grindal, 101.

⁴ Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii, 381.

⁵ Newcourt, *Rep.* i, 144.

⁶ Wills, *App.* I, p. 546.

⁷ Above, p. 232.

⁸ *Ib.*, p. 222.

offence he had committed other diverse unlawful acts and demeanours as well within the parish as elsewhere; and when Dee said that he had so carried himself that none could have cause to accuse him of any offence, she replied that his 'troublesome and lewd behaviour' had been certified to the Lord Chancellor by various honourable personages and inhabitants of the parish, which assertion she promised to make apparent to the court at the hearing; and she further stated that these parishioners had beseeched the Chancellor that Dee might be deprived and removed from the parish, 'a matter which would generally well content the parishioners'.

Thomas Crane, another defendant, also alleged that the complaint of Dee was devised more for law expenses than for any just ground of suit.

That David Dee was deprived and removed from the parish as requested by the parishioners of the Lord Chancellor in 1605 there is no doubt, because the episcopal register states¹ that Dr. Westfield was instituted 'on the deprivation of David Dee'; though we have to say with Newcourt 'for what cause we find not'.²

That Dee was not quite without friends in the parish is shown by the fact that Evan Meredith in his will (already referred to)³ bequeathed him 40s.; apparently Meredith could not write, as he sealed the document instead of signing it, Dee witnessing his 'mark'. This will, which is dated 1601, is the first instance we have met with of gloves being given to mourners at a funeral. He says, 'I give to my speciall friendes which shall accompanie my bodie to the funerall to the number of twelve persons to each of them a paire of gloves of five shillings price. And to other my neighbours and frendes two dozen paire of gloves at the price of every paire fower shillings, and two dozen paire of other gloves at the price of everie paire three shillings. And two dozen paire of other sorte of gloves at the price of two shillings a paire and three dozen pair of other gloves at twelve pence a paire to be given and distributed at the discretion of my executrix and overseers' (the total cost being £15 12s.). He also left £10 to be bestowed in a banquet at his burial.

David Dee lived for some fourteen years after he left St. Bartholomew's, for the date of the grant of administration to his son Daniel was the 3rd February 1619/20.⁴

¹ Reg. Lond., Bancroft, 63.

² Newcourt, *Rep.* i, 144.

³ Above, p. 156; and Wills, App. I, p. 551.

Hennessy, *Nov. Rep.* xxxi (Vic. Gen. Bk., 135 Marten, S.H.).

CHAPTER XVIII

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

THOMAS WESTFIELD, D.D., RECTOR 1605-1644.

THOMAS WESTFIELD was instituted to the rectory on the 18th December 1605. He was presented by Robert Lord Rich, Baron of Leez, the patron, on the deprivation, as we have just seen, of David Dee the last rector.¹

He was a man of learning and distinction, and was Bishop of Bristol at the time of his death. He was born in the parish of St. Mary, Ely, in the year 1573. He was a scholar of St. Mary's Grammar School there, and a scholar and fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, where he matriculated in 1589.² He graduated B.A. in 1592/3, M.A. in 1596, and B.D. in 1604, in which degree he was incorporated at Oxford in 1611.³ He was at first preacher (*praelector*) in the Cathedral Church of Ely, then curate to Dr. Nicholas Fenton at St. Mary le Bow, Cheapside; he was appointed rector of South Somercoates, Lincoln, in the year 1600, and there remained until 1605, when he was presented to St. Bartholomew's by Robert Lord Rich, to whom and his son Henry Earl of Holland he was chaplain.

In 1614 he was nominated to the prebend of Ealdstreet, St. Paul's,⁴ but this he resigned in 1615, and in 1616 he was nominated to the stall of Caddington Major, which he held till his death.⁵

In 1615 he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity (S.T.D.),⁶ in which he was incorporated at Oxford 26th March 1644.⁷ He was presented to the rectory of Hornsey (in what year is uncertain) by the Bishop of London, whose chaplain he was. This benefice he continued to hold, with that of St. Bartholomew's and other preferments, until 1637,⁸ when he resigned. In 1619 he was elected, nominated, and appointed by the Bishop of London a governor of Sir Roger Cholmley's School at Highgate.⁹ In 1631 he was collated Archdeacon of St. Albans,¹⁰ which he held until his death, even when

¹ Reg. Lond., Bancroft, 63.

² MS. Hist. of Jesus Coll. Cambs., temp. Charles II, at Jesus Coll.

³ Newcourt, *Rep.* i, 95; Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* i, 190.

⁴ Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii, 387.

⁵ *Ib.*, 370.

⁶ So in the parish register in his own hand (*Reg.* i, 199).

⁷ Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*

⁸ Newcourt, *Rep.* i, 652.

⁹ On the information of Mr. E. W. Reeves.

¹⁰ Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii, 346.

Bishop of Bristol. In 1633 he was appointed on a Royal Commission to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction in England and Wales. In 1642 he was created Bishop of Bristol,¹ a see which had been offered to him as early as 1617,² and this he held until his death in 1644.

It will be seen therefore that Dr. Westfield was a pluralist, but in those days that was often a necessity. His biographer, David Lloyd, who obtained his information from Dr. Westfield's daughter Elizabeth, says of him in his *Memoirs*,³ that he was 'a good man without noise, a provident man without perplexity, merry without lightness, grave without morosity, and bountiful without waste. These and many others virtues recommended him first to Hornsey;⁴ and his faithfulness and success there opened his way to St. Bartholomew the Great, as his providence and gravity did to the archdeaconry of St. Alban's, and his worthy management of these offices purchased to him the good degree of the bishopric of Bristol, which was offered him anno 1616 to maintain him, and which was then refused by him because he said he wanted not subsistence; and again in 1641 that he might maintain it, and then accepted⁵ because episcopacy wanted such a devout and well-reputed a man to support it'.

In 1631 he was president of Sion College,⁶ and at the close of his second year of office, in 1633, he preached the first Latin sermon in accordance with the founder's will of 1624; the text was *Benedict Sion Domine*.⁷ The Bishop of London, John King, called him a born orator, and David Lloyd wrote that his natural persuasive faculty and heart-searching preaching, and his power to move to tears, gained him the name of 'Mournful Jeremy'. 'He made not', says his biographer, 'that which should be welcome wearisome by the tediousness of his sermons, never standing above his glass, nor keeping a glass upon an extraordinary occasion above a quarter of an hour.' 'Let your prayers', he would say, 'be as frequent as your wants; and your thanksgiving as your blessings: miss not the confession and absolution in public, unless you have no sins to repent of or no care to be forgiven them.' 'He kept up all ordinances, prayers, sermons and sacraments in equal esteem, especially taking care of catechising.'

As regards parochial affairs he made the following entry in the

¹ Le Neve, *Fasti*, i, 216.

² Lloyd says 1616.

³ David Lloyd, *Memoirs* (1668), p. 300.

⁴ D. N. B. says he was not appointed to Hornsey until 1615. Newcourt says the date appears not.

⁵ Consecrated probably 26 June 1642: Le Neve, i, 216.

⁶ E. C. Cater, *Notes on Sion Coll.*

⁷ Probably *Benedicat te Dominus ex Sion*: Ps. 133 (Vulgate, ver. 4).

parish register¹ granting dispensation from fasting to the daughter-in-law of Francis Anthony, the quack doctor who lived in the parish.²

'Whereas Mrs. Mary Anthony the wife of John Anthony of my parrish, Dr. of phisick, hath bine a long time sick, and is now in great weakness of body whereby it is very prejudiciall to her health and recovery if shee should alltogether abstayne from flesh meates and brothes made thereof, this time of lent, I doe therefore by that power I have by an Act of Parliament in this case provided, grant her by lycence to eat some flesh meats or brooths made thereof for eight dayes. In witnes whearof I have hereunto sett my hand the 24th of Februarie 1639.

THO. WESTFIELD, S.T.D.,

Rector Ecclesiae St. Barth. Ma.'

He was held in esteem by his parishioners; for William Chapman in his will,³ after bequeathing twenty pounds to be put into the church chest for the increase of the stock for the poor of the parish, desired Thomas Westfield should preach at his burial, for which he bequeathed to him 20s. for his pains, and in 1614 Mathew Dale gave him 40s. for the same purpose. John Rivers, a coachman, bequeathed to him 40s. to give to the poor at his discretion.⁴

From various records it is also evident that Dr. Westfield gave his attention to parochial matters in spite of his many engagements elsewhere. Thus in 1625 and in 1629 his signature is appended to the churchwardens' accounts. He granted leases of the glebe houses in the years 1622, 1638, and on two occasions in 1641. In 1628 the present tower of the church was erected by subscriptions;⁵ and, in 1633, £698 was expended in repairs to the church.⁶ In 1628 he commenced a preacher's book,⁷ and from this we learn the large number of preachers he had to help him from 1628 to 1641. In an account of money collected for poor ministers of the Palatinate in connexion with Elizabeth of Bohemia (the sister of Charles I), made in the latter year, we find that out of a total collection of £1,753 in London parishes, St. Bartholomew's the Great headed the list with £28.⁸ During Westfield's rectorship the collection book⁹ shows that there was great activity in good works. The almshouses were built in 1632 by Lady Saye and Sele, who bequeathed them in her will to the parish; and at the same time she bequeathed to the rector £5, to the reader £2, and to both of them mourning gowns.¹⁰

¹ Parish Reg. i, 199.

² Above, p. 283.

³ Wills, App. I, p. 553.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 553.

⁵ App. II, p. 535.

⁶ Strype, *Stow*, Bk. iii, 238 a.

⁷ Parish Safe, P. B. 1.

⁸ *Cal. State Pap.*, 1628/9, p. 406 (29).

⁹ At the end of this Preachers' book is a list of collections made in 1641.

¹⁰ Wills, App. I, p. 554.

David Lloyd tells us that Dr. Westfield

'never, though almost fifty years a preacher, went up a pulpit but, as Luther said, he trembled; such an awe and reverence of God was upon his heart. He preached but once before the King at Oxford and then he fainted . . . that gracious prince, speaking to the people to pray for him and wishing him to retire, said he was a good man and he would with patience wait for him; as he did until the good bishop, being a little refreshed, came up again and preached the best sermon and the last that ever he made.'

At the outbreak of the Civil War Westfield's character was shown to advantage. He at first continued to reside in London, but, falling under suspicion of Royalist sympathies, he was, in 1640, abused in the streets.¹ Lloyd says 'nothing was thought too much for him by the Earl of Holland (the patron who was eventually executed by the Parliamentarians) before the troubles and nothing too little since. To disturb his devotion they removed and burnt the rails he had set about the Lord's Table; to interrupt his quiet they made him sue for his right who for many years had not known what it was to ask it; those who were glad formerly to converse with him in their houses would not have communion with him in church'.

In the face of this, on the 14th November 1641, he preached at St. Paul's² from the text 'By honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report, as deceivers and yet true' (2 Cor. vi. 8); towards the end of his sermon he said:

'This vicissitude of honour and dishonour, evil report and good report, is from the Lord, who must be allowed to do what seemeth good in His eyes. The time was, we do confess with thankfulness, that the people did esteem us as the Ministers of Jesus Christ, that they knew and did acknowledge us worthy, and accordingly had us in exceeding great love, for our work's sake, that they made show that they could have pulled their eyes out of their head, to have done us good, that they honoured us with much honour, and laded us with necessities and plentiful provisions for our encouragement, to the work of the Ministry. Have we received so much good at the hand of God, and may we not now with patience receive some evil? "There is no evil done in the citie in this kinde, but the Lord hath done it." (Amos iii. 6.) God had bidden them to curse us and revile us and traduce us, and load us with all these contumelies and reproaches. Consider again, that there is nothing can come from the hand of this God to His

¹ *D. N. B.*

² A sermon preached in the cathedral church of St. Paul on the fourteenth day of November 1641, in the evening, by Dr. Westfield, one of the prebendaries of the said church, London. Printed by J. Raworth, for J. Partridge, and is to be sold in Cheapside, at the sign of the 'Cock' in Goldsmiths' Row, 1641.

servants, but it cometh in the nature of a mercy : while we were in honour it was no mercy to encourage us, and now we are dishonoured and our souls filled with contempt, it is done in mercy to admonish to walk both more humbly with God, and more warily with men.'

We may fairly assume that the following lines entered on the last page of the Register No. 1, were written by Dr. Westfield and at this time :

*Tempore felici multi numerantur amici.
Cum fortuna perit, quis tibi amicus erit.*¹

which may be thus rendered in English :

In prosperous times friends number without end.
When fortune wanes who then will be your friend? ¹

Walker says his benefice at St. Bartholomew's was sequestered, and though such a record has not been met with, it has been shown that the property of several parishioners was so sequestered.² The temporalities of the see of Bristol were at first withheld from him, but on the 13th May 1643, 'the Committee of Lords and Commons for sequestration of estates' wrote : ³

'Upon information in behalf of the Bishop of Bristol, that his tenants refuse to pay him his rents, it is ordered by the Committee that all profits of the bishopric be restored to him and a safe conduct be granted him to pass with his family to Bristol, being himself of great age⁴ and a person of great learning and merit. Signed JNO. WYLDE.'

Lloyd further says :

'He was glad to go from London to Bristol to avoid the tumults, but he was gladder to be translated from Bristol to Heaven, quite heartbroken with the rebellion.'

After he was promoted to Bristol Westfield continued to hold the rectory of St. Bartholomew's, but those he appointed to do his work bore the same title as he himself, i. e. 'Minister of the parish': thus Mr. Edward Pealle, who was buried the 16th November 1643, is described in the register as 'Minister of this parish';⁵ and on the 5th July 1644, Mr. Henry Scudder is described as 'Minister of this parish'.⁶

In the inventory of church goods made 16th March 1668/9 is an item 'Dr. Westfield's picture', which may refer to a portrait of him, but it has now disappeared.

¹ Compare Ovid, *Tr.* i, 9, 5.

² Above, p. 322.

³ Lloyd, *Memoirs*, 300.

⁴ Seventy years.

⁵ Par. Reg. i, f. 196.

⁶ *Ib.* (though after Westfield's death it was before the induction of his successor).

Among matters of interest that occurred in Dr. Westfield's time, two may be mentioned in connexion with the ecclesiastical Court of High Commission erected by Queen Elizabeth in 1559, which assumed such power under Charles I and Laud as to be called the English Inquisition.

In 1634/5 two parishioners from St. Bartholomew's were summoned to appear:¹ one Francis Hill, a bookseller, was required to bring a catalogue of the books taken at his house; the other, Mary White, a spinster, was summoned, but on what charge is not shown.²

The other case occurred in 1639. The churchwardens of the parish seem to have refused to pay the wage of Keble, the parish clerk. Dr. Duck, the chancellor of the Bishop of London, was thereupon instructed to draw up a report touching the rate of wage.³ This being found to be four pence a quarter,⁴ it was decreed that the churchwardens should be compelled to pay the wage, with arrears from May 1638, when a previous inhibition had been granted by the Court.⁵ Payment was again refused, so attachment was decreed against three parishioners to detain them in custody until the wage was paid.⁶ This having no effect the Court decreed that Henry Garrett and four other parishioners of the parish named should be excommunicated.⁷ This sentence was executed on the 15th October 1640,⁸ but the churchwardens were absolved on the 13th of the month following, and there the record ends:⁹ it was in that year that Laud was impeached by the Long Parliament, and the Court of Star Chamber abolished.

Among the papers relating to the trial of Laud in 1644 is a breviat of the articles against him by the churchwardens of St. Bartholomew's. They were proved by Henry Garrett, who complained of the detention of his suit for four years, that he was committed to prison six times, and afterwards excommunicated by the archbishop.

Another important event that occurred in Westfield's rectorate was the conversion, by the Archdeacon of London, of the open vestry of the parish into a select vestry, which occurred in the year 1607: this was done on the complaint of the parishioners that 'the parish being increased by many buildings many inconveniences arose from a disagreeing multitude', as is fully explained farther on.¹⁰

The duties of the churchwardens in connexion with the management of the affairs of the parish were constantly increasing, and as they

¹ *Cal. State Pap., Dom.*, 1634/5.

² *Ib.*, 1639/40, p. 277.

³ *Ib.*, 1640, p. 384, 30 Jan.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 433.

⁵ *Ib.*, 1641-3 (par. 64). These papers are endorsed 'Article 6' and were probably used at Laud's trial.

⁶ 15 Oct. 1635, p. 87.

⁷ *Ib.*, 1640, p. 433.

⁸ *Ib.*, p. 416.

⁹ *Ib.*, p. 385.

¹⁰ Below, p. 390.

acted under the direction of the vestry it is not surprising that a limited number of vestrymen was desirable for the transaction of business.¹ It was at this time, in 1614, that we find bonds of £20 and £40 being obtained by the churchwardens to secure the maintenance of a child which for some cause had become chargeable to the parish.² When a boy was old enough to learn a trade it was the churchwardens, by direction of the vestry, who had to apprentice him; the earliest indenture of apprenticeship in the parish safe is dated 1616.³

In 1612, as already seen,⁴ the advowson of the rectory changed hands when it was conveyed by Robert, the 3rd Baron Rich, with the rest of his property in the parish, to his youngest son Henry on his marriage with Isabel Cope. Previous to that, in 1606, it would appear that Robert Lord Rich had had an intention of selling the property, for on the 15th July of that year the Court of Aldermen appointed a Committee to confer with Lord Rich 'touching the purchasing of the late dissolved priorye of greate St. Bartholomewes nere West Smithfield, lately offered to be sold; and to make report of their proceedings therein'.⁵

In 1634 there was a claim made by or on behalf of the king⁶ for payment of the endowment of a chantry in York Minster, which payment or rent was, up to the suppression of the monastery, paid out of the possessions of the priory (apparently in Bartholomew Close). As the revenues of the chantries were confiscated by Henry VIII in 1545, from that time they became the property of the king. This particular endowment had been given to keep the obit of Walter Sherlowe (or Skirlaw), bishop successively of Lichfield, Bath, and Durham, who died in the year 1406. It amounted to 26s. 8d. a year, and, as it was found at the audit of the accounts of the county of York that it had not been paid for 86 years, the total amount unpaid was £114 13s. 4d. As Henry Rich Earl of Holland had received from his father the property from which this 26s. 8d. came, the writ for its payment was issued against him. But he was able to show that when Sir Richard, then Lord Rich, his great-grandfather, re-purchased the dissolved monastery from Queen Elizabeth (19th February 1559/60), she granted him that she would yearly release, acquit, and keep him and his heirs indemnified against her heirs and successors from all corodies, rents, fees, and annuities whatsoever payable from the premises; and that therefore he held it discharged of the yearly rent for the obit of Walter Sherlowe; whereupon Sir John Banks, the Attorney-General,

¹ Below, p. 390.

² App. II, p. 520.

³ *Ib.*, p. 521.

⁴ Above, p. 293.

⁵ Repertories, Guildhall, 27, fo. 240 b, 15 July 1606.

⁶ Plac. Scaccario, 10 Car. I, M'mas, 26 Oct. (1634).

'did not refuse to confess that the pleas of the Earl of Holland were true'.

Dr. Westfield was present at the first meeting of the Westminster assembly for reorganizing the church in 1643. He died on the 25th June following (1644) and was buried, as he desired in his will,¹ 'in the north east isle of the (Bristol) cathedral church next to the tomb of Paul Bushe the first bishop of that see'; that is in the north quire aisle known as the Elder Lady Chapel. His tomb is on the south side at the east end covered with a ledger stone. The inscription, recently restored, was composed by himself and runs:

*Hic jacet Thomas Westfield, S.T.D.
Episcoporum infimus, peccatorum primus.
Obiit 25 Junii, Anno MDCXLIV.
Senio et maerore confectus.
Tu Lector (Quisquis es) vale & Resipisce.
Epitaphium ipse sibi dictavit vivus.
Monumentum uxor Mestissima Elizabeth Westfield
Marito Desideratissimo posuit superstes.
Westfield ○ Meeterke.²*

which may be thus translated:

Here lies Thomas Westfield, D.D.
least of Bishops, chief of sinners.
He died the 25th June in the year 1644
worn out with age and sorrow.

Thou reader (whoever thou art) farewell and repent.

His epitaph was dictated by himself in his life-time.

His monument was erected to her much lamented husband by Elizabeth Westfield his very sorrowing wife, who survived him.

In his will¹ he wrote:

'As for my worldly goods (wherewith God hath endowed and blessed me) which (as the times now are) I know not well where they be, nor what they are, I give and bequeath them all to my dear wife Elizabeth Westfield.'

His wife bore him three children whilst he was rector of St. Bartholomew's: James and Mary, twins, baptized in the church on the 20th February 1621/2;³ and Edward, baptized the 26th September 1629.⁴ Mary was married to a Rev. Thomas Balguy, B.D., and their son Thomas was baptized in the church on the 23rd November 1642.⁵

Two collections of his sermons were published after his death:

1° 'England's Face in Isrel's Glasse, or the sinnes, mercies and judgments of both nations' (8 sermons, London, 1646, 4°. Reprinted 1655 and with 3 other sermons 1656).

¹ Wills, App. I, p. 555.

² Possibly her maiden name.

³ Par. Reg. i, 15.

⁴ Ib., 36.

⁵ Ib., 66.

2° 'The white Robe or the surplice vindicated' (4 sermons 1660, 12°. New edition 1669, 8°).

Dr. Westfield held the benefice during troublous times, commencing in the month after the Gunpowder Plot, and ending in the year of the battle of Marston Moor; but he died before the tragedies of the execution of Laud and of the king took place.

JOHN GARRETT, M.A., RECTOR 1644 TO ABOUT 1655.

John Garrett, M.A., was 'admitted and instituted to the rectory on the 13th December 1644, in the presence of the bishop's surrogate, on the presentation of the Rt. Hon. Henry Earl of Holland, the patron'.¹ There is no mention in the register of the name of his predecessor nor why he vacated, but we know it was on the death of Bishop Westfield.

But little is known of John Garrett other than that, according to Foster,² he graduated B.A. from New Inn Hall, Oxford, 7th July 1628, and perhaps was admitted by incorporation at Cambridge 1631; and that a man having the same name was vicar of Totnes, Devon, at that time. We have no record to tell us for how long he held the rectory; which is no wonder as episcopacy had been abolished and the Church of England temporarily suppressed; neither have we any record as to whether he vacated the living by death, by resignation, or by deprivation. But the next rector of whom we have a record, Ralph Harrison, was here as rector in 1655 (or earlier), as we shall see directly; but there being no bishop in London his institution was not registered until 1660, and by that time the name of Harrison's predecessor had been forgotten: for the entry reads that the living was 'vacant by the natureal death of . . . the last incumbent'. As the name of the last incumbent was not known, neither may have been the cause of the vacancy. It is a fair assumption, however, that Garrett was rector when he died, and that it was his name which should have been written into the blank space. All that we know for certain is that Garrett was still rector here on the 3rd August 1645, as on that day he is described in the parish register as 'minister of this parish' on the occasion of the baptism at the church of his child Samuel.³

The parochial events recorded between the years 1644 and 1655 are few, as unfortunately the vestry minute book of that period is missing; but they must have been trying times, for troops were stationed in Bartholomew Close, as we know by the petition of the

¹ Reg. Lond., Laud and Juxon, f. 114.

² Par. Reg. i, f. 72.

³ Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*

Earl of Westmorland in 1651, addressed to the Council of State, praying that the soldiers then quartered in his house in Bartholomew Close might be removed.¹ Moreover, the goods of such of the parishioners as were 'malignants'² were sequestered at this period; all the goods of the patron, Sir Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, and all his rents here and at Kensington were, in August 1648 (the year before his execution), ordered to be seized and sequestered,³ and the property of many other parishioners was treated in the same way.

The Church of England being overturned, there were only civil marriages at this time. The parish registers give several instances of these, which are known as 'Long Parliament marriages'. The banns were published in Smithfield, Newgate, or some other market, and the marriage ceremony, such as it was, was performed by the alderman who usually (though not always) signed the register.⁴

RANDOLPH HARRISON, D.D., RECTOR (here) 1655-1663.

Ralph or Randolph (*Radulphus*) Harrison, D.D., was admitted and instituted by William Juxon, Bishop of London,⁵ on the 25th August 1660. The entry states that the rectory was vacant by the natural death of the late incumbent, whose name (as we have seen above) was left blank, and that the presentation was made by Isabella,⁶ Dowager Countess of Holland.⁷ Her husband having been executed, the Countess presented in his place by right of her patrimony.

Although Rector Harrison was not instituted until the Restoration (29th May 1660), he must have been appointed rector in or before August 1655, for the Dowager patroness, it is recorded, was 'buried from Kensington House 1st September 1655';⁸ and Ralph Harrison as 'parson of the parish' granted a lease of one of the glebe houses on the 19th September of the same year.⁹ He was either a Presbyterian or an Independent who conformed on the arrival of Charles II; or he was a royalist who took office under the terms imposed during the Commonwealth. These included the ordinances made and enforced against the observation of Easter, Christmas, and other Holy Days; and against the use of the Book of Common Prayer, either in public or in private; the penalty for offending against which a third time was a year's imprisonment.

¹ Above, p. 266.

² See epitaph, Jas. Rivers 1641; below, p. 462.

³ *Cal. Com. for Adv. Money*, ii, 628, 10 Nov. 1645.

⁴ *Par. Reg.* iii, pp. 57-74.

⁵ *Reg. Lond.*, Laud and Juxon, f. 131, the year before his translation to Canterbury.

⁶ *Née Cope*.

⁷ See genealogical table, p. 292.

⁸ *Complete Peerage*, iv, 241.

⁹ *Reg. Lond.*, Henchman, f. 74.

Ralph Harrison appears very seldom either in the public or parochial records of his time. On the 29th April 1650 he (or another of the same name) occurs as a chosen delegate of the Provincial Assembly of London. This assembly was apparently Presbyterian. The minute book is preserved among the MSS. in Sion College Library, and is entitled 'The records of the provincially assembly of London Begunne by ordinance of Parliament May 3 in the Convocation in Paules London, 1647'. A 'Mr. Harrison Minister' occurs in the same minutes three times in the year 1648,¹ which may refer to Ralph Harrison or to a William Harrison who is mentioned in the same book in October 1648. The name Harrison does not occur again in the volume, the last entry in which was the 15th August 1660. But a Ralph Harrison's name occurs in 1660 with those of three others certifying that a certain Robert Taylor of 'Little' St. Bartholomew's was a man of 'sober and godly conversation, orthodox in doctrine and ordained according to the church of England'. It is fair to assume that this Ralph Harrison was the rector of this parish. The certificate was given to accompany a petition by Robert Taylor to the king, praying for the rectory of Gydney in Lincolnshire, for the reason that, owing to his loyalty, he had been unable to obtain admission to any benefice until he was invited to assist at 'Little' St. Bartholomew's on a stipend of £20 a year. He had a wife and six children in great indigence.²

Harrison's signature occurs in the vestry minute books twice in the year 1662 (the earlier books are unfortunately missing): first, on the 6th May, when the vestry agreed that £400 should be levied by way of tax on the inhabitants towards the repair of the parish church; and, secondly, on the 16th October, when the beadle was instructed to 'go round the parish, house by house, to take the names of all inhabitants who had inmates in their houses, and the names of them'. This was probably in connexion with the nonconformists; something of the same sort had apparently been done by the Lord Mayor's order the year before, for the latter wrote to Secretary Nicholas on the 24th August 1661, that he had obeyed the Secretary's orders in searching at St. Bartholomew's for Major John Cobbet (or Corbet). That there had been a meeting of 300, but all were gone except 10 men and 30 women whom he had apprehended and sent to Newgate. He had given the names and addresses of the 10 men and what they will confess of their callings. They said they had met to serve God, and being told they best served God who obeyed the king,

¹ See pp. 29, 36 of 'the Records of the Provincial Assembly'.

² *State Pap., Dom.*, 1660, No. 84, 1. Little St. Bartholomew's is the hospital church.

replied that they were not bound to obey him whom the spirit commanded the contrary.¹

St. Bartholomew's, owing to its intricate streets, seems to have been a favourite resort at that time for those suffering disabilities on account of their religion. Thus when, at the restoration, the independents had to leave Westminster Abbey they came to St. Bartholomew's and found refuge in the rear portion of Middlesex House, as shown when describing the meeting-house.²

After the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1662, a William Williamson wrote to Sir William Compton, the master of ordnance, that he had 'been busy all the week conversing with the leading men. They say that they must go to their closets and bewail their apostacy in this day of visitation. The independents and presbyterians, who could scarcely give each other a good word, on the publishing of the Act of Uniformity, held a great meeting at Great St. Bartholomew's, Thames Street,³ received the sacrament together, and have appointed a fast'.⁴

Ralph Harrison did not retain the rectory for long after the restoration, for in 1663 he ceded the living to be appointed to the rectory of St. Christopher le Stock in Threadneedle Street, where he died and where he was buried in the year 1665.

ANTHONY BURGESS, M.A., RECTOR 1663-1709.

Anthony Burgess, M.A., was instituted to the rectory on the 26th August 1663, by Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London, in his rooms at Whitehall. The living was vacant by the cession of Randolph Harrison, D.D. He was presented by Robert, the 2nd Earl of Holland, Baron Kensington, the then patron.⁵

We know that this Anthony Burgess graduated from St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1662, and therefore he was probably very young when appointed; otherwise we have practically no records concerning him.

During the 46 years he was rector it was only occasionally that he was present even at the Easter vestry. He signed the vestry minutes in 1663, but not again until the 6th April 1666;⁶ and after that not until the Easter vestry of 1679;⁷ then at Easter, 1682,⁸ and not again until October 1703.⁹ Unfortunately 'all acts and orders of the vestry

¹ *State Pap., Dom.*, 1661-2, p. 70. Col. Cobbet was afterwards sent prisoner to Elizabeth Castle, Jersey, p. 118.

² Above, p. 167.

³ An error of the writer. There was only one St. Bartholomew the Great.

⁴ *Cal. State Pap., Dom.*, 1662, 1 June, p. 396.

⁵ *Reg. Lond.*, Henchman, f. 62.

⁶ *V. M. Bk.* i, 36.

⁷ *Ib.*, 73.

⁸ *Ib.*, 87.

⁹ *Ib.*, 329.

after January 1669/70¹ and of certain meetings in the years 1674-1677² 'were entered by mistake into the vellum covered book which began in the year 1619';³ and that book is lost, so that the following are all the records we have. In the year 1670 a velvet pall had been bought for £31, for the use of which the parishioners were charged 10s.; but in the year 1689 the church was robbed;⁴ the vestry door was broken, and the plate, one of the palls, and other things were taken away. The next year the loss was made good by individuals, one of the donors being 'Mr. Anthony Burgess', 'Rector of the parish,' who 'gave a larg cupp and cover guilt with gold, his name and coat of arms being engraved thereon' (a strange device it seems to us for a chalice!)⁵. The vestry minutes say that 'Mr. John Whiting, borne in the parish, gave the fellow to the above said cupp, his name and coate of armes being engraved thereon also'.⁶ These cups are still in the church. The pall was replaced out of a legacy of £20 left by Madame Doncaster for the poor.⁷

The vestry looked after both church and parochial affairs during this time with much diligence. In the years 1668⁸ and 1690⁹ the churchwardens, by direction of the vestry, made inventories of church goods, and these are entered among the minutes.¹⁰

Also in 1686 they ordered that the churchyard 'be railed with pallisades, palles and gates on both sides and next the Ingieon house'¹¹ (provided for the first fire-engine); and that 'all those that had back doors into the churchyard should pay as an acknowledgment for the same £6 a year'.¹² In 1687 they made provision to maintain 'all the bells in the stepell and the Saints Bell' (the ancient Sanctus Bell).

In 1695 there is an example of one of the civil duties to which the vestry had to attend: it was 'ordered that a new payr of stocks with a wiping post be fixt in the same place where the stocks lately stood'; in 1746 the stocks again required renewal and it was ordered 'that a pair be erected with all speed',¹³ but either this order was not complied with or the position of them had to be altered, because in 1754 it was ordered that 'the stocks belonging to this parish be fixed in the most convenient place in the parish without delay',¹⁴ and in 1755 they were ordered to be fixed in the churchyard by the wall of the Coach and Horses alehouse.¹⁵ One of the crimes for which the punishment of the stocks could be enforced is shown in two warrants,

¹ *V. M. Bk.* i, 39.

² *Ib.*, 9, 51, 59, 63.

³ *Ib.*, 39.

⁴ *Ib.*, 472.

⁵ The chalice at Felsted has Rich's arms.

⁶ App. II, list of plate, 1690.

⁷ *V. M. Bk.* i, 469.

⁸ *Ib.*, 463.

⁹ *Ib.*, 473. The entry is not dated, but the churchwardens who sign are those elected Easter 1690, p. 500.

¹¹ *V. M. Bk.* i, 120.

¹² *Ib.*, 126.

¹⁰ App. II, p. 500.

¹³ *Ib.* iii, 250.

¹⁴ *Ib.*, 321.

¹⁵ *Ib.*, 329; see also p. 138.

preserved in the belfry cupboard, addressed to the constable and the churchwardens of the parish in 1697. By these warrants a demand was made of 2s. each from 'Mr. Pindar keeping ye sweating house in Westmoreland Court, Bartholomew Close', and one 'James Hatten, alehouse keeper at the Cock the corner of Duck Lane, Smithfield', for profane swearing; if they did not pay their goods were to be distrained or in default they were 'to be set (publickly) in the stocks for the space of one whole hour'.

At this period the parish also had its cage, a kind of small lock-up, such as that mentioned by Bunyan as being in Vanity Fair, in which Faithful was confined. In the churchwardens' accounts for the year 1660 occurs 'given to the woman which lay in the cage 1s.', and in the same year 'pd. for mending the cage and stocks £1 15s.' A new cage was provided for the parish in 1694. We first hear of these cages in 1507, when the mayor caused one to be set up in every ward of the city for the punishment of vagabonds and rogues; but St. Bartholomew's being a 'liberty' had its own cage, which stood in the rear of the Smithfield Gate, evidently in the same position as ordered in 1755.

In 1704 it was ordered that the churchwardens should repair the east window in the church and 'treat with the workmen to do it with stone',¹ from which we gather, as already said, that the original tracery was at this time still in the windows.²

It was during Anthony Burgess's rectorate, in the year 1665, that this parish—in common with the rest of London—suffered grievously from the plague. The deaths registered in the parish in that year totalled 244, of which 139 were in August, 86 in September, and 11 in October, 7 in November, and 1 in December; or about 25 per cent of the whole population of the parish,³ and an average of more than one in each family. In the following year there were, from January to September, eleven deaths registered from the same cause. All the entries are marked 'plague' in the registers, and are as carefully written as in ordinary times.⁴

The Great Fire of London which followed the plague in 1666 fortunately stopped at Pie Corner in Giltspur Street, opposite to which, at the corner of Cock Lane, has recently been re-erected the gilt figure of the fat boy, emblematical of gluttony; as a warning against which the great fire was said to have commenced in Pudding Lane and ended at Pie Corner. The fire lasted from the 2nd to the 6th September. It extended as far as the Temple in the west, but

¹ *V. M. Bk.* i, 349.

² Above, p. 18.

³ Above, p. 249.

⁴ *Par. Reg.* iii, ff. 167-72. After 4 Sept. 1665 the entries were made in the previous register, ii, f. 183.

fortunately it did not destroy St. Bartholomew's Hospital, nor, so far as we know, did it touch the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great.¹ A contemporary letter addressed to Lord Conway, on the 8th September 1666, gives the following account of the fire: 'from the Tower to the Temple there remains only Smithfield, St. Bartholomew's, Aldersgate, and part of Broad Street; the fire being stopped before it came to Sir Eliab Harvey's, whose house is preserved with Sir John Shaw's and Gresham College, and all Bishopsgate Street, Leadenhall Street, Duke's Place, and so to Aldgate'. Newcourt gives the names of 85 churches that were burnt and the following list of 22 that were not burnt: ²

Allhallows, Barking.

Allhallows, Staining.

Allhallows the Wall.

St. Alphage.

„ Andrew Undershaft.

„ Ethelburgh.

„ Helen.

„ James, Duke's Place.

„ Katherine Colman.

„ Katherine Creechurch.

„ Martin Outwich.

„ Olave Hartstreet.

„ Peter Poor.

Churches without the walls but within the liberties.

St. Andrew, Holborn.

„ Bartholomew the Great.

„ Bartholomew the Less.

„ Botolph, Aldersgate.

„ Botolph, Aldgate.

„ Botolph, Bishopsgate.

„ Dunstan West.

„ Giles, Cripplesgate.

Trinity Minories.

Christ Church, Newgate Street, was destroyed, and the Blue Coat boys were provided for at St. Bartholomew's. They continued to attend here until the year 1672, when they returned to a temporary wooden 'tabernacle' erected within the quire of Christ Church; it being found very inconvenient for the boys to attend at St. Bartholomew's. But they were attending here again in 1680, when it was agreed 'that the lecturer of St. Bartholomew the Great should have xs per qr. paid to him as the gift of the house, for soe long time as the children go to that church and no longer; the parish having been very kind in the entertainment of the children at their church, since the late fire hath burnt down Christ Church';³ but by the year 1683 they had once more returned to the wooden tabernacle.

The first record of the custom of giving 10s. to the rector for his sermon on Good Friday and 10s. to the poor widows on the same day, occurs in the churchwardens' accounts for the year 1686; unfortunately the accounts are missing from that time back to the year 1666, and the vestry minutes throw no light on the origin of the custom.

¹ See p. 287.

² Newcourt, *Rep.* i, 235.

³ Pearce, *Annals Christ's Hosp.*, p. 197.

In 1686 the entry reads 'pd. Mr. Burgess for his sermon and the poor widows £1 os. od.'; in 1690 'pd. doctor's sermon 10s., given at the grave stone 10s.'; in 1693 it reads 'pd. Mr. Burgess for sermon on Good Friday 10s.'; and in 1699 'given to the poor widows at the stone 10s.; given to the minister 10s.' The distribution of sixpenny pieces to poor widows on a stone in the graveyard on Good Friday morning still continues. In the year 1888, as it was unknown how the custom originated, and as there was no endowment for its support, there was some probability of its being relinquished, but a Mr. G. W. Butterworth then came forward and gave £22 10s. to be invested, to provide the 20 sixpences and buns for the children.¹ Of this the Charity Commission took charge, although the Government of that time had recently swept away, by their City of London Parochial Charities Act, all such doles for the poor (pl. XCII b, p. 243).

We also learn from the churchwardens' accounts the occasions on which the ancient bells of the parish were rung. On the 2nd February 1625/6 they were rung for the coronation of Charles I, and in 1632 on the anniversary of his coronation. In 1629 they were rung for the Earl of Westmorland, when he succeeded to his father's house in the parish. In 1631 and many years following they were rung to celebrate the discovery of the plot of Guy Fawkes in 1605. The principal records in Rector Burgess's time regarding the ringing are: on June 1st 1685, after the accession of James II, 'given the ringers that day the Parliament sat 2s. 6d.' On July 7th, the same year, 'the ringers the day Monmouth was routed 2s. 6d.' The Duke of Monmouth, the natural son of Charles II by Lucy Walters, claimed the crown as head of the protestants. On October 13th the bells were rung 'by precept, to welcome the king on the 8th of this month'; and also 'by precept' 'for ye king's coming to ye crown'; and 'on St. Thomas' Day 1s. 6d.' for the ward elections. On the 13th January 1685/6 the churchwardens paid for a drink for the ringers on Christmas Day. In 1694 the bells were rung for the birthday of William III, and on the 5th November for 'gun powder treason', when there was also a bonfire; and five days later there was 'paid the ringers for ringing day and night at the king's coming home' (from Holland) 6s. And then on the death of Queen Mary, which took place on the 28th December following, there was paid 'for tolling the bell for the Queen 5s.' On the conclusion of the Peace of Ryswick there was, on September 14th, 'given the ringers about a peace concluded, a precept from my Lord Mayor, 7s. 6d.', and on the 15th November 'at the King's landing 3s. 6d.', and on the next

¹ Parish Safe, Deed 77, App. II, p. 576.

day at his 'entrance' 3s. 6d. The following day, November 17th, there was 'paid the ringers on Queen Elizabeth's birthday 2s. 6d.' It is noteworthy that the regular ringing of Queen Elizabeth's birthday went on until 1708, a hundred years after her death and six years after the accession of Queen Anne.

The Table of Fees to be paid the rector and churchwardens, the clerk, sexton, searchers and bearers of the parish were set out at length in 1635, and is preserved among the Miscellaneous Charters in Lambeth Palace Library, and is here printed in the Appendix.¹ The sexton's fee 'for knowing the great bell by the houre' was 6d., 'for any of the other bells' 4d. 'To the churchwardens for the knell with the great bell 3s. 4d.', and 'for peales with all the bells 5s.' For a stranger the fees were double. The fees for burial without coffins were less than for those with coffins. Graves were to be seven feet deep and viewed by the churchwardens. The fee to either of the searchers for searching a parishioner who had died was 4d., a stranger 8d. The fee to the rector for opening the ground in the quire was 36s. 8d., and nothing to the churchwardens; but in the body of the church the fee was 20s. for the churchwardens and 2s. 6d. for the rector.

In 1720 the vestry agreed that the price of burials in the chancel should be raised,² and in 1762 the advanced prices were agreed by the Vicar-General, and were then entered in the Episcopal Registers at St. Paul's.³

In 1800 the churchwardens found the black cloaks for the bearers, but in 1811 the parish bearers were abolished for negligence, and undertakers had to find their own bearers, as is now the general custom.

At this time everything possible was done in favour of the protestants and against the papists; thus there is preserved in the belfry cupboard an announcement by the Bishop of London, printed by Samuel Roycroft, that the king had commanded him to direct contributions to be made for the relief of necessitous protestants; collections to be made on the following Sunday in church, and on the Monday the rector and churchwardens, assisted by one or more common councilmen of the ward, were to make a house-to-house collection for the same object. And in the churchwardens' accounts for the year 1699/1700 occurs, 'March 1st, expended on going about the parish five or six times in taking ye names of papists and reputed papists with the constables, my partner present, 10s.', and on the 6th February 1701/2, 'spent in search after papists by my Lord Mayor's precept 3s.' This precept, a copy of which is in the parish safe,⁴ was issued in consequence of a plot having been discovered in

¹ App. II, p. 559.

³ App. II, p. 562.

² V. M. Bk. ii, 214.

⁴ Parish Safe, D. 90.

1696 to assassinate the king on his return from hunting in Richmond Park, and information had now been received that great numbers of popish priests, Jesuits and papists had publicly assembled together to hear and say mass. The alderman was instructed to cause a house-to-house visitation, and an account to be rendered of all who were papists, reputed papists, or other persons disaffected to His Majesty's Government. They were also to inquire if there were any mass houses, popish schools, seminaries or popish books printed or vended within the precinct, and by whom, in order that they might be proceeded against according to law. The House of Lords, on the 30th October 1680, had ordered a similar house-to-house search as a result of the 'popish plot' fabricated by Titus Oates.

From the churchwardens' accounts, as well as from the registers at this time, we obtain records of burying in woollen, thus: on the 25th July 1685 there was 'paid for the oathes burying in woollen Guyan Braughton and the child 1s. 6d.' Burying in woollen was ordered by Act of Parliament in 1606 to encourage the wool trade. In 1678 it was ordered that a certificate of such burial should be signed by a magistrate, because when a body was buried in linen, a fine of 50s. had to be paid to the churchwardens for the poor.¹ Entries in the parish register in the year 1678 have an affirmation in the margin of an affidavit having been made before a justice of the peace. In 1680 it was allowed that the certificate could be signed by a minister of religion.

In the parish register of the year 1706 occurs: 'The Queens tax for marriages births and burials, and batchelors and widdowers is expired August 1, 1706', which was a tax imposed in 1694 for carrying on war with France. The registers were regularly inspected for levying the tax. As the registers recorded baptisms, and not births, a register of births had to be made in 1696,² because the nonconformists were not always baptized in infancy.

During Rector Burgess's time there seems to have been a special effort to bring the unbaptized to baptism; thus, in Register No. 5 occurs, 'Thomas Framblinge, a tannymore, aged 25 years, born at Mevis, was baptised ye 28 May 1695 by Mr. Torbuck, curate of this parish'. 'John Nowell ye son of William Nowell and of Judith his wife, his parents being Quakers, was baptised in ye 17th yeare of his age by Mr. Hall curate.' 'Isaac Moore, a black, borne in Jamaica, about the age of 20 years, was baptised by Mr. Hall ye 24th Feby. 1695.' 'Mary Hennica a black woman was baptised 16 Jany. 1704/5, she lived at Merchant Kents in Newstrete.' And on the same date 'Elizabeth Hennica a black child about 2 or 3 years old was baptised'.

¹ Par. Reg. iv, 51.

² Ib. iv.

From the same register (No. 5) we learn that foundlings were named after that part of the parish in which they were found, thus : ' William Launders Green, a parish child found on Mr. Buckheads stall in Cloath fare, was baptised, 17 June, 1683.' ' William Longlane, found in Longlane, baptised 28 Oct. 1683.' ' James Launders Green a foundling was baptised 3 Jany. 1694/5.' ' John Faircloth, a parish child, baptised ' in 1709. There are other instances, as ' Bartholomew Close ', ' William Ducklaine ' and ' George Longlaine ' in 1669. But sometimes the surname would not be taken from a place, as in 1670, when we meet with ' Thomas Fortune ' and ' Mary Luck '.

Hatton, in his *New View of London*,¹ writing in the year 1708 says that the value of the living then was about £50 a year besides perquisites, and that there were prayers daily at eleven but no organ ; of these daily prayers we have no record in the parish books.

The sexes were apparently divided in the church in the year 1706, for there is an entry in the register of that year,² ' John Stevens a child was buried 18 May 1706 at the 2nd pew dore of the women's side in the middle aisle of the church '.

Anthony Burgess died on ' the vi day August 1709, at 9 in ye evening ' as recorded in the parish register, and was ' buried at St. Christopher's (le Stock) ye 10 : of Augt : from Dean St., fetter lane,'³ where, we learn by his will, he lived in lodgings. Why his executor decided that he should be buried at St. Christopher's does not appear : his predecessor, Ralph Harrison, was buried there because he died rector of that parish, as we have seen. The following extracts from his will are all that are of general interest : ⁴

' I ANTHONY BURGESS, clerk, parson of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great in London ' (&c.) . . . ' commend my soul to God trusting by the merits of Jesus Christ to be made partaker of everlasting salvation and my body I [*sic*] commit to the ground to be interred devoutly but privately at the discretion of my executor. . . . I give and bequeath to my nephew ANTHONY SMITH, clerk, all and every my booths and booth grounds in Sturbridge ffair near Cambridge . . . and to the said Anthony Smith the lease of ' my house in Throgmorton Street, London, let to Mr. Daniell Barron ' (another house in the same street and his household stuff) ' standing and being in my lodgings at Mr. Bignall's house in Dean Street, Fetter Lane.'

He gave to three nephews 1s. each only ; and to the poor of the parish £50, making his nephew Anthony Smith his sole executor. The will is dated the 27th July 1709, and was proved the 6th August following : this is the same day as his burial is entered in the register.

¹ i, 146.² Par. Reg. iv.³ Ib., 110.⁴ Wills, App. I, p. 571.

CHAPTER XIX

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

JOHN POUNTNEY, M.A., RECTOR 1709-1717.

JOHN POUNTNEY, M.A., was inducted on the 9th September 1709, by Henry Compton, Bishop of London, at Fulham, to the rectory vacant by the death of Anthony Burgess, the last incumbent, on the presentation of Edward Henry Rich the seventh Earl of Warwick and fourth Earl of Holland, the patron.¹ He was rector here for only eight years.

We have no records of his work before he came to this parish, nor whilst he was rector of the church; excepting that in February 1712 the vestry ordered the churchwarden to buy a new font for the church, on which occasion John Pountney signed the vestry minute book. Fortunately, as already stated,² in the following April the vestry ordered the churchwarden to set the old font up again and there it still remains.

We are also told³ that morning prayers were held every day at 11 o'clock, and evening prayer (in the last week of the month only) at 5 o'clock for 'preparation for the Holy Sacrament approaching': which therefore was, presumably, celebrated once a month only. 'A sermon extraordinary' was delivered on Good Friday, on the 5th November, and on some other public occasions at 11 o'clock. In 1714, in consequence of the indisposition of the rector, a Mr. Charles Smith was curate for the time, and Mr. Charles Johnson lecturer.

There are various acts of the vestry during this period which are of some interest, thus: in the year 1713 it was ordered that the churchwarden should 'take down ye porch on ye north side of ye west end of ye church and erect another in its room',⁴ which would have been at the south-west corner of the present north transept. And in 1715 they directed that he should 'pull down the church porch in the great churchyard and rebuild the same and repair the east church door and make a shell over the same'.⁵ This is the only

¹ Reg. Lond., Compton, 193.

² Above, p. 57.

³ Paterson, *Pietas Londinensis*, A.D. 1714, p. 33.

⁴ *V. M. Bk.* ii, 52.

⁵ *Ib.*, 82, and above, p. 108.

reference we have to an earlier west porch than that depicted in the Hans Sloane engraving of 1737 (pl. XXI *a*, p. 14).¹

As regards the interior of the church, the vestry, in the year 1716, ordered that the walls behind the pulpit should be lined with wainscot,² which was the class of work being done at that time.

In 1562 Bishop Grindal and Bishop Horne both disapproved of organs, and in 1644 it was ordered by the Lords and Commons 'that organs and their cases should be taken away and utterly defaced and none other hereafter set up in their places',³ so it is not surprising that, as Hatton said in 1708, there was no organ in the church here at that time; but in 1715 steps were taken by the vestry, whether on their own initiative or on that of the rector is not stated, to buy an organ; for on the 9th March they ordered that the two churchwardens, with some others of the vestry, should 'go about to take subscriptions towards the organ for the church'⁴ and they were apparently successful, for on the 5th April it was 'ordered that a Conoble's organ (as already mentioned)⁵ be brought into the church provided it be approved on by a master of music whom the churchwardens shall appoint'.⁶ They also stipulated that if, when set up, it was not approved by the vestry, they should be at liberty to return it. Apparently it was approved, for on the 29th June the churchwardens were again empowered to go to the inhabitants and elsewhere to receive subscriptions.⁷ And on the 7th December a Mr. Vannallson agreed to be the organist at a salary of £18 a year.⁸ Apparently the school children had seats in the organ gallery, as in 1777 the vestry ordered⁹ 'that the north side of the gallery be granted for the use of the charity school of the parish' (pl. XLIII, p. 52).

The vestry at this time was supreme, even in the smallest matters, for on the 5th December 1711, we read: 'ordered the churchwarden doo buy a surplus':¹⁰ which was apparently the only business before the meeting. This was the period when the vestry commenced the practice of writing the name of any one making a substantial donation to the church or schools in letters of gold on a large benefactions board to be displayed in the church. In 1711 the name of the Rev. Anthony Burgess, the previous rector, was ordered to be so displayed as the donor of £50 for the use of the poor;¹¹ and that of Capt. Samuel Roycroft in 1717 in a similar manner.¹²

¹ Above, p. 108.

² Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, 196.

³ Above, p. 49.

⁴ *Ib.*, 94.

⁵ *Ib.*, 147.

⁶ *Ib.*, 16.

⁷ *Ib.*, 116.

⁸ *V. M. Bk.* ii, 73.

⁹ *V. M. Bk.* ii, 77.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, 104. See below, p. 502.

¹¹ *Ib.*, 28.

¹² *Ib.*, 148.

The Rev. John Pountney died in this latter year (1717) and was buried, according to the parish register, on the 16th September,¹ presumably at St. Bartholomew's, but whether within the church or in one of the graveyards the register is silent. It states, however, that he was buried 'from Hatton Garden', so we assume that his residence was there and not in the rectory house of which we heard so much in David Dee's time. We cannot find that he left a will.

THOMAS SPATEMAN, M.A., RECTOR 1719-1738.

The Rev. Thomas Spateman, M.A., was instituted to the rectory, vacant by the death of John Pountney, the last rector, on the 14th February 1718/9, by John Robinson, Bishop of London, on the presentation of Edward eighth Earl of Warwick and fifth Earl of Holland² (or more probably of Edward Henry, seventh Earl of Warwick, as explained in the history of the advowson).³

He graduated B.A. from Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in the year 1717, and M.A. in 1721 : ⁴ he was therefore probably about twenty-four years of age when presented. After his induction to St. Bartholomew's he was appointed to three separate prebends, viz. in December 1728 to that of Reculverland, St. Paul's ; ⁵ in March 1730/1 to that of Weeford, Lichfield ; ⁶ and in August 1734 to that of Ferring, Chichester ; ⁷ all of which he held until his death in January 1760/1.

In 1732 he was appointed by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to the vicarage of Chiswick,⁸ which he also held till his death. He was at one time chaplain to the Bishop of Chichester, and reader in divinity at St. Paul's.⁹

With twelve others we find him in the year 1720 signing the vestry minutes ; ¹⁰ and after 1721, when the practice of all those present signing was relinquished, he signed alone, no doubt as chairman ; and in 1720 he also signed the rate collector's book. In 1721, on St. Thomas's Day, the vestry ordered that £3 be expended for 'treating the minister' and several parish officers ; all of which shows that at any rate he entered into the civil as well as the religious life of the parish.

When Mr. Spateman was appointed rector, the reader was the Rev. Charles Smith, who was also curate to the previous rector. He lived in the boys' school-house (as already stated),¹¹ of which he

¹ Par. Reg. viii, 4.

² Above, p. 295.

³ Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii, 432.

⁴ *Ib.*, 274.

⁵ *Ib.*, xliv.

⁶ Above, p. 38.

⁷ Reg. Lond., Robinson Gibson, 53.

⁸ Cantab. Grad., 365.

⁹ *Ib.* i, 636.

¹⁰ Hennessy, *Nov. Rep.*, 124.

¹¹ *V. M. Bk.* ii, 214.

had in the year 1705 been granted a lease at £14 a year,¹ which in 1717 was renewed for a further seven years.² The assistance of another priest must have been necessary at this time because, as a prebendary of St. Paul's, Spateman had other duties to perform, and also because he revived daily services in the church.

In December 1727 the vestry 'ordered that weekly prayer be continued', and in 1730 they voted the parish clerk £3, and the sexton 30s. additional 'for extra attendance at daily prayers'.³ In December 1736, however, the vestry gave twelve months' notice that the daily service would be discontinued.⁴ An indication that this rector was a zealous worker may be found in the fact that in the year 1728 he instituted special Lent sermons, the collections at which the vestry ordered should be given to the poor.⁵ Mr. Charles Smith apparently died in Lent of this year, as on the 3rd April 1728 the vestry ordered 'that the Rev. William Piddington do read weekly prayers' in his place;⁶ but the appointment was not in the hands of the select vestry, for on the 28th October 1730 there is a memorandum that 'at a general meeting of the parishioners held in the body of the church the Rev. William Piddington was unanimously elected lecturer'.⁷ In 1665 the Reader was paid £10 'by order of the parish meeting'. In January 1698/9 an item appears in the churchwardens' accounts 'expended at the Crowne Tavern on most of the gentlemen of the vestry, when a scrutiny was made in the choice of a lecturer, 01. 00. 00.' The position was made quite clear in 1734, when it was 'ordered that all the parishioners that shall stand charged to the poor in the book at the day of election shall have a vote for the lecturer. That the lecturer be chosen according to the ancient custom of polling, and that the election begin at ten o'clock in the forenoon'.⁸ The candidates for the post had to read prayers and preach once each for the post.

The question of appointing an organist again arose at this time, and the vestry, being of a frugal mind, 'ordered', on the 6th December 1721, 'that nothing be paid for playing the organ from mid-summer to Michaelmas last, that quarter being supplied by candidates playing for the place'.⁹ In 1730 it was ordered that the organ be enlarged and some other stops added to it, 'or that the whole organ be exchanged for one more large and compleat'.¹⁰ The latter course was chosen (as already stated),¹¹ and a new organ was erected by

¹ *V. M. Bk.* i, 375. (See above, p. 38.)

² *Ib.*, 407.

³ *Ib.* ii, 352, 19 Apr. 1728.

⁴ *Ib.*, 406.

⁵ *Ib.* ii, 247.

⁶ *Ib.* ii, 343.

⁷ *Ib.* iii, 87.

⁸ *Ib.*, 351.

⁹ *Ib.* iii, 46.

¹¹ Above, p. 49.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, 400.

Richard Bridge, of Clerkenwell; the opening of which was advertised in the *Daily Journal* of October 30th, 1731,¹ as follows:

'On Sunday next (i. e. Oct. 31), the curious New Organ, made by Mr. Richard Bridge, Organ Maker, in St. John's Clerkenwell, and lately erected in the parish church of St. Bartholomew the Great, near Smithfield, will be opened with an anthem in the morning. The said organ has been play'd on by several of the greatest Masters in Town, and by them allowed to be a very fine Instrument. And Mr. Bridge likewise invites all other gentlemen and Masters of Music to hear or touch the same and he will give his attendance in the said church, from Two o'clock in the afternoon till Five.

'N.B. The said Richard Bridge makes Harpsicords and Spinets.'

On the 6th October (1731) it was ordered that the front pew in the gallery below the organ be presented to Mr. Richard Hyett (the churchwarden) in consideration of his good service done in procuring the new organ.²

The pews were strictly allotted by vote of the vestry as is shown by the following from the vestry book³ of 1827, which explains exactly what the custom had been:

'Your committee is of opinion that according to the ancient and immemorial custom of this parish, the said pews Nos. 25, 29, 32, 34, 35, 36 are now vacant and at the disposal of the vestry. That we recommend to the vestry not to encourage any of those innovations which have of late years been made in the disposal of pews. But according to the ancient custom to appropriate such pews as have always been reserved for the most respectable inhabitants to the use of the head of the family during his or her residence in this parish on such person making such an offering for the use of the poor as shall be satisfactory to the vestry and such pews always to be declared vacant on the death or removal of such individual. We also recommend that in the disposal of such pews as may now be declared vacant the families of those persons to whom pews have heretofore been appropriated shall have the preference.'

When a pew was allotted it was put under lock and key just as was the parish 'cage' or lock-up; for in the churchwardens' accounts for 1697 we read:

Oct. 25, paid for a lock to the cage	00	1	6
Oct. 28, paid for a lock and 2 keys for Mr Rankin's				
pew	00	2	6

The allotment was made for a fixed sum which went to pay for the cost of the poor of the parish. In the year 1631 Sir Thomas and Lady

¹ No. 3376, copy in belfry drawer, 17, bundle 8, sec. 12; see also C. W. Pearce, *City Churches, their Organs*, p. 18.

² *V. M. Bk.* ii, 426.

³ *Ib.* iv, 608.

Walsingham paid 26s. 8d. for a pew.¹ In 1731 J. Weldale paid £3 4s. 6d. for a pew.² In 1719 Capt. Roycroft's pew was divided, one half being allotted for £7 7s. and the other half for £5 5s.³ Sometimes a pew would be sold to the highest bidder, as in 1743, when Mr. Owen's pew was sold for £5 5s.⁴ In 1795 as much as £14 was paid for a pew.⁵ Sometimes a pew would be allotted for a service performed, as in the case of the churchwarden above referred to. In the same way, in the year 1755, it was ordered 'that the churchwardens' pew be reserved for those who have served the office of churchwarden or have 'fined'.⁶ An order was also given respecting the pews on 'the other side of the isle amongst the women who are to be seated according to their seniority and degree',⁶ a difficult task even for an eighteenth-century churchwarden!

The high pews were introduced in conformity with the custom instituted by Bishop Burnet at the end of the seventeenth century, whilst he was preacher at St. James's Chapel. It was done to prevent the ladies looking at other persons than himself during his 'thundering long sermons' as Queen Mary called them.

'And then Britain's nymphs in a protestant reign
Were lock'd up at prayers like the virgins in Spain.'⁷

There were six pews claimed by the rectors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, apparently as faculty pews. On the north side there was one small pew next to Rahere's tomb, and two others adjoining to and opening into the chancel, and on the south side there were three corresponding pews.⁸ In the year 1815 the vestry, being under the impression that the four pews which merely opened into, but were not actually in the chancel, had been in the possession of the rector only since the year 1791 (when considerable alterations were made), ventured to resolve 'that the pews which had been in the possession of the late rector (Mr. Edwardes) during his life (should) remain in the possession of the new rector',⁹ Mr. Roberts. But when in 1820 Mr. Abbiss, who would brook no encroachments by the vestry on the rights of the rector, succeeded to the benefice, he at once protested strongly against this assumption of power to grant a life-interest in his property, with the result that, in October 1820,¹⁰ Mr. Illidge¹¹ told the vestry that he had seen a book containing an account of the glebe houses and other property of the rectors written

¹ Churchwardens' Accts.

² *Ib.*

³ *V. M. Bk.* ii, 209.

⁴ *Ib.* iii, 215.

⁵ *Ib.* iv, 57.

⁶ *Ib.* iii, 328.

⁷ Strickland, *Lives of the Queens*, xi, 433.

⁸ Parish Safe Plans, 32 (2).

⁹ *V. M. Bk.* iv, 357.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, 447.

¹¹ Above, p. 289.

by Mr. Edwardes in the year 1768,¹ where the pews and their occupants were mentioned, and he had no doubt therefrom that the pews were the undisputed property of the rectors in 1768, whereat the vestry 'deemed it an act of justice to say that, had they known that at the time, no such resolution would have been passed'.

Considerable attention was paid to the fabric of the church in Spateman's time, thus: on the 2nd March 1719/20 it was 'ordered that the church and steeple be beautified and repaired' at a cost of £60,² and on the 13th July 'that a rate be made for defraying the cost'.³ Objection was made to the rate by some of the parishioners, so on the 20th November the vestry 'ordered that the churchwardens do proceed against all such parishioners according to law that refuse to pay the church rate for repairing and beautifying the church'⁴ (a minute which the rector did not sign). An action followed in the Court of Common Pleas, and an attempt was made to supplant the select vestry by one consisting of all the parishioners; but this failed.⁵ On the 4th July 1737 there was trouble with the roof, and it was minuted that 'the parish church roof having been surveyed appears to be very much decayed and out of repair, the expense of which will amount to a very considerable sum'.⁶ On the 15th July it was 'ordered that one year's rate of the Poors Book amounting to the sum of £370 15s. be made towards discharging the expense'.⁷ The rate actually yielded £325 and the rector made a donation of £20,⁸ probably as his share for work done to the chancel. The repairs actually cost £365,⁹ and it was evidently very dry work, since in the churchwardens' accounts for the year 1737 the item occurs: 'spent at the Half Moon Tavern and The Flying Horse concerning these repairs £9 10s. 6d.'! One of the items of this 'beautifying' of the church was 'To black shadow round all the monuments'.¹⁰

In May 1720¹¹ a Mr. Henry Woolmer presented the parish with a pair of iron gates to the great churchyard leading to Smithfield, and the vestry in August ordered the walls of the gate to be repaired.¹² In July 1722 they further ordered that 'the wall 54 ft. in length of the little churchyard, adjoining to the Rev. Mr. Charles Smith's house (i.e. the old boys' school house) be (also) repaired'.¹³

But whilst this activity was commendable it is to be regretted that in October 1726 they 'ordered that Mr. Thos. Hunt have leave to

¹ Parish Safe, O.B. 2 and O.B. 3.

³ *Ib.*, 223.

⁶ *Ib.* iii, 100.

⁹ *Ib.*, 138.

¹¹ *V. M. Bk.* ii, 221.

¹³ *Ib.*, 260.

² *V. M. Bk.* ii, 216.

⁴ *Ib.*, 227.

⁷ *Ib.*, 101.

¹⁰ Receipted bills in belfry cupboard.

⁵ *Ib.*, 233.

⁸ *Ib.*, 138.

¹² *Ib.*, 244.

break a window or two out of his vault into the Green Church yard ' ¹ (i.e. from the cloister into the site of the south transept); for when the transept was restored one of these windows had to be respected, which involved a considerable expenditure of money. This mention of the cloister as a vault suggests that at that time the vaulting of the cloister had not been destroyed. In August 1731 the vestry ordered that the same man ' have leave to make two or three lights out of the Flying Horse Inn into the Great Church Yard ' ; ² and therefrom the great church yard still suffers.

The window tax at this time was the law of the land. it was first imposed in the year 1695, and was not repealed until 1851, and then only after a long agitation. In 1825 the vestry resolved that it was the most obnoxious and oppressive of all taxes and ought to be repealed.³ (It is to be hoped, however, that Mr Thos. Hunt had to pay the tax on his new windows!) Before this, in 1722, the churchwardens were ordered by the vestry to prosecute the two collectors of this tax, who had apparently made off with the books and money.⁴ The amount which the parish had to pay in 1724 by order of the sheriff for the window tax was £39.⁵

In January 1719/20, probably with the view of preventing draught, it was ' ordered that two doors be made for the end of each isle ' ⁶ of the church. These were not external but internal doors: one was fixed across the south aisle in line with the east wall behind the altar, and the other at the west end of the same aisle between the Early English shafts by the door of the cloister (pl. XXXII, p. 26).

It was in Mr. Spateman's time, on the 22nd April 1731, that the verge still used in the church was presented. It is thus recorded by the vestry: ' Mr. Samuel Atkins, churchwarden, made a present of a staff with a silver head and with an effigy of silver of St. Bartholomew upon it for the use of the parish for ever ' .⁷

In 1719 the vestry admitted one Purbeck Savage to be a vestry man on his paying ten pounds for the use of the poor, and on his cancelling and delivering up his certificate to the vestry.⁸ This was done and the certificate is still in the parish safe.⁹ The certificate is what was known as a Tyburn ticket. It was granted to a prosecutor on the capital conviction of a criminal under an Act of Parliament (10/11 William III, 1698/9) and exempted the prosecutor from all manner of parish and ward offices within the parish wherein such

¹ *V. M. Bk.* ii, 327.

² *Ib.* iv, 444.

³ *Ib.*, 298.

⁴ *Ib.*, 418, and p. 501.

⁵ Parish Safe, D. 13, and p. 521; see also *N. & Q.*, 2nd ser., vi, 529.

⁶ *Ib.*, 424.

⁷ *Ib.* ii, 257.

⁸ *Ib.*, 214.

⁹ *V. M. Bk.* ii, 194.

felony was committed. It was allowed to be once assigned. In this particular case the certificate had been granted to one Peter Phillepott, a parishioner, for apprehending Francis Collins and prosecuting him until convicted, for stealing a brown gelding of William Jarvis. On the dorse of the certificate is an assignment dated the 18th December 1714, to the above Purbeck Savage, a parishioner; for which he had paid Peter Phillepott £11. But, although he was thus free from all parochial service, the vestry required a £20 fine for such avoidance and admission to the vestry, and thus he had to pay the additional £10 mentioned above. The Act was repealed in 1818.

The Bishop of London's house in Aldersgate Street had a chapel attached which was in St. Bartholomew's parish. Baptisms occasionally took place there at this time. They were entered in the parish register with the word 'chapel' in the margin. The following entry occurs on 7th August 1720: 'Maray d. of John and Mary Gifert baptised at the bishopes of London chapel belonging to this parish of St. Bartholomew the Grete London'. There are three other entries worded in the same way (see map, p. 174).

The King's Letter money, which was distributed annually among the poor, is first referred to on the 5th February 1723.¹ It was distributed by vote of the vestry to about 30 poor housekeepers in sums of from 10s. to 2s. 6d. each. In the year 1723 it amounted to £11 10s.; in 1750 it amounted to £7 only. The earliest record of the origin of this benefaction which we have been able to find is in the King's Warrant Book,² among the Treasury Books and papers of the year 1729/30, where there is a sign manual dated the 4th April 1729, addressed to the Lords of the Treasury, for the issue of £1,000 to the Chamberlain of the City of London, to be distributed by him to the parishes within the city in such proportion as the Bishop of London and the Lord Mayor shall direct, the same to be known as 'the King's Charity and Benevolence to the poor'. It was discontinued in 1825.³

The important bequest made by John Whiting (the younger) in the year 1704⁴ of a farm in Navestock and South Weald in Essex, for the education of twenty poor children of the parish of St. Bartholomew, after the death of his wife, came into the possession of the trustees⁵ on the death of the latter in October 1727.⁶ The rector and churchwardens were appointed a committee to go and take possession of the estate.

¹ *V. M. Bk.* ii, 286.

² King's Warrant Bk. xxix, 295; see also Cal. Treas. Bks. and Papers, 44, A. 1.

³ *V. M. Bk.* iv, 540.

⁴ Wills, App. I, p. 555.

⁵ *V. M. Bk.* ii, 340.

⁶ Wills, App. I, p. 471.

It was during Mr. Spateman's rectorship, in the year 1725, that Benjamin Franklin, the American statesman, worked at his trade of a printer with Samuel Palmer in the upper floor of the workshop which then occupied the Lady Chapel, as already described.¹

Thomas Spateman resigned the living, probably at the end of the year 1737 (or it may not have been until early in 1738). He was present at the meeting of the vestry for the last time on the 4th July 1737, but no mention was then made of his retirement. His successor, Mr. Bateman, was present for the first time at the vestry meeting on the first of the following March; and on the 23rd of the same month a list of deeds and leases concerning the glebe houses was made out and handed to Mr. Bateman by a Mr. Michael Spateman, which the former duly signed. On the 28th October 1737 the churchwarden charged an item of coach hire for Mr. Hunt and Mr. Hyett going to speak with Mr. Spateman. This may mean that he was by that date already in residence at Chiswick, to which he had been appointed five years before,² or that when rector of St. Bartholomew's he lived some distance away from the church and was ill. For what cause he resigned we do not know: he was probably only about forty-four years of age at the time. We may assume, however, that the vicarage of Chiswick, held with three prebends, as we have seen, had greater attractions for him than St. Bartholomew's, which had no rectory house at all. He died in January 1760/1.

RICHARD THOMAS BATEMAN, RECTOR 1738-1760.

Richard Thomas Bateman, clerk, was, according to the episcopal register, admitted and instituted to the rectory, void by the resignation of Thomas Spateman, on the 8th March 1737/8, by Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, 'belonging to the presentation of Edward Henry Edwardes, Esq.',³ the eldest son of Elizabeth Edwardes who inherited the advowson on the death of Edward Henry Rich the fourth Earl of Holland in 1721.⁴

R. T. Bateman was of St. Martin's, one of the three parishes in Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, which was the native county of the patron; to which fact Bateman probably owed his appointment.

Foster in his *Alumni* styles him 'gentleman'. He entered Jesus College, Oxford, at the age of twenty-three,⁵ on the 16th April 1736, the day before he matriculated in the University. He seems to have resided as a commoner until February 1738/9, when he took his

¹ See above, p. 80.

² Hennessy, *Repertorium*, 124.

³ Reg. London, Gibson, 281 (entry is in English).

⁴ See above, and pedigree, p. 292.

Foster, *Alumni Oxon*, 74.

B.A. degree, and apparently at once took his name off the books.¹ He had been admitted deacon by the Bishop of Llandaff on the 13th August 1737.² 'The Rev. Richard Thomas Bateman', says Tyerman,³ 'was a man of high birth and great natural endowments; he was not only rector of St. Bartholomew the Great in Smithfield, but also held a living in Wales, where he had been converted under the powerful ministry of the Rev. Howel Davies. Being converted himself, he at once with great fervour began to pray and preach for the conversion of others. As soon as Wesley got back to London' (he had been shut out of the London churches for eight years) 'Mr. Bateman (an old friend)⁴ offered him his pulpit, and the offer was accepted'. Wesley first preached here, according to his journal, on Sunday morning the 24th December 1738.⁵ The churchwardens, however, became timorous and thought it necessary to exercise their right of consulting the bishop in regard to admitting to the pulpit an unbeneficed and unlicensed clergyman;⁶ they said, 'Mr. Bateman, our rector, invites Mr. Wesley very frequently to preach in his church'. The bishop replied, 'What would you have me do? I have no right to hinder him. Mr. Wesley is a clergyman, regularly ordained, and under no ecclesiastical censure'.⁷

The journal does not record a further preaching here until Sunday, 31st May 1747,⁸ when Wesley wrote: 'Mr. Bateman desired me to preach a charity sermon at his church, St. Bartholomew the Great, in the afternoon, but it was with much difficulty I got in; not only the church itself, but all the entrance to it, being so thronged with people ready to tread upon one another. The great noise made me afraid at first that my labour would be in vain; but that fear was soon over, for all was still as soon as the service began. I hope God gave us this day a token for good. If He will work, who shall stay His hand?' On Sunday, 14th June following, he wrote:⁹ 'I preached at St. Bartholomew's again. I admire the behaviour of this people; none betrays either lightness or inattention. Surely all the seed sown here will not be lost!' And on the following Sunday, 21st June, he wrote:¹⁰ 'I preached once more at St. Bartholomew's on the Gospel for the day—the story of Dives and Lazarus. I was constrained to speak very plain and strong words. But God gave the audience ears to hear, so that they appeared as far from anger on the

¹ From information furnished by Mr. E. E. Genner, Fellow of Jesus Coll.

² *Llandaff Records*, v, 51.

³ Wesley, *Journal*, ii, 117 n., standard ed.

⁴ Urling, *Churchman's Life of Wesley*, p. 100.

⁵ Tyerman, *J. Wesley*, i, 548.

⁶ *Ib.*, 301.

⁷ Tyerman, *J. Wesley*, i, 548.

⁸ *Ib.* ii, 117.

⁹ Wesley, *Journal*, iii, 300.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, 302.

one hand as from sleepiness on the other.' A year later, on Sunday, 12th June 1748,¹ he wrote 'I preached in St. Bartholomew's church. Deep attention sat on every face, while I explained and by the Grace of God pressed home those words, "Thou art not far from the Kingdom of God"'. And lastly on the Wednesday following (15th June) he wrote:² 'I preached once more at St. Bartholomew's. How strangely is the scene changed! What laughter and tumult was there among the best of the parish, when we preached in a London church ten years ago! and now all are calm and quietly attentive from the least even to the greatest.'

In the year 1751 the Parish Register (No. 7) records that John Wesley conducted weddings in the church: one on the 27th January; two on the 29th May, and one on the 4th June of that year.

Rector Bateman died, as stated below, probably at the close of the year 1760: three years later John Wesley again came to St. Bartholomew's, but no longer to the church that had so freely opened her doors to him. On the 21st December 1763 he wrote in his journal: 'I took my leave of the "Bull and Mouth", a barren uncomfortable place, where much pains had been taken for several years, I fear to little purpose'.³ The 'Bull and Mouth' stood to the west of St. Martin's le Grand; it was originally a quakers' meeting-house, but at this time it was occupied by the Sandemanian Society;⁴ and five days later he wrote, 'I began preaching in a large commodious place in Bartholomew Close. I preached there again on Wednesday and at both times with peculiar liberty of spirit':⁵ which commodious place we have shown⁶ was probably the old Chapter-house, as figured in Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata* in the year 1822 (pl. LXXVI b, p. 147).

Beyond the above records as to Mr. Bateman's relations with John Wesley, and the record in the vestry books that in 1747 he was requested, together with the churchwardens, to interview the Bishop of London concerning the parish bounds, we hear nothing of the doings of this rector during his twenty-three years of office. Within that period we can only trace that he attended the Easter vestry meeting five times, viz. in 1738, 1747, 1748, 1758, and in the year of his death 1760. He was also present on the 1st March 1737/8. During the greater part of that time his curate, Mr. Robert Lloyd, filled his place. It may be that he devoted his time to his living in Wales; at any rate he did not continue the daily services of his predecessor at St. Bartholomew's.⁷ Up to the year 1745, both upper

Wesley, *Journal*, iii, 355.

² *Ib.*, 356.

³ *Ib.* v, 42.

⁴ Wilson, *Dissent. Churches*, iii, 365.

⁵ Wesley, *Journal*, v, 43.

⁶ See above, p. 148.

⁷ Below, p. 366.

and under wardens had been chosen by the vestry ; but then began the practice of one warden being nominated by the rector and only one chosen by the vestry. In 1747 and 1748 it is shown, by the Vestry Minute Book, that the nomination of a warden was made by Mr. Bateman,¹ but in 1749 the curate made the nomination on his behalf.² At this time the vestry minutes were always signed by the two churchwardens and not by the rector even if present, so the only signature of this rector we possess is the one on the list of deeds of the glebe houses.

Mr. Robert Lloyd is shown by the registers to have taken all the weddings from 1740 to 1759, when Mr. Bateman took them for the last year of his life. After that Mr. Lloyd only officiated on two occasions, once in May 1761 and once in April 1771.³

Mr. Lloyd seems to have been very exacting in the matter of fees because, in 1741, he refused to bury the body of a pensioner unless the churchwarden paid him 3s. 6d. for doing so. A legal opinion was taken which the vestry approved by resolution and desired that the curate be proceeded against, should he refuse to perform his duty : ⁴ (the outcome does not appear).

Again, on the 14th August 1757, there is an entry in the marriage register, duly filled in ready for signature, but then ruled through with a foot-note 'not married, would not pay the fees'.⁵ The couple remained unmarried for two and a half years until the 18th January 1760 ; ⁶ but whether the delay was entirely due to the inability to pay the fees is not stated.

The stipend of a curate was even more inadequate then than now, and no doubt Mr. Lloyd was compelled to enforce his rights, especially if he had a wife and children to support. He availed himself of an opportunity of increasing his income in May 1756, when the then lecturer, Mr. Tipping Silvester, resigned.⁷ Mr. Lloyd offered himself for the post, agreeing to pay an assistant lecturer, whom the parishioners should choose, £27 6s. yearly out of the collections made for the lecturer, the assistant doing the whole duty of the church either at the morning or evening service as long as Mr. Lloyd remained curate and lecturer.⁸ The vestry consented to this and appointed Mr. William Sellon assistant lecturer ; but they wanted Mr. Lloyd to sign an agreement embodying the terms, which Mr. Lloyd refused to do.⁹ The matter was referred to the bishop ¹⁰ and it ended in the

¹ *V. M. Bk.* ii, 236.

² *Ib.*, 276.

³ *Parish Reg.*, vii and ix.

⁴ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 192.

⁵ *Parish Reg.* ix, 15.

⁶ *Ib.*, 32.

⁷ Malcolm (i. 296) records that in 1746 a previous rector [lecturer probably intended], the Rev. A. Cressener, bequeathed £20 to the parish.

⁸ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 334.

⁹ *Ib.* iii, 335.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, 336.

vestry accepting Mr. Lloyd's open declaration in vestry of his intention to conform to the agreement.¹ But in the November following the matter came up again,² when a proposal was submitted from the Rev. Dr. Nicholas that the assistant lecturer should officiate on Sunday afternoons and receive half the collections, Mr. Lloyd receiving the other half. Nothing came of it and Mr. Lloyd remained lecturer until his death in 1778.³

In 1749 the steeple was again out of repair and £157 was estimated as the cost of the work; in addition it was ordered that the church should be whitewashed, and 'two branches' hung in the body of the church.⁴ The money was raised by an annuity: a late parishioner advanced £200 in consideration of £4 being paid him every quarter-day during his life.⁵ In the following March a widow gave a further £200 in exchange for an annuity of £7 a year for the same object; which enabled a church rate of 1s. in the £, which had been made a week before for the same purpose, to be repealed.⁶ In 1752 the vestry borrowed £150, at 4 per cent. interest, for repairs to the school-house.⁷

The vestry at this time were more alive to the danger of encroachments on the church property than had always been the case. In 1752 they 'ordered that all who had back doors into the churchyard should pay 2s. a year according to ancient custom⁸ with all arrears, and in default the doors to be immediately stopped up'.⁹

Before this, in the year 1741, the vestry had done an equally good service to the parish by preserving the passage through the Smithfield gate as a footway; for 'the question was put whether a convenient coachway be made at the church gate leading from Smithfield into the Close and passed in the negative *Nemine contradicente*'.¹⁰

At this period both the boys and the girls from the schools were seated in the gallery; for it is recorded that, in 1753, liberty was granted to transfer the right in a pew 'under the charity girls in the gallery',¹¹ and that in 1755 'the pew in the gallery next under the charity boys' was sold.¹²

Turning to the civil side of the parish at this time: in April 1741 it was still the duty of the churchwardens to see that house-keepers did not take in lodgers without the knowledge of the churchwardens, and it was found necessary to take counsel's opinion as to how to act.¹³

¹ V. M. Bk. iii, 337.

² Ib., 484.

³ Ib., 289, 14 June 1750.

⁴ £6 a year in 1668; see above, p. 325.

⁵ Ib., 185.

⁶ Ib., 328.

⁷ Ib., 345.

⁸ Ib., 285, 287, 290.

⁹ Ib., 296.

¹⁰ Ib., 309.

¹¹ V. M. Bk. iii, 308.

¹² Ib., 315.

¹³ Ib. iii, 180.

And in 1756 the vestry 'ordered that the skittle grounds in the parish be suppressed as nuisances'.¹

But the most important parochial event was the application to Parliament in January 1755 for powers to watch, cleanse, and light the parish more effectively,² which resulted in the passing in the same year of a private Act of Parliament³ by which such powers were granted. As the Act did not provide for paving and for removing various annoyances, an amending Act was obtained in 1768.⁴ These Acts were repealed in 1851,⁵ as all the duties they imposed had been taken over by the Commissioners of Sewers under the City of London Sewers Act of 1848.⁶

It was in Rector Bateman's time, in 1751, that the Gregorian Calendar was adopted by Act of Parliament, pursuant to which the day following the 2nd September 1752 was called the 14th September, omitting the eleven intermediate nominal days of the common calendar. The adoption of the new style caused the date of Easter to be calculated according to the new style in 1753, the year beginning on 1st January instead of on 25th March, and St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, was called September 4.

We have no record of the place where Rector Bateman lived, nor when or where he died, nor yet where he was buried. By the vestry minutes we know he was present at the Easter vestry on the 10th April 1760⁷ (as already stated), and that his successor was present as rector on the 1st July 1761;⁸ but between those dates there are no vestry records as regards the rector. And although on the 3rd November 1760 it was 'ordered that the pulpit and desk . . . be hung properly in mourning on account of the death of his late Majesty King George the second', no reference is made to the rector's death; but that the benefice became vacant by death and not by resignation we know by the entry in the Episcopal Register on the induction of his successor. Inasmuch, however, as his successor, the Rev. John Moore, was presented by the Bishop of London 'by lapse', we may assume that the bishop allowed about six months or more to pass before he took over the presentation from the real patron William Edwardes, of Johnson, Pembrokeshire, and that R. T. Bateman's death took place towards the end of the year 1760. Moreover, his will⁹ was proved the 20th February 1761. It had been made in 1756 in Monmouth, on board a man-of-war where he was chaplain.

¹ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 335.

² *Ib.*, 326.

³ 28 Geo. II, cap. xxxvii.

⁴ 9 Geo. III, cap. xxiii.

⁵ 14 & 15 Vict., cap. xci, sec. 45.

⁶ 11 & 12 Vict., cap. clxiii, Statutes xxxvii, 482; see *V. M. Bk.* vi, 5.

⁷ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 362.

⁸ *Ib.*, 370.

⁹ *Wills*, App. I, p. 556.

By it we learn that he came in for a share of prize-money during the seven years' war with France: that his wife Sarah survived him, and that he had a son Thomas and also a daughter, who was married to Robert Prust.

JOHN MOORE, M.A., RECTOR 1761-1768.

The Episcopal Register states that 'on the 15th June John Moore, clerk, M.A., was admitted and collated by Thomas Sherlock, Bishop of London, at Fulham Palace to the rectory void by the death of Richard Thomas Bateman, the last incumbent, and belonging to the donation and collation of the Bishop of London by reason of lapse'.¹ The reason why William Edwardes, who inherited the advowson in the year 1752,² failed to present on this occasion does not appear.

John Moore graduated from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and took his M.A. degree in 1756;³ but beyond this we have no records concerning him. He generally attended the vestry meetings, and he took practically all the weddings during the seven years that he was rector:⁴ as Robert Lloyd continued his post of lecturer we may assume that he had no curate.

The events recorded during Moore's rectorate are of only minor importance.

At his first vestry meeting,⁵ on the 1st July 1761, a new departure was taken by electing a woman, one Mary Andrewes a widow, as sexton of the parish.

In the same year, 1761, the poet Gray paid a visit to the church, and made the following note in his copy of Strype's *Stow*:⁶

'This quire is still standing and serves for the parish church: it is the most ancient building, except perhaps the White Tower, now to be seen in or near London: the two lower orders, the side-iles with their vaulting, and a great part of the Rood-Tower are of this antiquity; but the windows that open into the quire on the south side and the founder's monument are the work of Prior Bolton in Henry the 8th's reign.'

The Rood, as stated elsewhere, was probably lower down in the nave than the tower, and the founder's tomb is some 100 years earlier than the time when Henry VIII came to the throne, but otherwise this is an accurate description of the church as far as it goes.

In 1764 the vestry 'ordered that the churchwarden provide a shelter

¹ Reg. Lond., Gibson, Sherlock, and Hayter, 386.

² Above, p. 346.

³ Cantab. Grad., 270.

⁴ Par. Reg., No. 9.

⁵ V. M. Bk. iii, 370.

⁶ Offered for sale by Tregaskis, 25 Sept. 1911, who gave permission for this quotation.

for the minister to perform service occasionally in the church-yard of the parish'.¹ This probably indicates a shelter whilst conducting funerals, rather than an outside pulpit such as is to be seen to-day at Holy Trinity, Marylebone, and St. James', Piccadilly.

In 1762 an engine-house was erected in the churchyard 'on the north side of the great door of the church',² as already stated,³ apparently to replace the one erected there in the year 1686.⁴ There the engine remained until 1862, when it was removed as a nuisance and useless, owing to the excellent arrangements of the fire brigade, and was housed in the north aisle of the church:⁵ the position still (or until recently) occupied by the old-fashioned hand engine at Malmesbury Abbey. A new engine was purchased by the St. Bartholomew vestry in 1708;⁶ and another in 1730 (at a cost of £32 7s.).⁷ The latter would have been the one used at the fire which occurred at the back of London House in the morning of 14th July 1768.⁸ In 1866, owing to the passing of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade Act in 1865, the engine was sold.

Another record of 1762 is that of a burial 'by Purgatory door in church',⁹ which is the first instance of the enclosure, behind the high altar, being called purgatory; a name which it retained until it was taken down in 1864.

In 1768 the vestry again 'ordered that two screens be erected in the church',¹⁰ one in the north aisle from the pier west of Rahere's tomb (pl. XXXII *b*, p. 26, and pl. XXXIII, p. 27); the other immediately to the east of the south chapel door, with the object of making the church warmer.¹¹

In 1766 the nonconformists, whose meeting-house still occupied the sacristy of the monastic church and part of the triforium, refused to pay the parochial rates, claiming exemption under the Act of Toleration; but counsel's opinion being that they were liable to such taxation,¹² they continued to be assessed and to pay.

In 1767 the vestry 'ordered that an accurate plan of the parish should be taken with the view of adjusting amicably the boundaries between the parish and that of St. Botolph's';¹³ but we have no record that that plan was ever made.

The civil burdens thrown upon the churchwardens by the Government had now increased to such an extent that in 1767 the fine for exemption from serving all parochial offices, as those of church-

¹ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 386.

⁴ See above, p. 325.

⁷ *Ib.* ii, 401.

⁹ Parish Reg., No. 8, 10 Feb. 1761/2.

¹¹ See above, p. 25.

² *Ib.*, 375.

⁵ *V. M. Bk.* vii, 673.

⁸ Illidge, *Notes*, belfry cupboard, drawer 17, bundle 8.

¹⁰ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 408 (and p. 339 above).

¹² *Ib.*, 397.

³ Above, p. 325.

⁶ *Ib.* i, 429.

¹³ *Ib.* iii, 403.

warden, sidesman, constable, and overseer, was fixed at £30;¹ the amount of the fine imposed being entirely at the discretion of the vestry. In 1663 the fine for exemption from being churchwarden was £5; from being collector of the poor rate £2; from being constable about £5; and from being scavenger £2. In 1674 the fine for all offices was £16; in 1691 it was £20. In 1678 Francis Martin, a Quaker, actually paid £20 for being exempt from the office of sidesman alone, although he had served all the other parochial offices. On the other hand, when, in 1768, another Quaker, John Eliot, refused either to fine or serve the office of sidesman, it was agreed not to press him. It was in 1750 that the fine for all offices was raised to £30; and for the offices separately the fines were for that of churchwarden £20; of constable and overseer £10; of collector £8. In 1806 the fine for all offices was raised to £40,² in 1824 to £50,³ and in 1828 to £60.⁴ In 1821 £230 was received from fifteen persons for fines.⁵ Thus men who served their parish by compulsion, instead of being paid by their fellow-parishioners for their services, had to pay these exorbitant sums if their business or religious convictions would not allow them to take office. On the other hand, when, in 1774 and 1775, instead of nominating the junior warden for the office of senior warden—according to custom—the rector nominated, at the request of the vestry, a man who had already served all offices, he was paid £10 in consequence for serving the office a further period.

After this time some of the duties of the parish constable were removed, and the fines became less. In 1839 the fine for the office of churchwarden alone was reduced from £50 to £40.⁶ In 1862 Mr. John Evans, of 60 Bartholomew Close, though seventy-five years of age, had to pay £20.⁷ In 1871 Mr. W. J. Lacy paid £20 for exemption from all offices,⁸ to which amount the fine had been reduced from £40 in 1859. Since 1884, when a new era dawned in the parish and compulsion was no longer enforced, no one has ever declined to take office as churchwarden or sidesman: the late Sir William Boord, who had paid £20 not to serve in 1874, made a donation of £500 to the restoration fund in 1885, and served the office of churchwarden from 1887 to 1896.

In 1817 a Mr. Divett and a Mr. John Whitaker refused either to serve or to fine.⁹ The latter alleged that it was not his turn, as others before him had not served but only fined; he denied that a man

¹ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 400.

² *Ib.* iv, 202.

³ *Ib.*, 538.

⁴ *Ib.*, 624.

⁵ Parish Safe, *Abbiss' book of fines*, O.B. 4.

⁶ *V. M. Bk.* v, 195.

⁷ *Ib.* v, 667.

⁸ *Ib.* v, 565.

⁹ Counsel's opinion, 1817, Belfry cupboard, Drawer 18, Bundle 1; Reg. Parish Doc. i, 105-29.

who had fined and a man who had served were in the same position. He denied the right of the vestry to take a fine at all, as thereby his turn came sooner than it would otherwise have done; and he further objected that the fines had been misapplied, as £50 a year therefrom was given to an afternoon lecturer at the parish church. An indictment was issued, and the case was tried in the Court of King's Bench the following year. The brief for the parish set out all the privileges of the parish, and the history of them from the date of the first charter of the monastery in 1133 and onwards, which are fully described farther on.¹

Whitaker was charged with refusing to take the office of constable, though duly elected and an inhabitant of the parish. He had been at one time organist to the church. His defence was that, having a successful music shop in St. Paul's Churchyard, he had been elected constable merely to extract from him a £10 fine; further, that he was not a fit person for the office, having lost an eye and being subject to spitting of blood. Gurney, who was counsel for the plaintiffs (the Common Serjeant being for the defendant), in the course of the case showed that the custom of the parish as to the manner of choosing their constables differed from that of every other parish in the city of London. The jury's verdict was in favour of the parish; but in December 1820, the resolution of the vestry of February 1814² appropriating the fines for parish offices to paying the salary of the lecturer, was formally rescinded.³

It is no wonder that in the earlier days, as a consequence of these onerous unpaid duties, there was a certain amount of feasting at the parish expense. It was, however, confined to Easter Thursday, when the Easter vestry was held; to Ascension Day, when the beating of the bounds took place; and to St. Thomas's Day, when the ward elections were taken. At Easter the outgoing churchwarden provided the dinner, and the new upper warden paid for it. At the close of the Easter vestry meeting the two churchwardens, attended by the beadle, with his staff and cloak and laced hat, waited on the newly-elected churchwarden to invite him to the dinner. Any one who had fined for the office instead of serving was invited by the beadle alone. Dinner was at three o'clock; the rector, if present, being in the chair, and the churchwardens, treasurer, and vestrymen all having their allotted places.⁴ The bill of fare was of a modest character⁵ and the amount for the three feasts in 1630 was only £10; in 1700, £15; and

¹ Below, p. 395.

² *V. M. Bk.* iv, 328.

⁴ Illidge, *Notes*.

³ *Ib.* iv, pp. 449, 377.

⁵ *App.* II, p. 530.

in 1792, £17. In 1696 it was resolved that there should be no more feasting on the parish account, but two years later the vestry returned to the three feasts a year, which were held at the Half Moon Tavern. In 1736 the number was reduced to one a year; and in 1799, in consequence of the dearness of provisions, all the feasts were discontinued, and in their place for three years £5 was given to the poor instead. In 1801 those attending the small feasts defrayed their own expenses.

No exception can be taken to this modest way of encouraging social intercourse in the parish, though there may be to the habit of charging drinks on special occasions, a few instances of which are found in the churchwardens' accounts.

As in the case of Rector Bateman we have no record as to where this rector died or was buried. The last vestry he attended was on the 29th June 1768, after which we assume he died rather suddenly, because his will breaks off in the middle of a sentence and is unsigned and undated; but by July 21st the attestation of two of his friends that the handwriting was that of the Rev. John Moore was taken, and administration granted to his widow. The marriage register continued to be signed 'John Moore' in a very similar handwriting until the 8th November following, but with the description 'Minister' instead of 'Rector'. This was probably his son John Moore to whom he bequeathed his books and MSS. He refers in his will¹ to two other children, Nathaniel and Susanna, and to his wife Sarah. We assume that he lived in Charterhouse Square, because he left the lease of his house there to his son John, who was described in the attestation as 'of the parish of St. Sepulchre' in which the greater part of Charterhouse Square is situated.

OWEN PERROT EDWARDES, M.A., RECTOR 1768-1814.

'On the 24th November 1768, Owen Perrot Edwardes,² clerk, M.A., was admitted and instituted' by Richard Terrick, 'Bishop of London, to the rectory, void by the death of John Moore'; . . . 'belonging to the presentation of William Edwardes of Johnson in the county of Pembroke Esquire'.³

The new rector was entered at Trinity College, Dublin, on the 14th March 1748, at the age of 17. We learn from the Matriculation Book of the University,⁴ that he was born in Pembrokeshire, and was

¹ Wills, App. I, p. 556.

² The Welsh way of spelling Edwards.

³ Reg. Lond., Osbaldeston, f. 32.

⁴ On information by Registrar, Dublin University.

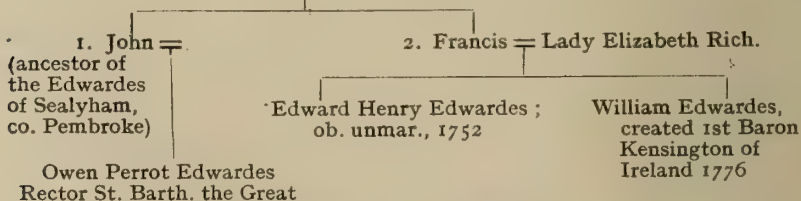
the son of John Edwardes, also a *clericus*, who was the elder brother of Francis Edwardes, who, by his marriage with Lady Elizabeth Rich, succeeded to the St. Bartholomew property. He derived his Christian names from his grandfather Owen Edwardes and his grandmother *née* Damaris Perrot. He was first cousin to William Edwardes, the patron, who was created Baron Kensington in the peerage of Ireland in 1776.¹

He graduated B.A. at Dublin in 1752, and M.A. in 1755. He signed the register of the University of Cambridge on the 28th June 1777. This was a degree of incorporation, but he does not appear to have joined any college there.²

Rector Edwardes did not take up his duties at St. Bartholomew's until two and a half years after his institution, whether from ill health or not is unknown. At Easter, 1769, the curate, Mr. Samuel Ward, nominated the churchwarden in the rector's absence; ³ and Mr. W. Hayes, the curate, did the same in 1770.⁴

The rector was present at the Easter vestry in 1771, but did not commence taking the weddings until the 2nd December that year. After that time he took the weddings regularly, and generally attended the vestry meetings. He adopted the practice of signing the registers at the end of each year, and from 1800 to 1811 the baptismal registers are in his own handwriting.⁵ In 1773 he commenced a book of surplice fees for christenings, weddings, churchings, and burials, and this was continued for two years after his death. The scale of fees was settled by the vestry.⁶ In the year 1774 they resolved that in cases of burial of any casual poor person the minister should be paid the lowest rate in the table of fees; but in the case of a settled or pensioned poor person, no money or allowance was to be paid or made: thus was decided the question raised by Mr. Robert Lloyd in 1741.⁷

¹ Owen Edwardes = Damaris, d. of James Perrot.*



* On information Lord Kensington.

² On information by Registrar, Cambridge University, name there is in error Owen Perry Edwardes, and Eugene Perrot Edwards. Register is correctly signed Owen Perrot Edwardes.

³ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 413.

⁴ *Ib.*, 418.

⁵ *Reg.*, No. 10.

⁶ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 452.

⁷ Below, p. 344.

Mr. Edwardes was 38 years of age when he was instituted to St. Bartholomew's. Whether he held another cure before he came we do not know, but in 1787 he was presented to the prebend of Trefloyden, St. Davids.¹

We learn from Malcolm² that he lived at No. 61 Bartholomew Close, for he says, in describing the dorter (which he wrongly calls the refectory) then standing: 'in the south part is a suite of very good apartments inhabited by the rector, Mr. Edwardes, to whom I beg leave to return my thanks for his obliging assistance.'

On the arrival of Mr. Edwardes in the parish, in 1771, some activity appears in church affairs; for in September of that year 'a sum of 40s. was added (by the vestry) to the parish clerk's salary in lieu of all claim of right to the alms given at the sacraments',³ which was probably done at the rector's suggestion.

In the same year a committee was appointed,⁴ which included the rector and churchwardens, to ascertain what repairs to the church were necessary. They reported that repairs were needed to the steeple and that gates were required for the churchyard; but there must have been other matters as well, because the bill amounted to £566,⁵ to pay which they had to borrow £300 at 5 per cent. interest.⁶

At the same time the committee were empowered to treat with Mr. William Edwardes for a lease of the building over the south aisle (then occupied by the Nonconformists for their meetings and their schools) for a rent which was not to exceed £3 a year. The rector broached the matter to his relative, apparently without success; but in April 1772 he was able to report that he had obtained the leave of the patron to block up the windows looking into the church belonging to the trustees of the school, and they were allowed to break out skylights in their place. The trustees were given the sum of twelve pounds for the cost of doing this, together with a new lease of the premises.⁷

There was also another window looking into the church, belonging to a Mrs. Elizabeth Smith, but its situation is not known. Mrs. Smith agreed to this window being blocked up in the year 1773 in consideration of a certain pew in the church being granted to her.

Encroachments outside the church were also vigorously dealt with; for in September 1778 it was ordered that a doorway, opening into the green churchyard from Mr. Hitchcock's workshop, be blocked up at the expense of the parish;⁸ and in December 1781 all other

¹ Le Neve, i, 321.

² V. M. Bk. iii, 430.

³ Ib., 440.

⁴ Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* 289; see also p. 149.

⁵ Ib., 426.

⁶ Ib., 445.

⁷ Ib., 435.

⁸ Ib., 482.

passages which opened into the same churchyard were ordered to be properly secured.¹

In 1799 notice was given to several persons who had made encroachments on the great churchyard, by enclosing part of the ground behind their houses, to throw down their enclosures and to restore the ground within fourteen days.² In the July following it was resolved that Samuel Mitchell, who had encroached 9 ft., John Duck, who had encroached 7½ ft., and T. Fenton, 18 ft., should do the same, or in default pay 1s. a foot in length for the ground encroached upon every year, and give up the ground whenever called upon to do so.³

In 1862 there was a similar case where an encroachment was made into the churchyard during the rebuilding of No. 5 Cloth Fair, after the fire of 1855, which nearly destroyed the Smithfield gate. The archdeacon on that occasion directed that an acknowledgement of 3d. a year be required of the proprietor (Rice).⁴

In February 1775 two houses next to the north door of the church, belonging to the parish, being in a very ruinous condition, were pulled down and the débris carted away.⁵ In April 1776 the overseers granted a sixty-one years' building lease of the ground thus cleared,⁶ and the house built thereon was known as 9½ Cloth Fair, and formed the endowment of the almshouses to which reference has already been made.⁷

In September 1777 the church roof was newly leaded; no estimate was obtained for the work, but it was simply ordered to be done⁸ 'upon the usual terms charged by plumbers for such work'; it is not therefore surprising that the bills for repairs were heavy at this time.

About the year 1791 Thomas Illidge⁹ joined the vestry, and he served the best interests of the parish for forty years. One of the first things he was instrumental in accomplishing was the appointment of a duly qualified man as architect and surveyor both for the church and parish; and from this time, with various lapses, the building has been in safe and professional hands.

It was in August 1789 that a committee was again appointed to report what repairs to the church were necessary.¹⁰ There was evidently some difference of opinion as to what should be done, because the committee did not report until seventeen months later. John Carter,¹¹ writing in 1809, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, concerning the first

¹ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 502.

² *Ib.* iv, 99.

³ *Ib.*, 100.

⁴ *Ib.* vii, 654.

⁵ *Ib.* iii, 461.

⁶ *Ib.*, 467.

⁷ Above, p. 50, and App. II, p. 568.

⁸ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 476.

⁹ Above, p. 289.

¹⁰ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 548.

¹¹ Architect, and draughtsman to the Society of Antiquaries.

visit he made to the church in 1791, says: 'at that time a very powerful junto in the parish had concerted a sort of scheme to sweep the whole remains away, church and all, under the pretence that a certain part of the quire was then in imminent danger of falling'.¹ But better counsels prevailed, and in January 1791 the committee gave in their report,² when the vestry resolved that it was 'necessary that a surveyor should be appointed to overlook and inspect the repairs . . . and that Mr. Hardwick' should be so appointed.³

Thomas Hardwick was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and an architect of some eminence. He designed Marylebone New Church opposite York Gate, Galway Gaol, and various London buildings. He was a pupil and biographer of Sir William Chambers, the architect and designer of Somerset House. Hardwick exhibited in the Royal Academy from 1772 to 1805, and it was he who advised J. M. W. Turner to abandon architecture.⁴

The danger that threatened the church was probably on the north side of the quire, because Hardwick recommended 'that no graves should be sunk within five feet from the pier in the north aisle between the pulpit and Rahere's tomb, or near the opposite pier in the south aisle, as they were in a very decayed state',⁵ and stated past excavations were the cause of the settlement in that part of the church.⁶

Carter, in his paper referred to above, wrote concerning Hardwick, 'We have much to thank an able architect for his professional exertions on the occasion, that in a few judicious repairs we have the very great satisfaction to behold so much of the priory',⁷ and later, 'let me again laud that very excellent artist and true lover of our antiquities for his spirited exertions in the preservation of this church'.⁸

Extensive repairs were now put in hand, which included repairs to the organ and altar-piece.⁹ It was the 'junto' probably that 'ordered that the pillar in the south cross aisle of the church be lined'¹⁰ like the rest; and who, when the new pews were ordered to be painted and not lined, reversed the instruction and ordered them to be lined with green cloth, and the several cushions to be green. The vestry, however, approved Hardwick's plan to take away the pew adjoining the clerk's desk, and to take down and alter the pulpit, the reading desk, and the clerk's desk.¹¹ All this work necessitated a church rate of 1s. in the £.¹² It was also considered necessary to close the church

¹ *Gent. Mag.* lxxix, 226.

² *V. M. Bk.* iv, 8.

³ *V. M. Bk.* iv, 30.

⁷ *Gent. Mag.* lxxix, 226.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, 18.

² The report is not mentioned in the minutes.

⁴ *D. N. B.*

⁶ *Ib.*

⁸ *Ib.*, 327.

¹¹ *Ib.*, 12.

⁹ *V. M. Bk.* iv, 10.

¹² *Ib.*, 23.

from the 28th March until the 1st of January following for the work to proceed. Hardwick's fee, as arranged with the vestry, was £45,¹ but 'having completed the business to universal satisfaction' it was resolved to give him an additional £5.²

Sixteen years later, in 1808, the vestry had again to face the question of repairs, when Hardwick's estimate was accepted, and he was again appointed surveyor.³ In 1812 he was called in to inspect the church tower⁴ and the north wall. He ordered, as regards the latter, that a buttress be built against it, and that the spouts be removed or repaired, and that the bells be put into a proper state for use. This again necessitated the closing of the church for a time.⁵ In fact, the closing of the church, even for cleaning only, was at this period rather frequent, for it was so ordered again in May 1794, in March 1797, and in June 1801.⁶

In 1778 the first recorded attempt was made to warm the church, when three braziers were ordered, payment being made from the church rate.⁷

Considerable activity was also evident at this time in other directions than that of the fabric of the church.

In 1676 the first record occurs of the vestry granting permission to ale houses to take out their licences,⁸ and in a hundred years only two houses, the 'Bell' and the 'Race Horses' were struck off the list for presentation to the alderman for licence,⁹ which was in 1742.

But now there was greater strictness, for in 1772 and in 1778¹⁰ the 'Black Horse' was struck off the list. Several houses in 1781, including the 'Half Moon' tavern, were similarly treated. The latter house was again omitted from the list in 1792.¹¹ In 1783 two licensed victuallers were severely reprimanded at the vestry meeting for suffering card-playing and other irregularities in the 'Baker and Basket' in Middle Street, and the 'Red Lion' in King Street.¹² This action seems to have had some effect, for no other case is recorded until 1803, when the 'Red Lion' was again an offender by allowing tippling during divine service and other irregularities.¹³ The next case was not until 1813, when the 'Sun and Punch Bowl'¹⁴ was omitted from the list for a similar offence, having been duly cautioned the year before.¹⁵

¹ *V. M. Bk.* iv, 10.

² *Ib.*, 272.

³ *Ib.*, 48, 80, 125.

⁴ *Ib.* i, 59.

⁵ *Ib.* iv, 23.

⁶ Above, p. 246.

⁷ *Ib.*, 21.

⁸ *Ib.* iii, 197.

⁹ *Ib.* iii, 508.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, 225.

¹¹ *Ib.*, 278.

¹² *Ib.* iii, 479.

¹³ *Ib.*, 434, 479.

¹⁴ *Ib.* iv, 152.

¹⁵ *V. M. Bk.* iv, 269 and 300.

In 1764 an attempt had been made to prevent the increase of public houses in the parish.¹ And in 1814 Illidge and three others waited on the alderman 'to advise with him on the best way of reducing the number' of them, and 'particularly to endeavour to prevent a transfer of the licence of the "Blue Posts" then shut up'.² This was followed the next year (1815) by no less than five houses being struck off the list at the February sitting, viz. the 'Barley Mow', the 'Admiral Carter', the 'Baker and Basket', the 'Hand and Shears', and the 'Sun and Punch Bowl'.³ The next week the five publicans attended the vestry, and on their undertaking to prevent playing at bagatelle, dominoes, or other games of chance, their houses were reinstated on the list.

After Rector Edwardes' time, viz. in 1834, complaint was made against the 'George the Fourth'⁴ in New Street for being open for dancing and cards until 3 o'clock in the morning. In 1837 the 'Baker and Basket' had apparently acquired such a bad name that it was changed to the 'Queen Victoria',⁵ but even that fair name did not change its character, and now it no longer exists.

In 1838 there were fifteen licensed houses in the parish: the 'White Hart', the 'Red Cow', the 'Barley Mow', and the 'Sun and Punch Bowl', in Long Lane; the 'Queen's Head and French Horn', and the 'Half Moon',⁶ in Duke Street, now Little Britain; the 'Admiral Carter', the 'Goldsmiths' Arms', the 'Blackey's Head', the 'Rose and Crown', and the 'Coach and Horses', in Bartholomew Close; the 'Hand and Shears', and the 'Queen Victoria', in Middle Street; the 'Rising Sun' in Cloth Fair; and the 'King George the Fourth' in New Street.⁷ Of these fifteen houses, in the year 1914 the 'Sun and Punch Bowl', the 'Half Moon', the 'Blackey's Head', the 'Queen Victoria', and the 'George IV' have gone, whilst the other ten remain. In addition there is the 'Lock and Key', 62 West Smithfield, which, though practically in this parish, is actually in that of St. Sepulchre.

In 1848 the vestry protested against a licence for another public-house being transferred to the parish,⁸ probably the 'Dick Whittington',⁹ which is not otherwise referred to in the parish records. In that year the Corporation itself took over the licensing.

Rector Edwardes' times were those of war abroad: the American War of Independence, 1775-1781; the French Revolution, 1789; and the war with France. The battle of the Nile took place in 1798; that of Trafalgar in 1805; and of Waterloo in 1815. The unrest at

¹ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 385.

² *Ib.* iv, 330.

³ *Ib.*, 344.

⁴ *Ib.* vii, 112.

⁵ *Ib.*, 179.

⁶ The old 'Half Moon' was off Aldersgate Street.

⁷ *V. M. Bk.* vii, 183.

⁸ *Ib.*, 326.

⁹ Above, p. 246.

home is reflected in various ways in the parish records. In May 1770 the number of watchmen was increased to nine, and they were ordered to beat the stations every half-hour on account of the losses occasioned by house-breaking.¹ In the January previous the parish constable had let a prisoner escape, whereby a charge was brought on the parish, and the vestry allowed the constable a fortnight to produce him.² In 1777 the watchmen were provided with rattles.³ In January 1771 was the case already referred to, where a parishioner, having brought a man to Tyburn for felony, his assignee produced a Tyburn ticket whereby he was excused from serving the office of constable.⁴ This was an office the serving of which, especially at this time, was naturally avoided, where there was any pretext for doing so, as it was very onerous. In 1777 one Thomas Corbyn claimed exemption from serving in consequence of being free of the Apothecaries Company.⁵ In 1773 doors were ordered to be placed in Middlesex Court passage, where they are still, and to be shut every night.⁶ On the 2nd June 1780 the Gordon 'No Popery' riots took place, when Lord George Gordon headed a mob of 4,000 persons, which pillaged and burnt as it went, to carry the petition of the Protestant Association to Parliament. It was quelled on the 8th, when 210 rioters were killed and 248 wounded, of whom 75 died in the hospitals, and many were tried and executed.⁷ On that day John Eliot, the Quaker, wrote to his wife from his house, No. 60 in the Close, as follows : ⁸

'Barthol^w. Close,
8th 6 mo. 1780.
10th hr. evening.

'MY DEAR,

I have the comfort to inform thee that through Divine Mercy we have been hitherto very still this evening, altho' from reports circulated abroad it was expected to be one of the most dreadful that had yet happened, several houses and places being marked out for destruction and messages sent to that Effect.

'The quiet we enjoy is not to be attributed to any change in the minds of the populace, but under providence to the Great Number of Soldiers Horse and Foot that have come into the City and patrolle about the streets.

'But the scenes have been very distressing, deep sorrow covering many countenances. Our neighbour Townsend has been concerned for their Daughters who were dismayed with Fear and requested they might be at our House. The young women, on the other hand, loth to leave their Parents, caused a struggle of Nature and

¹ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 419.

² *Ib.*, 415.

³ *Ib.*, 477.

⁴ Above, p. 339 ; and *V. M. Bk.* iii, 422.

⁵ *Ib.*, 477.

⁶ *Ib.*, 448.

⁷ Haydn, *Bk. of Dates*, p. 449.

⁸ Eliot Howard, *The Eliot Papers*, i, 96.

tender parting. I got them at length to Barthw. Close where they lodge. James Townsend & wife have also sent some of their effects to our house as did Cous^e. Tibey and came herself, the House she lives in being threatened to be burnt this evening. I hope the Lord is now putting a stop to this monstrous wickedness, for, indeed, who could have borne it much longer? I think it could hardly have been borne.

6th Day morn^g.¹ 'We have pass^d a quiet night in which I do not hear of any disturbance being caused by the Rioters. If this repose continues I probably may come down to thee this evening: I believe there would be no danger in thy coming to town, but as I have some thoughts of our being at Peel on First day thou mayest consider whether to defer it till then.

I remain Thy affectionate Husband

JOHN ELIOT.'

On the 14th June the vestry minutes record that 'the inhabitants in general having formed themselves into an association to secure themselves and others from the attacks and outrages of a tumultuous rabble, and their property from being destroyed by their means: this vestry, after mature deliberation, approve of their plan';² and they directed the churchwardens to defray the expense of their meetings at not exceeding 10s. a night. In October 1782 a riot tax was assessed upon the parish amounting to £40 2s. 0d.³

On the 21st December 1792 a general meeting of the proprietors of lands and tenements, housekeepers, and inhabitants was held in the church. Lord Kensington, the patron and principal landlord, was nominated to the chair, but owing to indisposition he was represented by his cousin the rector. The following resolution was proposed and carried:

'Impressed as we are with a deep and sure sense of the many great and invaluable blessings which we enjoy under the present mild and happy form of government, and holding as we do with the utmost indignation and abhorrence the many daring attempts which have lately been made in several wicked and seditious publications to convert the fair scene of plenty liberty and order into tumult anarchy and confusion' . . . We avow 'that we bear true allegiance to his Majesty King George III and will with the becoming spirit of Englishmen support the constitution of King, Lords & Commons as by Law established . . .'

The meeting then appointed a committee to preserve order within the gates of the parish.⁴

In 1799, owing to the disturbed state of affairs, and want of command of the seas, there was great dearth in the land; and in December the

¹ 9th probably intended.

³ *Ib.*, 505.

² *V. M. Bk.* iii, 493.

⁴ *Ib.* iv, 33.

vestry ordered that in consequence of the present high price of provisions the contractor for the poor children of the parish, then at Enfield, be advanced to 3s. 6d. a week. And for the same reason it was resolved that the festivals usually held on St. Thomas' Day and Ascension Day, and churchwardens' feasts be discontinued during pleasure.¹ Twelve months later, in December 1800, it was resolved that the expense of the vestry suppers in future be defrayed by those who attend them, except the 15s. allowed by the vestry.²

There was an Act of Parliament passed at this time diminishing the consumption of bread by the poor, and, in consequence, the daily allowance was reduced from 15 oz. to 12 oz., but 1 lb. of rice a week was allowed instead.³

Owing to the naval war with France, in April 1795 a 'vestry was held in pursuance of an Act of Parliament entitled an Act for raising a certain number of men in the several counties of England for the service of the Navy'.⁴ This parish, with that of St. Martin, Ludgate, had to find five men between them. The matter was left in the hands of the churchwardens and overseers to carry out.

In January 1797, in pursuance of a precept by the Lord Mayor, a meeting of the churchwardens, overseers, and other inhabitants of St. Bartholomew the Less, St. Sepulchre, and St. Bartholomew the Great, was held in the vestry room of this parish, to ascertain the proportion that each parish should contribute towards thirteen men for the army. The Rev. O. P. Edwardes was in the chair. It was agreed that the proportion should be three men by St. Bartholomew the Great, one by St. Bartholomew the Less, and eight by St. Sepulchre's, this parish to raise the thirteenth man.⁵ And at a vestry meeting of the parish the same day the churchwardens and overseers were authorized to raise the men the best way they could.⁶

In 1797 the Spanish fleet was destroyed off Cape St. Vincent, and the victory was obtained at Camperdown over the Dutch fleet; and so 19th December, we learn from the Preachers' Book, was a 'day of general thanksgiving for the naval victories obtained in the present war', when the rector preached, and the king went in procession to St. Paul's. The 29th November 1798 was also kept as a 'day of general thanksgiving for signal victory obtained by Admiral Nelson off the Nile';⁷ and 5th December 1805 was kept as a day of thanksgiving for the victory obtained under the command of the late Lord Nelson 'after the battle of Trafalgar', when the collection in all

¹ *V. M. Bk.* iv, 105.

² *Ib.*, 117.

³ *Ib.*, 119.

⁴ *Ib.*, 57.

⁵ *Ib.*, 77.

⁶ *Ib.*, 78.

⁷ Parish Safe, P.B. 4.

amounted to over £35. 7th July 1814 was a 'Thanksgiving day for Peace'¹ between England and the United States; this took place after Rector Edwardes' death, but before his successor was instituted.

The vestry during Rector Edwardes' time still remained all-powerful in church affairs, as well as in parochial government; for in October 1782 it is recorded that they 'consented to allow the use of the church to the gentlemen appointed to preach the Thursday sermons'.²

In the early morning of the 14th July 1768, four months before the institution of Rector Edwardes, a destructive fire broke out at Seddon's, the great cabinet-makers, in what is now Manchester Avenue, formerly London House, the residence of the Bishop of London. The damage was computed at £20,000,³ and Seddon had by accident allowed his insurance policy to lapse.⁴

The fire is thus referred to by John Eliot, the Quaker,⁵ then living at 60 Bartholomew Close :

'B. Close 14, 7 mo. 1768.
5 day.

'DEAR SISTER,

After a day spent with much Fatigue and Anxiety of mind I am set down to write to thee . . . For this morning very early we were alarmed with the cry of Fire, so near as London House and it burned with great rapidity in a very dreadful manner till Day Break, and I think, a while after, before it was at all got under. During which time there seemed but little probability but that we should be burnt down, . . . but ever be remembered with Gratitude the Gracious Interposition of the Divine Hand which prevented the fury of the flames reaching to us although they had communicated themselves to (late) neighbour Locke's back warehouse and as there is a great deal of slight Timber building, had it not then providentially been stopt, we must have been in the greatest danger imaginable, indeed I think we were very much so as it was. The manner of which Deliverance was thus. There came an engine before our door, the Leather Pipe of which they laid along through the great warehouse on the ground floor and came in with it behind, by which means they got at the Fire and happily extinguished it, preventing its spreading further our way.'

He then goes on to explain how he and his wife moved all their furniture and household goods into a neighbour's, and brought them back when the danger was gone. It must have been a large fire to have spread from London House to that of Crisp Locke, who, according to the rate collector's books, had been living next door to John Eliot at 59 Bartholomew's Close.

¹ Parish Safe, P.B. 5.

² *Ann. Reg.*, 1768, p. 138; *Gent. Mag.* xxxviii, 347.

³ *Eliot Papers*, i, 94, and App. II, p. 574.

V. M. Bk. iii, 505.

Gent. Mag. liii, 974.

On the 5th November 1783, at a quarter past one at night, a still worse fire broke out in the same part of the parish, in the workshops behind Seddon's dwelling-house in Aldersgate Street, and the shops, being full of cabinet work and rough mahogany, burnt furiously. More than 50 houses adjoining were either burnt or rendered uninhabitable. 'At daybreak several families were sitting round what few effects they had saved in Smithfield, some half dressed, and others without clothes, wrapped in carpets and blankets.'¹ The damage was estimated at over £100,000. So great was the exodus of the inhabitants caused by the fire that there was difficulty in obtaining a sufficient number of vestry men, and it was found necessary to reduce for the time the amount of the fines for not serving the parochial offices. By this means more men were induced to fine, and as a man who had fined became a member of the vestry, so the number of the vestry men was increased.

In 1830, in addition to the fire which broke out by the church in May (referred to elsewhere),² another devastating fire broke out on the night of the 11th August in the adjoining premises of Houghton & Messenger, wholesale oil merchants (late Houghton & Sons).³ It was half an hour before a supply of water could be obtained, so the fire rapidly spread to Adlard's the printers, and to Seddon's the upholsterers, the scene of the previous fires. The immense quantity of oil from Houghton's made its way to the plug holes and interfered with the engines: about 10 barrels of oil were secured by watermen at Blackfriars Bridge, who scooped it whilst floating on the water. From Seddon's the flames extended to some wooden stables at the back of Queen's Square, from which 80 coach horses were saved. Three other houses were destroyed, and over 20 damaged, but the Queen's Square houses and the Albion Tavern were saved by the falling walls of the burning houses which smothered the flames. The exertions of the firemen were greatly facilitated by the parish gates being kept closed.

Another disastrous fire occurred at Houghton's oil warehouse on the 7th July 1917, when two bombs were dropped from enemy aeroplanes, whereby the senior partner, Mr. B. S. Browning, and two of the oldest members of the staff, were killed whilst, with great courage, seeing the rest of the staff into a place of safety. The premises at once burst into flames, the walls fell, and Evans Sons, Lescher & Webb's warehouse on the other side of the narrow street was set on fire by the flames and the intense heat; it was, however, saved by the

¹ *Ann. Reg.*, 1783, p. 220; *Gent. Mag.* liii, pt. 2, p. 974.

² Above, p. 54.

³ *The Times*, 12 Aug. 1830; *St. Barth. Hosp. Journ.*, Aug. 1906, p. 170.

company's own fire brigade and by the drenchers fixed to the outside of the building. Five in all lost their lives at Houghton's, and the bodies, being covered by the fallen walls, were not recovered until ten days later, though a company of Royal Engineers was employed to remove the débris.

During the whole of Rector Edwardes' time the vestry had disagreements with St. Botolph's parish concerning the parish bounds, which are fully described elsewhere.¹ In 1747 a committee was appointed to wait on the Bishop of London in the matter.² In 1768 encroaching boundary marks of St. Botolph's were ordered by the vestry to be taken down.³ In 1771 the Corporation were petitioned to appoint surveyors to settle the matter, but with no result.⁴ In 1783 a surveyor was appointed to assist the churchwardens in settling the bounds where the fire above described had occurred.⁵ In 1792, George Seddon, whose premises were destroyed by the fire, had removed certain boundary marks, which he was ordered to reinstate; and in 1801, John Yeates, who occupied the premises formerly those of the Half Moon Tavern, and who had always paid rates to St. Bartholomew's parish, was distrained for the church rate by St. Botolph's parish.⁶ The vestry defended their rights before the Recorder, who decided in favour of St. Bartholomew's, but as this did not settle the matter the parishes agreed to petition the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, as had been done in Seddon's case. Hardwick was appointed to act as surveyor in drawing up the petition; but as he was not allowed access to Yeates' cellar, for this and other reasons it was decided to stop further steps in the matter,⁷ and so the quarrel went on. In 1805 St. Botolph's again affixed their marks on Yeates' premises, which were straightway removed; and the same thing occurred again in 1807 and in 1813.⁸ In 1814, Illidge having reported that the plan of 1767 was considered by his committee to be very inaccurate, Hardwick was instructed to take an actual survey of the ancient boundaries and to make a correct plan of the parish. Illidge was requested, for the assistance of Hardwick, to collect all the documents in the vestry relating to the boundaries, and to examine all the vestry books, churchwardens' accounts, and rate books and other books, plans, &c., not in the possession of the vestry.⁹ This was duly done, and Illidge's notes (as stated elsewhere) are still in the belfry cupboard.¹⁰ The dispute then lay more

¹ Above, p. 206.

² *Ib.*, 425.

³ *Ib.*, 513.

⁴ *Ib.* iv, 140.

⁵ *Ib.*, 186, 214, 312.

² *V. M. Bk.* iii, 260.

⁴ *Ib.*, 431.

⁷ *Ib.*, 145.

⁹ *Ib.* iv, 339/40.

¹⁰ Belfry cupboard, drawer 17, bundle 8, sec. 6. See also list of plans in *Inventory Bk.* in Parish Safe.

or less dormant until 1825, when Illidge had to report another encroachment by St. Botolph's on Seddon's premises, and also in Cox's Court; but the churchwarden and vestry clerk of St. Botolph's having expressed a wish to settle the differences by a friendly conference, the matter was ended by this means, through Illidge and two others (as already stated).¹

In 1772 the vestry had to deal with the obstruction of Cox's passage, on the south side of the present Manchester Hotel, but this is also referred to elsewhere.²

As regards the parish map: in the year 1707³ it was ordered that John Olley be paid £6 for surveying and making a map of the parish, and in 1767 the further plan mentioned above was ordered to be made. This plan of 1767 is in the parish safe.⁴ Hardwick's plan, though nearly finished in 1822,⁵ was apparently never completed by him; for in September 1825 the vestry requested a Mr. Bedford to finish the plan (though Hardwick did not die until 1829), and to present it to a vestry to be held on the first Wednesday in November following for the special purpose of receiving it.⁶ What then happened does not appear, for the map, which now hangs in the vestry over the west porch, is inscribed with the names, among others, of the churchwardens Richard Bell and John Dawkins, the former of whom was appointed senior warden at the Easter vestry of 1828; but it is also stated thereon that it was 'surveyed by the order of the vestry by Mr. Thos. Bedford, surveyor and builder of Goswell Road St. Luke's in the year . . .', but the letters and figures of the year have perished. The whole map is much discoloured and injured and parts of the lettering are illegible, but still it remains a valuable local record. It measures without the frame 4 ft. 3½ in. by 3 ft. Hardwick wrote⁷ to Illidge on the 20th July 1814, quoting £40 for making an outline plan only of the parish, and £20 more if the lines of the streets were filled in. In 1822 the vestry sold to Sir William Rawlins a shed in the passage leading through the Smithfield gate for £50, which sum it was decided that the churchwarden should retain 'to defray the expense of the plan then nearly completed'.⁸ This £50, however, was instead carried to the credit of the consolidated rate; but in October 1829 it was ordered to be withdrawn and to remain in the hands of the treasurer, for the purpose originally intended.⁹ £30 of this was paid to Thomas Bedford, and Hardwick apparently received nothing.

¹ Above, p. 208, and *V. M. Bk.* iv, 548.

² Above, p. 211.

³ *V. M. Bk.* i, 415.

⁴ Parish Safe, F, Roll 10.

⁵ *V. M. Bk.* iv, 492.

⁶ *Ib.*, 551.

⁷ See letter in Parish Safe, drawer 17, Illidge's bundle 8.

⁸ *V. M. Bk.* iv, 492.

⁹ *Ib.* vii, 32.

The vestry were still not satisfied with this plan, for in February 1832 they took steps to appoint a surveyor to make a ground plan of the parish,¹ but it would seem that no appointment was made, since in September 1836 it was resolved that the balance of £20 from the £50 set apart in 1829 'for making a plan of the parish which was not completed' should be applied to the erection of a new vestry.²

Thomas Illidge was so much respected for his work in the parish that it must have been a shock to his fellow parishioners when the incident occurred which is related in the following vestry minute of the 30th April 1813: ³

'A letter read from John Jarvis now under sentence of two years' imprisonment in Newgate, for presenting a loaded pistol at the churchwarden, Mr. Illidge, with intent to kill him, humbly acknowledging his great offence and begging Mr. Illidge and the vestry pardon, at the same time supplicating some relief from the parish, as without it he was in danger of perishing from want, he being also 74 years of age. On the motion of Mr. Illidge it was ordered that he be allowed 2/- a week during the pleasure of the overseers and vestry.'

There are several instances at this time of careful management of parochial affairs, thus:

In 1774 the beadle's duties were exactly defined and entered on the minutes, and the same was done as regards the vestry clerk's duties in 1778.⁴ In the year 1786 the vestry had to make a return of charitable donations given by deed or will for the benefit of the poor, a copy of which the vestry ordered to be deposited in the chest in the vestry.⁵ In 1805 a box was ordered in which to keep maps and other documents relating to the boundaries, which was produced to the vestry in June 1807.⁶ (It is now drawer No. 18 in the belfry cupboard.) In 1809 the parish registers were kept at the rector's house; a resolution by the churchwarden was about to be moved when they were deposited in the vestry, agreeably with the 70th canon.⁷ In 1813 an inventory of the parish registers had, by Act of Parliament, to be deposited in an iron chest, provided by the parish; and this was ordered to be done,⁸ but there is no such chest now in the church. In 1811 it was ordered that an extract from the will of Lady Saye and Sele concerning the almshouses be entered in the vestry book;⁹

¹ *V. M. Bk.* vii, 87.

² *Ib.*, 165.

³ *Ib.* iv, 315.

⁴ *Ib.* iii, 454 and 490, and in 1805, *ib.* iv, 192. See App. II, pp. 562, 563 for beadle's fees from publicans, *ib.* iv, 459.

⁵ *Ib.* iii, 526, and App. II, p. 564.

⁶ *V. M. Bk.* iv, 215.

⁷ *Ib.*, 255.

⁸ *Ib.*, 298.

⁹ *Ib.*, 260.

and in 1812 it was ordered that it should be the business of the vestry clerk to read over the minutes of the preceding vestry and submit the same to be confirmed.¹

In October 1809 the vestry, on the invitation of the alderman of the ward, met to consider the way in which they should celebrate the Jubilee of the accession of King George III. It was decided that the poor at each of the workhouses, at Islington and Bear Lane, should be provided with a dinner, not to exceed 3 guineas, like that of the Charity children, and that a dinner, not to exceed £3, should be given to the watchmen.²

The services in the church during Rector Edwardes' time were on Sunday: morning prayer 10.30 a.m., evening prayer at 3 p.m. (by the lecturer). On Saints' days morning prayer was at 11.30. On Good Friday the services were at 11 a.m., 2 p.m., and 'a gift sermon paid by the churchwarden 10s. 6d.' There were sermons in Lent on Wednesdays and Fridays. In some years three months and more elapsed during which the rector did not preach at all.³ He always had, it would seem, a curate as well as a lecturer.

By 1812 Owen Perrot Edwardes was in his 83rd year. He was still signing the registers, but his signature was made with a trembling hand. He had preached his last sermon on the 9th October 1808.

There is no reference to his death in the vestry books, but we learn from his memorial tablet in the church that he died on the 20th April 1814,⁴ and from the register⁵ that he was buried in the church on the 28th April, aged 84, and that his abode was still in the Close. This tablet was the only memorial to any rector in the church at that time. During the sequestration of the living the churchwarden ('by inadvertence' the vestry said) permitted this small marble tablet to be erected 'immediately over the Communion Table'; they therefore resolved, 'by general consent of all parties,' that it should be removed to some part of the body of the church. The tablet was at first inscribed:

Beneath the Altar
Are deposited the remains of
The Rev. Owen Perrot Edwardes, M.A.,
Forty-five years Rector of this parish,
Who died April the XX, MDCCCXIV
Aged LXXXIV years.

The words 'Beneath the Altar' were later clumsily altered to 'Beneath this tablet', but for what reason is not clear, because if he

¹ *V. M. Bk.* iv, 268.

² Parish Safe, P.B. 2.

³ Par. Reg. xvii, 8.

⁴ *Ib.*, 236.

⁵ His will is not in the P.C.C. 1814.

were buried beneath the altar the inscription remained accurate, though the tablet was moved; and if he were not there buried, the alteration in the inscription would have necessitated the tablet being removed to the exact position of his entombment and not merely to 'some part of the body of the church'. In 1865 the tablet was placed on the brick filling in of the arched entrance to the south chapel, whence it was removed in the year 1914 to the easternmost recessed bay in the north aisle, when the arch of the south chapel was opened out.

CHAPTER XX

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (PART I)

JOHN RICHARDS ROBERTS, B.D., RECTOR 1814-1819.

BEFORE the death of Rector Edwardes, Lord Kensington, who at this time was selling his property at St. Bartholomew's, disposed of the advowson of the benefice to William Phillips, Esq., of Grosvenor Place,¹ whose intention was to present his young brother-in-law, John Abbiss, when duly qualified. As Abbiss was then only twenty-one years of age the arrangement already referred to² had to be made, and on the 23rd September 1814 John Richards Roberts was instituted to the rectory, as set out in the episcopal register,³ 'by William (Howley) Bishop of London, vacant by the death of Owen Perrot Edwardes . . . on the presentation of Mr. William Phillips', and a mandate was issued for the Archdeacon of London for his induction.

J. R. Roberts was son of John Roberts of Barnstaple, gentleman. He entered Trinity College, Oxford, where he matriculated on the 8th December 1794, aged 19 (being therefore some 18 years older than Abbiss). He was a Fellow of the College until 1825. He graduated B.A. in 1798, M.A. in 1801; B.D. in 1810. After he had left St. Bartholomew's in 1819⁴ he became, in 1822, Vice-president of the College, and in 1823 Senior Bursar. Before coming to St. Bartholomew's he was, on the 11th October 1805, instituted to the rectory of Hornblottom, Somerset, which he held concurrently with St. Bartholomew's; in April 1821 he signed the preachers' book here as Rector of Hornblottom. In October 1824, after he had left St. Bartholomew's, he was presented with the Trinity College living of Rotherfield Greys, Oxon., which he held till his death on the 20th June 1843.⁵ In November 1812 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Rector Roberts seems to have been a hard worker, for he took the majority of the christenings, weddings, and burials at St. Bartholomew's himself. He attended the first vestry meeting held after his institution, on the 11th October 1814, and was generally present at the meetings during the remainder of the years he was here. He

¹ Above, p. 295.

² Reg. Lond., Randolph, f. 41.

³ Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*, 1207.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 296.

⁵ Parish Safe, P.B. 6.

was apparently popular in the parish from the first. The only records we have of Easter offerings being made to the clergy are contained in a small collector's book preserved in the belfry cupboard.¹ The earliest of these records is of the year 1814, when £25 was collected for Rector Edwardes; whilst in 1815 and 1816 £29 was collected each year for Mr. Roberts. The book for 1817 is missing but the collection in 1818 was £28 16s. 6d. The next record is not until 1860, when for ten years the collections for his successor varied from £2. 17s. 6d. to £1 6s. 6d., but in the interval the upper middle-class residents had to a large extent migrated.

In 1817 the death of the young Princess Charlotte Augusta made a great impression in the country, which was fully shared at St. Bartholomew's. She was the only child of George IV, and died in childbirth whilst he was still the Prince of Wales. The people hoped she would bring a purer life into the Court when she became Queen. On the 18th November the vestry passed a resolution² in which they referred to 'the great national loss' and their own 'respect and affection for the memory of a princess whose virtues ornamented her illustrious position, and were calculated to raise the highest expectations when in the course of events she should occupy the dignified station in the British Empire which the nation fondly hoped she was destined to fulfil'. The vestry ordered the pulpit and reading desk to be hung with mourning and they requested the rector 'to appoint such public service in the church to-morrow, the 19th, the day of the interment, as he may deem to be suitable and proper'. They further ordered a minute bell to be tolled, and they sent round the parish a recommendation that all the houses and shops should be closed throughout the day.

At the next meeting of the vestry a vote of thanks was passed³ 'for the handsome and satisfactory manner in which he (the Rector) complied with their request', 'also for the very appropriate sermon which he preached on that solemn occasion'.

By vote of the vestry the church was put into similar mourning on the occasion of the death of George III,⁴ in 1820, and of William IV in 1837.⁵ In 1822 the vestry passed a resolution of regret on the death of Queen Caroline.⁶

The vestry records again illustrate, in their own way, the disturbed condition of the country at the cessation of the war with France. After the battle of Waterloo many people were thrown out of employ-

Drawer 9, Bks. of Easter offerings.

¹ *Ib.*, 388.

² *Ib.* vii, 176.

³ *V. M. Bk.* iv, 385.

⁴ *Ib.*, 426.

⁵ *Ib.* iv, 466.

ment, there was much distress, and many riots resulted. The principal riot in London occurred in December 1816, and is known as the Spafields riot. This explains the reason for the following acknowledgement being entered in the vestry minutes on the 30th March 1819.¹ 'Feby. 6th, 1819, Mr. Sexton, churchwarden of the precinct of Bartholomew the Great, has this day paid me ten pounds for the assessment raised to defray the expenses for damages, &c. occasioned by the riot in December 1816. W. Reeve.' It also accounts for the following resolution proposed by the rector at the vestry on the 11th December 1816:² 'That a subscription be immediately entered into for establishing a fund for the relief of the poor of this parish.'

The next year, 1817, matters became worse and more threatening, and the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for a year. In 1819 there was more rioting, accompanied by a strong demand for universal suffrage and a large measure of Parliamentary reform. The vestry thereupon appointed a committee to act 'on behalf of the parish as circumstances may require in reference to the public meeting in Smithfield'.³

As regards the fabric of the church, heavy repairs and expenditure were again necessary. In June 1815 it was 'ordered (once more) that the church be repaired and beautified'; the whole of the vestrymen were appointed⁴ a committee in the matter and inspected the church with Mr. Hardwick.⁵ Tenders were this time invited, and one for £236 was accepted. In addition to this, £45 was expended on repairs to the organ, £120 on lining the pews, and £33 on furniture for the pulpit, reading desk and clerk's desk;⁶ but some other large work must have been undertaken, for in the following March when the workmen's bills were presented by the churchwardens, they amounted to about £1,250. This large sum was met by borrowing £400 on a life annuity in addition to £700 already borrowed,⁷ and the next month a committee was appointed to ascertain from the records whether the repairs of the chancel belonged to the rector or the parish.⁸

The result of this inquiry does not appear; but a similar inquiry had been held in 1737, and in the case then submitted for counsel's opinion⁹ it was stated that the rector for the time being had always claimed and enjoyed a right to the chancel and of letting the pews

¹ *V. M. Bk.* iv, 403.

² *Ib.*, 410.

³ *Ib.*, 352.

⁴ *Ib.*, 364.

⁵ Belfry cupboard, drawer 18, bundle 1.

⁶ *Ib.*, 373.

⁷ *Ib.*, 349, 351.

⁸ *Ib.*, 353.

⁹ *Ib.*, 365.

and the ground there, and also that the rectors had been at the expense of the repairs. The opinion given was 'that the burden of the repairs of the chancel lyed upon the rector who was likewise entitled to the benefit of it'; but that opinion was apparently subject to proof being forthcoming that the repairs had usually been done by the rectors.

In 1821 the vestry again ordered that a committee, with Mr. Illidge, 'should take the opinion of some eminent civilian to ascertain who was liable to pay towards the repairs and expenses of the church'.¹ A case was prepared for the opinion of Mr. Swabey, of Doctors' Commons,² on the points of the liability for repairs to the chancel, and to the paying of the church rate by the glebe houses, and other matters, in which it was set out that 'the churchwardens (had) time out of memory claimed and received all fees for breaking the ground, for laying down grave stones, for erecting monuments, tablets, &c., and for letting the seats in the body of the church; while the rectors (had) always claimed and received the fees for the same things in the chancel'.

The opinion given was that 'under all the circumstances stated', the rector was 'the person by whom the chancel of the church ought in this parish to be kept in repair', 'a burden which, by the custom of England, falls on the incumbents of benefices, unless in certain cases which are exceptions to the general rule of law, as in many of the parishes of the City of London': (he) 'would doubt, however, of the incumbents of those parishes having the benefit arising from the pews or the ground'. Assuming that the rector was obliged to repair the chancel, he was of opinion that the parish would be deprived of the power of rating him, or his tenants, for the 'glebe houses which were part of the endowment of the church'.

At the restoration of the church, in 1885, the patron, the Rev. Frederick Parr Phillips, by way of recognizing this obligation of the rector to repair the chancel—an obligation which by no means devolved upon the patron—contributed £650 for the reclaiming of that portion of the fringe factory that projected into the chancel and also £1,500 for its restoration.

A fortnight before Rector Roberts was instituted, it had been suggested 'that great benefit would accrue to the inhabitants, particularly to the working part of it, and it would be of great service to the watchmen by regulating their nocturnal duty, if the quarters were added to the new clock', and this was ordered to be done.³ When

¹ *V. M. Bk. iv*, 453.

² Belfry cupboard, drawer 18, bundle 1.

³ *V. M. Bk. iv*, 336.

completed in February, at a cost of £158, 'it was deemed necessary to have a larger bell for the clock to strike, so the former bell, weighing 104 lb., was exchanged—or rather recast—by Mears at the White-chapel foundry¹ for a bell weighing 3 cwt. 2 qrs. 22 lb. at an additional cost of £31.² 'The clock and bell being for the use, not only of the present but also of the future inhabitants of the parish, it was ordered, as most equitable and proper, that the money received by the churchwarden from Sir William Rawlins', £180, for the small scrivener's shop at the south-west corner of the Smithfield gate (now a stationer's) 'should be appropriated to the payment of the accounts for the clock and bell'.³ The purchase of this shop by Sir William Rawlins is dealt with under the year 1908, when the shop was bought back at a price far exceeding the value of the striking of the quarters by the clock.⁴

Unfortunately there is no record, either here or at the foundry, of the inscription on this bell. It is possible this light bell may have been a treble on the top of the present five bells, but it is more likely that it was an ancient *Sanctus* bell belonging to the church which, after the suppression, was made to serve the purposes of the clock.⁵

In 1819 the tenants of the houses facing the great churchyard had begun to use it as a place for drying clothes (unfortunately the poor had nowhere else to dry them); but the vestry very properly stopped this by threatening to cut down their lines and to block up their doors.⁶

In the same year there was another encroachment by a Mr. W. H. Smith, who had made a door into the passage leading to the Charity School. He was allowed to continue the use of the door on payment of 2s. a year, on condition that he blocked it up when called upon to do so.⁷

Also in 1819 the vestry had to consider what was best to be done in reference to the admission or rejection of iron coffins into the burial ground or church.⁸ Three years later, in 1822, they petitioned against their use, mainly on the ground that as iron was not subject to decay, the graveyards would soon be filled.⁹

In 1816 the glebe house on the south side of the entrance to the Great Close having been pulled down, it was proposed, by an exchange of ground and the erection of iron instead of wooden gates, to improve the entrance.¹⁰ After inspecting the site with Hardwick it was

¹ On the information of Mr. R. A. Daniell.

² *V. M. Bk.* iv, 344.

³ *Ib.*, 344.

⁴ See below, p. 437.

⁵ Mr. R. A. Daniell; for other notes on the bells see above, p. 112.

⁶ *V. M. Bk.* iv, 418.

⁷ *Ib.*, 413.

⁸ *Ib.*, 406.

⁹ *Ib.*, 488.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, 368.

decided to let the wooden gates remain, as they were in good condition, and that the vestry could not consent to any alteration that would contract the passage; so Hardwick was requested to make a correct plan¹ showing the brick wall of the basement and to see that no encroachments were made on the public footway.

In the same year, on the election of a man again instead of a woman to the post of sexton, the duties of that office were fully set out (as detailed in the Appendix).²

The exact date of Rector Roberts' resignation is not recorded, but he preached on the 21st November 1819, and signed 'Rector', and again on the 28th when he did not add 'Rector' after his name, so his resignation probably took place between those two dates.³ To show the esteem in which Mr. Roberts was held by the vestry, on the 2nd January following (1820), they passed a vote of thanks to him;⁴ and on the 6th April they entered *in extenso* on their minutes a letter thanking them and accepting an invitation to a complimentary dinner.

JOHN ABBISS, M.A., RECTOR 1819-1883.

On the 24th December 1819, John Abbiss (pl. XCVI, p. 374) was instituted by William Howley, Bishop of London, to the rectory 'vacant by the resignation of J. R. Roberts, on the presentation of (his brother-in-law) William Phillips of Cavendish Square, co. Middlesex, Esquire'.⁵

He was the son of John Abbiss (Esquire) and Mary Abbiss of Wandsworth, Surrey. He entered Winchester College in 1807,⁶ of which he was prefect in VIth Book in 1811⁷ and captain in 1812.⁸

He matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford (where J. R. Roberts was then a fellow), on the 17th October 1810.⁹ He was an exhibitor there from 1810 to 1813, and a scholar from 1813 to 1820. He took a second class in Lit. Hum. in 1814, and graduated M.A. in 1817.¹⁰

He was ordained deacon, in Salisbury Cathedral, on the 6th August 1815,¹¹ and priest on the 19th December 1819 (five days before his institution). It was probably after he was ordained deacon and before he was ordained priest that he made the grand tour, and other travels to which he used to refer.

¹ Parish Safe, plan 8.

² *V. M. Bk.* iv, 372; App. II, p. 563.

³ Parish Safe, P.B. 6.

⁴ *V. M. Bk.* iv, 426.

⁵ Reg. Lond., Randolph, f. 54.

⁶ MS. at Manor House, Stoke d'Abernon.

⁷ Information by Mr. H. Chitty, bursar.

⁸ Information by Rector Abbiss to W. H. Jackson, vestry clerk.

⁹ Foster, *Alumni*, and Keeper of Archives, Oxford, say aged 17, really 18.

¹⁰ *Ib.*; also Hennessy, *Nov. Rep.*, p. 101, and lxvi.

¹¹ Salisbury Dioc. Register.

He was no stranger at St. Bartholomew's at the time of his institution, for, as a deacon, he conducted a funeral here in 1816 and another in 1818, and many times towards the close of 1819. In the latter year he also preached during July, August, and October;¹ he took a wedding in the July and a christening in December² of the same year.

He preached his first sermon as rector two days after his induction, and he continued to preach here Sunday after Sunday for 54 years; his last sermon being on the 7th December 1873.

He very seldom allowed any one but himself and the lecturer to occupy the pulpit. It is told³ how on one occasion Mr. W. H. Jackson (the father of the vestry clerk) had obtained a promise from Dr. Lightfoot to preach the annual sermon for the benefit of the parochial schools in the presence of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs. Mr. Abbiss objected with the remark that he 'could not have a man like that', so the chaplain to Queen Victoria, who later became the well-known Bishop of Durham, had to be put off. Very occasionally he allowed a relative to preach, such as Mr. W. Spenser Phillips, of Trinity College, Oxford, in 1823, and Mr. J. G. Phillips, vicar of Eling, Hants, in 1829. His nephew, Mr. F. P. Phillips, preached for him in 1847 and on several subsequent occasions. Mr. Abbiss himself preached the sermon on the occasion of the death of George III.

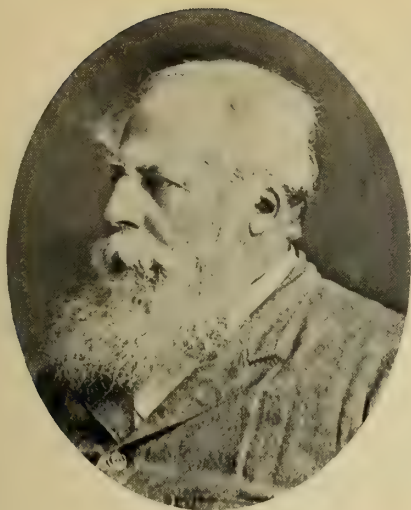
He was very assiduous in his duties, always taking the funerals of his parishioners himself until the graveyards were closed in 1853. At first he had the assistance of Mr. Daniel Williams, who had been appointed by the vestry to the post of Lecturer in the time of Mr. O. P. Edwardes in 1804. In 1839 the vestry thanked Mr. Williams for his 35 years of service, but at the same time had to tell him that, owing to a resolution of the Parish Trustees the year before, they could not be responsible for a continuance of his salary, and that they feared very little aid would come from voluntary contributions. In 1831 they had voted him for his salary the rent of 20 guineas from the parish house, 86 Bartholomew Close, the rents of the pews and the rents from encroachments.⁴ Nevertheless Williams continued to work on until he died in January 1851. The registers show that this faithful priest on two occasions brought a family of six persons each to Holy Baptism. In 1813 the family consisted of four men and two women from Bedfordshire, of ages from 25 down to 11; and in 1819 it consisted of three boys and three girls, aged from

¹ Preachers' Book.

² Reg. Nos. 15, 16, 17.

³ Communicated by the late Mr. W. H. Jackson, vestry clerk.

⁴ *V. M. Bk.* vii, 78.



MR. JOSEPH BOORD
(p. 290)



RECTOR JOHN ABBISS
(p. 373)



RECTOR WILLIAM PANCKRIDGE
(p. 405)



RECTOR SIR BORRADAILE SAVORY, BT.
(p. 413)



RECTOR W. F. G. SANDWITH
(p. 436)

4 to 13, from Cloth Fair. The total baptisms in those two years were eighty and seventy-two respectively.

Williams' daughter, Mary Anne, was appointed organist by the vestry in 1849 and so continued for thirteen years. She was rather deaf, and Dean Swift's remark was quoted at the time as apropos of the result—'The singers went before, the minstrels followed after'.¹

In March 1852 the Rev. William Shulte, rector of St. Augustine's and St. Faith's, was, out of seven candidates, elected by the parishioners as evening lecturer to the church, but as neither the sanction of the rector nor the licence of the bishop could be obtained to the appointment, it fell through,² and on the 2nd May (1852) Rector Abbiss entered in the Preachers' Book that 'by the decision of the vestry the lecture ceased this day'.

At first Mr. Abbiss had also the assistance of a curate, Mr. David Evans in 1824, and Mr. Henry Thompson (for a short time) in 1828; but from then he apparently had no curate other than Mr. Williams until 1853. In that year Mr. T. H. Bullock took the afternoon preaching until the church was closed for restoration in 1863. At its re-opening in 1868 Mr. Squible was appointed curate; in 1872 Mr. Chartres; and in 1874 Mr. W. E. Faulkner.

Mr. Abbiss now being 83 years of age had to give up preaching and the work was carried on by curates in charge: first by Mr. G. A. Marshall until 1877; then by Mr. D. Shaboe, Mr. F. Pearce Pocock, and Mr. J. Morgan in succession until 1880, when Mr. J. Sorrell took charge until Mr. Abbiss' death in 1883. But during this time Mr. Abbiss was frequently present at the services, though too infirm to officiate.

He took an interest in the affairs of the parish and frequently attended the vestry meetings, which were at that time held once a month. But he never suffered any encroachment on his prerogatives as chairman, either at a meeting of the parish or of the vestry, and always declined thanks to the chair as he held that that position was his by right.³

Within eight days of his institution, viz. on the 1st January 1820, he started a note-book (still in the parish safe)⁴ 'for the information of succeeding rectors with a view to prevent those disputes and differences which sometimes arise from a want of a clear and distinct understanding of their just rights'. He commenced the entries in the book with an indignant protest against the action of the vestry in the year 1815 (some four years before his induction) regarding the

¹ Communicated by the late Mr. W. H. Jackson.

² *V. M. Bk.* vii, 373.

³ Communicated by the late Mr. W. H. Jackson.

⁴ Parish Safe, O.B. 3.

pews ;¹ he says : ' This assumption of power to grant as it were a life interest in property to which the parish at least had not yet established their claim and of which they had not even possession is most unjustifiable.' Illidge, however, smoothed matters over, as we have seen, and was probably instrumental in improving the relations between rector and vestry ; for in 1826 ' the churchwarden reported (to the vestry) that at the dinner on Ascension Day an elegant silver snuff-box, with the inscription S.B.G. was presented (by the rector) in a very handsome manner for the use of the parish at all public meetings ' ² and at the Easter vestry of 1830 the rector presented from his sister Mrs. Phillips, the widow of the patron, a further gift of a silver gilt alms dish for the church,³ which is still in use. Moreover, on the 18th February 1828, the rector wrote the following letter, which is entered on the vestry minutes of the 5th March 1828 :⁴

' The rector presents his compliments to the vestry, having received a deputation consisting of Mr. Slade and Mr. Bell, churchwardens, and Mr. Illidge, requesting his opinion as to the most proper site for the new pulpit and reading desk, which the vestry have obligingly agreed to erect at his recommendation, he begs to suggest that the best position in which they can be placed for the advantage of the congregation is in the two pews belonging to the rector situate one on each side of the aisle⁵ and opening into the church, and it is his wish, if agreeable to the vestry, that they should be placed there. The rector regrets that he was prevented from attending the meeting of the Vestry last Friday evening.

Charterhouse Square,
Feby. 8, 1828.'

It was thereupon ' resolved that the new pulpit and desk be erected on the site proposed by the rector without prejudice hereafter to the existing rights of the parish or the rector '.

The pulpit and reading desk above referred to may be judged by the illustration (pl. XXVIII, p. 22). It was a costly business, for on the 15th February ' a tender for new pulpit, desk, and altering of seats for £193 18s. was accepted ' ⁶. In addition to this, according to a receipted bill (now in the belfry cupboard) from Seddon, the local upholsterer, £43 was expended ' in crimson silk and velvet hanging deep with fringe, the tops stuffed and covered with velvet ' for the pulpit and reading desk ; £7 12s. in a feather pillow for the same ; £37 12s. in new lining nine pews with green baize, and seven new cushions for seats ; and £21 10s. for ' two pairs of gothic bronzed branches for lamps for pulpit and reading desk '.

¹ This has already been referred to.

² *V. M. Bk.* iv, 582, and App. II, p. 501.

⁴ *Ib.*, 625.

⁵ Above, p. 337.

⁶ *Ib.* vii, 49, and App. II, p. 501.

⁶ *V. M. Bk.* iv, 622.

Unfortunately, as we have seen, the real gothic pulpit itself was destroyed to make way for these two erections, which lasted but a comparatively few years before they were thrown on the scrap heap. We must not infer from this that the vestry were unmindful of the antiquity of the church and its belongings, for in 1823, at the instance of Mr. Illidge, the 700th anniversary of the founding of the Priory and Hospital was celebrated by a dinner at Canonbury House, by the joint parishes of St. Bartholomew the Great and the Less¹ (that is the hospital), on Holy Thursday in that year.

Repairs to the fabric of the church again figure largely in the history of this time, for as early as the year 1820 the surveyor reported 'the northern wall to be in present danger', and it was ordered to be immediately repaired.²

In 1828 it was found necessary to renew five rafters of the roof, and to secure with iron trusses the tie beams between the two great arches of the transept, which had sunk.³ This brought the expenditure at that time, including the pulpit, &c. to £611.

But large as this expenditure was, still larger expenditure than had ever been faced before was in store, for the great fire of 1830, which found the church uninsured, entailed an expenditure of £1,000; and the great and first effort of restoration of the church, which commenced in 1863 and continued until 1868, necessitated a further expenditure of over £6,500.

It was on the 3rd May 1830 that the fire occurred which has several times been referred to when describing the parts on the south side of the church affected by it.⁴ The fire seems to have originated in the timber storage beneath what was known as Bartholomew Chapel, at that time occupying the monastic chapter-house. From there it spread to the old meeting-house occupying the site of the ancient sacristy, beneath which timber also was stored, and thence to the south triforium of the church, burning Bolton's gallery, the Dissenters' charity school in the triforium, the master's rooms at the east end, the factory rooms over the east aisle, and the south chapel then used as the vestry. The effects of the fire can be still seen in the flaked shafts in the triforium, in the red burnt stones on the south wall of the exterior, especially where the sacristy stood, and the red stones in the door jambs in the south wall of the south transept and elsewhere.

The next day the vestry appointed a committee, including Illidge, to take immediate steps for the preservation of the church and churchyards, Mr. Blyth, senior, being appointed surveyor.⁵ They

¹ *V. M. Bk.* iv, 513, 14 Apr. 1823.

² *Ib.*, 439.

³ *Ib.* vii, 5.

⁴ Above, p. 54.

⁵ *V. M. Bk.* vii, 51.

were to find a secure place for the vestry and trustee Minute Books, Churchwardens' Accounts, and all other documents and plans which had of necessity been removed the day before from the vestry room. It was resolved to insure the church for £1,500, and to borrow £1,000 for its repair.¹

The south wall was in a dangerous condition; so the committee, on the 25th May, resolved to shore it and to fix a temporary covering of rafters to the triforium, to board up the clerestory windows, and, the ruins of the south transept walls having fallen under the fire, to build a brick wall 10 ft. high round the green church-yard.² The two groins of the aisle adjoining the south chapel or vestry room had to be taken down and reinstated.³ In the meanwhile the vestry and other meetings were held in the old boys' school-house,⁴ as the groin and ceiling over the vestry were badly damaged.⁵ The church was closed for six months owing to the repairs; two years before it had also been closed for three months for the same reason, and during the restoration thirty-three years later it was closed for four years.

An attempt was made by the committee to obtain possession of the land between the south transept and the south chapel. The Bishop of London was at first approached, and then Lord Kensington; but when it was found that if the ground were purchased the purchase money could not be raised by a church rate the matter fell through.⁶ Subsequently, in 1834, Lord Kensington offered to sell the land for £100 as a burial ground,⁷ but this offer unfortunately was not accepted on the plea that the vendor could not show a sufficient title to the land.⁸ This decision promptly led to the withdrawal of the offer, accompanied by a demand to take down the posts and rails with which the site had been enclosed⁹ since the fire. It is to be regretted that Lord Kensington's offer was not accepted because, although the need for an additional churchyard ceased in 1853 by Palmerston's Act which closed all burial grounds in the metropolis, the land was sorely needed to prevent houses being built against the church, a misfortune which soon followed this refusal.

The repair to the south wall of the church was again considered in 1836 but it was resolved that the matter should stand over 'until some arrangement was made respecting Lord Kensington's claim to

¹ *V. M. Bk.* vii, 55.

² Illidge's Notes, Belfry cupboard, drawer 17, bundle 8, sec. 8.

³ *V. M. Bk.* vii, 58.

⁴ *Ib.*, 60.

⁵ *Ib.*, 64.

⁶ Illidge's Notes, as above.

⁷ *V. M. Bk.* vii, 114.

⁸ *Ib.*, 118.

⁹ *Ib.*, 120. Shown in a water-colour drawing in the room over the west porch dated 1835.

the adjoining land'.¹ At the same time it was resolved (as has been already stated)² that the vestry, then in the south chapel, and the east porch be removed, the ground to be made use of as an additional burial ground.³ Although this resolution was rescinded at the next meeting,⁴ in the year 1849 the south chapel was demolished, apparently without any resolution of the vestry, to make a parochial school for the girls.⁵ It has already been shown how a room encroaching upon the upper part of the south transept⁶ was made to provide for the meetings of the vestry which, with the rendering of the west wall in Roman cement, cost £362.⁷ The south wall, damaged by the fire, seems to have remained unrepaired until 1846, when it was faced with brick and Roman cement at a cost of £157.⁸ Then the buildings known as Pope's Cottages were built against it; Cockerill's Buildings adjoining being erected at the same time.⁹

In 1856 there was trouble outside the church, for in April of that year the picturesque old 'Coach and Horses' public-house was pulled down, whereby, as has been already mentioned,¹⁰ much evidence of the north walk of the cloister was destroyed. As Robins, the owner, also began to destroy the remains of the south wall of the nave he had to be stopped by the vestry.¹¹ The Commissioners of Sewers also served a notice on the owners of No. 70 Bartholomew Close, next to the 'Coach and Horses', and called upon them to take down the north-west enclosing wall of the structure abutting on the churchyard.¹² They also ordered the vestry to pull down the remainder of the nave wall, and the churchwardens were ordered by the vestry, as has been already stated,¹³ to offer the stones for sale by tender.

In 1855 a fire destroyed the houses facing Smithfield next to the Smithfield gateway; in consequence the vestry ordered, in May 1856, that the gateway should be repaired, and in October Mr. Blyth's design for new gates for the front churchyard was adopted, the cost being £54.¹⁴

In 1840 it was decided to adopt gas for lighting the church in place of candles, so the chandeliers had to be sold.¹⁵

THE RESTORATION, 1863-1868.

In 1860 repairs to the church were again necessary, but these were postponed because a wide interest in the church, and a strong feeling

¹ *V. M. Bk.* vii, 157.

² *Ib.*, 163.

³ *V. M. Bk.* vii, 170.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 133.

⁵ *Ib.*, 479.

⁶ *V. M. Bk.* vii, 495.

Above, p. 94.

⁷ Above, p. 94.

⁸ *Ib.*, 291, 293.

⁹ *V. M. Bk.* vii, 161.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, p. 94.

¹¹ Above, p. 94.

¹² *V. M. Bk.* vii, 477.

¹³ Above, p. 66.

¹⁴ *Ib.*, 214.

that a restoration was necessary were then abroad. This led to the first great effort to that end being made in 1863.¹

As early as the year 1857 William Slater, an architect who had been chief assistant to R. C. Carpenter the elder (who died in 1855), had prepared a design for restoring the church.² It comprised a complete restoration of an apsidal eastern termination, and the erection of a stone vault over the present church; but this was never carried out.

On the 13th April 1859, Mr. Alfred White read a paper on the priory before the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society,³ which then visited the church.

In 1863 Mr. Joseph Boord, with Mr. W. Foster White,⁴ the treasurer of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, invited Mr. T. Hayter Lewis (the architect to Boord & Beckwith of Bartholomew Close) to be the architect of the proposed restoration. Hayter Lewis, knowing what work William Slater had already done in the matter, thought it only right to ask Slater to join him in the work. There was no partnership between Lewis and Slater; Slater was in partnership with Mr. R. Herbert Carpenter,⁵ to whose father, Mr. R. C. Carpenter, he had been chief assistant.⁶ The latter in turn had been articled to Mr. John Blyth, the architect appointed by the vestry on the occasion of the fire of 1830; and the architect 'on whose advice the ruins spared by the fire were (unfortunately) wholly removed'.⁷

In April 1863 Lewis and Slater jointly reported very fully to the rector and churchwardens⁸ the result of their survey of the church,⁹ which may be briefly summarized thus:

They were able to report that the fabric of the church was in a very good and substantial state of repair: that there were several settlements, particularly near the main piers of the transepts, but that these were of old date, and that the state of the stonework generally was very satisfactory.

They pointed out that the general level of the floor of the church had been raised 2 ft. 6 in. above the original level. That there were undoubted proofs of there having been an apse originally, which had been cut off in the fifteenth century; but as the present straight wall formed no part of the original church and as no remains of the

¹ *V. M. Bk.*, 611.

² Parish Safe, plan No. 26.

³ *Transactions*, i, 336.

⁴ *V. M. Bk.* i, 331. Letter from Sir Wm. Tite, 3 Sept. 1866; see also above, p. 290.

⁵ From information given by Mr. J. Tavenor Perry, who was articled pupil to Hayter Lewis.

⁶ From information by Mr. J. D. Crace, F.S.A.

⁷ *Church Times*, 10 Dec. 1886, by R. Herbert Carpenter.

⁸ Joseph Boord and W. H. Jackson, sen.

⁹ Printed in full, App. II, p. 536.

Perpendicular work were of such importance as those of the Norman, and as the present wall was in a very defective condition, there was no archaeological objection to rebuilding the apse. That this, however, could not be done unless the room which had been built close to the present east wall and over the site of the apse could be acquired.

That the outer wall of the north triforium had been rebuilt, probably in the seventeenth century; that it was now used as a school-room, and that the southern triforium had been destroyed (by the fire of 1830).

That the clerestory windows west of the transepts retained their tracery (of the thirteenth century), but that those to the east of them, which had been rebuilt in the Perpendicular style, had lost it; the jambs, labels, &c. of these windows were almost perfect.

They reported that the south transept was destroyed beyond the line of the outer wall of the aisle; and the north transept beyond the line of the aisle arches. That the site of the south transept was occupied as a graveyard, but the transept could not be rebuilt without interfering with the light and air of the houses erected some thirty years (really only seventeen years) before, on the site of the St. Bartholomew chapel (originally the Chapter-house). That the lower part of the enclosing walls was pulled down to the ground after the fire, and that over the portion of the transept that remained was the (then) vestry room.

That the mouldings to the great arch of the south transept were perfect, also the arch over the quire aisle; but that there were only a few of the mouldings of the great arch of the north transept visible. The capitals of the Norman columns supporting this arch had been replaced by Perpendicular ones, and so had the Norman corbels under the great western arch spanning the nave. That the reason generally given for these great transept arches being pointed, whilst those of the quire and nave were round, was the desire that the tops of all the arches should range in height, but it was remarkable that the pointed arches were much stilted and that the tops of the arches did not range.

That there was nothing in the present building to show for certain that there was ever a tower over the crux, though mention was made of it in some writings (and documentary evidence left no doubt).¹

That the part of the original church built west of the north transept (the north aisle of the nave) was occupied by No. 9 Cloth Fair. That the site of the transept itself was occupied by a smith's shop belonging to a Mr. Horley, a baker in the parish, and that the danger of the

¹ Above, p. 110.

church being destroyed by fire by these encroachments was very great.

That no indications seemed to exist of the ancient roof, and that there were no remains apparent of vaulting shafts or of roof corbels.

That the west wall and the tower were modern erections of the seventeenth century.¹

That very little remained of the nave other than the doorway into Smithfield: that the south wall existed for nearly its whole length up to the year 1856, when it was pulled down, and that no remains appeared above the ground level, which was then six feet above the ancient church level.

They reported that the site of the chapter-house (sacristy intended) was built over by Pope's Cottages; and that that of the east cloister was occupied by various buildings: that very fine remains of this cloister existed up to 1833, when they were allowed to fall owing to neglect and decay.

They also reported that the refectory and crypt (really the dorter and its undercroft) could be seen in passing through Middlesex Passage; and that there were very considerable remains of the prior's house (which the Lady Chapel was then considered to be).

The architects recommended that towards the restoration of the church the following steps should be taken:

1. To restore the ancient proportions by lowering the floor to its original level.
2. To complete the apse with the triforium, clerestory and roof.
3. To drain, warm and reseal the church, whereby many extra seats would be obtained.
4. To reconstruct the present entrances so as to put the steps outside the church and thus form a sunken area outside the building which would enable it to be drained and the floor ventilated, thereby removing the cold and dampness.
5. To remove the earth which had been filled in against the wall of the north aisle.
6. To make good any defects there might be in the foundations of the great piers of the crossing.
7. To preserve every portion of ornamental work found, in the triforium or other convenient place.
8. To move slightly westward and lower the Mildmay tomb, which was cutting very awkwardly into one of the main piers and arches on the south side of the (presbytery of the) church.
9. To clean the other monuments, nearly all of which had been painted black, and to remove to the walls of the aisles those whose insertion had injured the old work.
10. To insert tracery in the clerestory windows.

¹ The west wall dates from c. 1543-4.

11. To remodel but retain the western gallery with the organ so as to screen the unsightly west wall.
12. To remove the vestry to the north aisle and thus open out the south transept arch.

The architects estimated that the whole of the above work, exclusive of the Mildmay tomb, could be done for under £4,000.

They also recommended—

13. To remove the earth from the two churchyards to the original church level, the coffins being reinterred at a lower level

and next to the above—

14. To re-roof the church.

and as funds might allow—

15. To restore the triforia, and
16. To open out the north transept.

On the 27th May following (1863) a general meeting of the parishioners and others was held in the vestry to consider the proposed restoration. Mr. Abbiss being voted to the chair, it was resolved, on the motion of Mr. Joseph Boord, to make the attempt, and a committee was appointed¹ from within and from without the parish to carry out the work.² Mr. William Salt, F.S.A., a great Staffordshire antiquary of the firm of Stevenson, Salt & Sons, Bankers, in Lombard Street, was appointed treasurer; Mr. Wm. Cubitt, the president of St. Bartholomew's Hospital (and late Lord Mayor) was appointed chairman, Mr. Foster White vice-chairman, and Mr. Thomas Kitt, vestry clerk, honorary secretary. A subscription list was opened to which Mr. Abbiss and Mr. Joseph Boord each gave 200 guineas; Mr. Foster White (who subsequently obtained a similar sum from the Governors of the Hospital), 100 guineas; Miss Burdett Coutts, £100; the Rev. F. Parr Phillips, the patron, 50 guineas; Mr. A. C. Rippon, 61 Bartholomew Close, 50 guineas; Mr. Wm. Salt, 25 guineas; seven others 20 guineas, and so on. At a subsequent meeting Mr. A. J. B. Beresford Hope joined the committee.

On the 13th July (1863) the Rev. Thomas Hugo, the historian and an active F.S.A., gave an address on the history of the monastic establishment; Mr. J. H. Parker, the well-known writer on architecture and keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, followed with a lecture on the architecture of the building.³ His lecture was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,⁴ and Mr. Parker presented 1,500 copies of a reprint for sale for the benefit of the restoration fund.

¹ For list of first committee see App. II, p. 536.

² *Ib.*, 228.

³ *Rest. M. Bk.* i, 213.

⁴ Vol. II, p. 157.

In the meanwhile Mr. Benjamin Winstone, the freeholder of the fringe factory premises occupied by Stanborough & Graves, was approached with the view of some arrangement being come to in respect of that part of the factory which would be required for the restoration of the apse; ¹ but Mr. Winstone wanted to sell the whole premises, the price being £4,000.² As the committee could not entertain this, counsel's opinion was taken as to the legality of the encroachment over the east aisle. Dr. Twiss's opinion was that he could not advise any legal proceedings to be taken to disembarass the church of its encroachments. The opinion of Mr. Serjeant C. E. Petersdorff was equally unfavourable. When further negotiations were opened with Winstone it was found that he had (on the 25th January 1864) granted a further lease of the premises to Mr. James Stanborough, at a rent of £150 a year.³

This, and the fact that only £1,600 had then been received or promised,⁴ necessitated the adoption of a modified scheme which consisted of—

1. Lowering the floor level;
2. Draining and warming the church;
3. Moving back the partition in the south transept to show the arch mouldings;
4. The same in the north transept, if possible (which it was not);
5. The removal of the earth from the church walls outside the church; and
6. The removal of the whitewash from the stonework inside, which was to be generally repaired;
7. The monuments rearranged;

the estimate being £1,800.⁵

The architects further submitted three alternatives in respect to the treatment of the east end of the church: ⁶

1. Either to leave it as it then was;
2. Or to complete it on the square plan; or
3. To remove the lower part of the east wall; to carry the upper part on an arch or girder, and to complete the apse so far as the floor of the triforium, leaving the room above overhanging.

The objection to the square end in their opinion was that the effect could never be equal to that of the completed apse; that there was no evidence as to whether the east end was finished with one, two or three windows,⁷ nor of the kind of tracery used, nor of the

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* i, 226.

² *Ib.*, 256, 10 Mar. 1864.

³ *Ib.*, 256.

⁴ *Ib.*, 229.

⁵ *Ib.*, 260.

⁶ *Ib.*, 261.

⁷ It has since been found that there were two windows, see plate, p. 19.

nature of the Perpendicular work below the windows, so that restoration would be merely their notion of what it was likely to have been ; whereas there was clear proof as to what was actually intended by the original builders.

The third method, the restoration of the ground arcade of the apse, was eventually adopted.

Now, after eleven months, the committee were prepared to go forward, and on the 7th April 1864 the churchwardens were requested to apply for a faculty—

1. To remove bones and coffins ;
2. To remove monuments ;
3. To lower the pavement ; and
4. To rearrange the pews.

The architects were requested to prepare drawings and to obtain tenders for the first part of the work.¹ Dove Bros.' tender of £695, being the lowest out of five, was accepted. The faculty was at first refused, but eventually granted on August 24th, St. Bartholomew's Day, 1864.²

In the meanwhile, on the 18th June, an influential meeting of some of the most eminent London architects of the day, acting as a consulting committee of the Incorporated Church Building Society, was held in the church.³ Among those present were Sir Gilbert Scott, R.A., the well-known church restorer, and G. E. Street, architect of the Law Courts (both afterwards buried in the Abbey) ; Benjamin Ferrey, the restorer of the Lady Chapel of Wells ; J. L. Pearson, the builder of Truro Cathedral ; Joseph Clarke, Hayter Lewis, William Slater, and others. A lengthy inspection of the fabric was made and the conclusion was unanimously adopted to approve the plans with very slight modifications. They urged the opening and reconstruction of the Norman apse as a point of prime importance and quite practicable. They suggested chairs instead of pews for seating, and that the Mildmay monument should be moved to (its present position in) the south aisle. They considered the removal of the vestry necessary, as without it the whole of the fine piers of the transept would be lost and one of the best portions of the church concealed. They ended by presenting the fees (5 guineas), due to them by their Society for the survey, as a contribution to the restoration fund,⁴ the Society itself voting £75 thereto.

By the 14th November 1864, Lewis and Slater were able to report that Dove Bros. had nearly completed their first contract.⁵ The

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* i, 266.

² For plans see Parish Safe, E, plan 23.

³ *Rest. M. Bk.* i, 275 ; report entered in full.

⁴ *Rest. M. Bk.*, 278.

⁵ *Ib.*, 285.

work had been tedious owing to the immense mass of bones that had been found. The quantity was so great as to occupy every vacant space that could be dug for them in the south churchyard. As their removal to a cemetery would have cost £400, a hole was sunk in the great churchyard to a depth of 15 ft. into fine dry gravel in which the bones were interred.

They were able to report also that the excavations showed that the church rested upon a bed of good clean gravel though the foundations of two piers had given way, which necessitated underpinning; ¹ the cause being the formation of deep graves close to them. They had found that the holes excavated for the reception of the bones in 'Purgatory' ² had been sunk some feet below the foundations of the Norman piers, and also below those of the heavy east wall, so that this part of the church had been in a critical state for some time.

The excavations had also shown the exact level and description of the old paving; and that there had been a row of chapels on the north side of the north aisle.³

The architects now recommended that a second contract be entered into: ⁴

1. To remove the tablets, and make good the stone work;
2. To remove the Mildmay tomb;
3. To cover the whole church and areas with about 9 in. of concrete;
4. To excavate and drain the south side where it was abutted on to by Pope's Cottages;
5. To insert a girder in the east wall as high as the fringe factory would allow, take out the lower part of the wall, complete the piers and arches of the apse of the ground arcade; and lastly:
6. To put back the partition in the south transept.

Dove Bros. were again the lowest and their tender for £607 was accepted.⁵ This was in January 1865: in May the work was reported to be going on satisfactorily,⁶ but in July the parishioners began to complain because the church had been closed for a year, that is since the 31st July 1864.⁷ In August, however, another contract was entered into with Dove Bros. for £445 ⁸ for various additional works.

On the 30th January 1866 many members of the Corporation and of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society visited the church by invitation, and Mr. Hayter Lewis communicated a paper

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* i, 286.

² See above, p. 19.

³ The three bays opened into Walden's Parish Chapel.

⁴ *Rest. M. Bk.* i, 287.

⁵ *Ib.*, 292, 12 Jan. 1865.

⁶ *Ib.*, 302.

⁷ *Ib.*, 304.

⁸ *Ib.*, 309.

thereon to the latter Society.¹ It is published in their transactions² and gives useful information of discoveries whilst the works were in progress. It states that in clearing the ground to the old level of the paving, remains were found which showed that the filling in had taken place at a later date.³ The higher level of the door beside the founder's tomb showed merely that the sanctuary had been raised, the altar no doubt being approached by several steps. The old level he found to be much varied as shown by various jumps in the line of the plinth which possibly indicated the range of the old stall work. He found that some of the foundations had been put in on a layer of peat, although there was a bed of gravel only a foot or so below. That the wall of the north aisle was much out of the upright; but by moving it bodily⁴ no damage was done to the stones.

Mr. Lewis also stated (what Withers also refers to in his diary) that when pulling down the east wall and another wall under the tower they found 'some valuable specimens of capitals and other enrichments of the Norman church; and from fillings of more recent times they obtained specimens of screen work of later date with much of the old colouring and gilding upon them'. The wall under the tower he rightly surmises 'was erected to form the back of the stall work there', as was the stone screen under the south arch of the crossing, the lower part of which was also discovered. By the 'fillings of more recent times' he must refer to the filling of the arch beside the Mildmay tomb, to which Withers also refers. No reference is made to the discovery of a portion of the base of the quire screen or pulpitum described in the *Ecclesiologist*.⁵

On May 26th (1866)⁶ the architects were authorized to enter on still another contract for £730, towards which the Corporation contributed 200 guineas, and at the same time Sir William Tite, Mr. Abbiss, and Mr. Joseph Boord agreed to find £300 each. Another contract was also arranged with a Mr. Roper for warming the church at a cost of £200.

The committee had from the first been unfortunate in losing members by death, before the first year (1863) had expired their chairman, Mr. Cubitt, died, but they fortunately secured the services of Mr. (afterwards Sir) William Tite,⁷ the builder of the Royal Exchange. In the year 1865 Mr. William Salt, their treasurer, also died;⁸ he was succeeded by his brother Mr. Thomas Salt.⁹ At the time we have

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* i. 321.

² *Lond. Midd. Arc. Soc.* iii, 79 and 89.

³ *Viz.* 1574; see above, p. 308.

⁴ See plan, Parish Safe, E, Roll 32, No. 22.

⁵ *Ecclesiologist*, xxvi, 119; Apr. 1865.

⁶ *Rest. Min. Bk.* i, 328.

⁷ *Ib.*, 244, 6 Nov. 1863.

⁸ *Ib.*, 295, 25 Feb. 1865.

⁹ *Ib.*, 306, 2 Aug. 1865.

now reached, the close of 1866, they lost their honorary secretary, Mr. Thomas Kitt, the vestry clerk, who was succeeded by Mr. W. H. Jackson, but from that time the minutes were entered by Mr. Abbiss himself.

The next meeting was in December 1866, when the architects were able to report that Dove Bros. had executed the chief part of the work, and Roper had nearly completed his warming contract.

But after this there was mismanagement somewhere because it was not until March 1868 that the church, after having remained closed for four years, was ready to be reopened. That ceremony took place on the 29th March, when a sermon was preached by the Bishop of London in aid of the Restoration Fund.

At the meeting held eight days before the reopening the rector was able to announce that Mr. Henry Vaughan, of Cumberland Terrace, Regent's Park, and Mr. Joseph Boord, had each promised £300 towards the restoration of the north transept, and that Mr. Bonnewell of Long Lane had offered £500 for a new west window for the church; but on the 27th May following the committee were called to receive the resignation of Mr. Joseph Boord, the immediate cause being a disagreement with the rector upon the trivial matter of the choice of gas standards. They were two strong men. Mr. Boord had been the principal promoter of the work, and he and the rector the largest contributors. The resignation was accepted with great regret, but the work ceased; for nothing more is recorded of the three liberal offers that had been made.

Mr. John Hilditch Evans, a parishioner of long standing, was appointed sub-treasurer in the room of Mr. Boord;¹ but there was only one more meeting, in April 1869, when the accounts were submitted by Mr. Evans, and extreme disappointment was expressed at the failure of the warming apparatus (a fruitful source of divergent views as regards other buildings than churches). It is evident from a letter addressed by the rector to Mr. J. H. Evans in 1873,² that there was acute difference between the former and his architect and Mr. Boord concerning both the lighting and the heating of the church. Eventually the rector introduced a Gurney stove for heating, and iron standards for lighting: the latter of which are now used in the cloister.

The work accomplished at this first great effort of restoration was of much importance, and formed the basis of the still greater effort which followed after Mr. Abbiss' death.³

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* i, 357.

² Belfry cupboard, drawer 11, bundle 1.

³ The total sum expended was over £6,500, to which Mr. Abbiss contributed £1,100; Mr. Joseph Boord, £1,050; Sir William Tite, £950; the Corporation, 200 guineas; Mr. William Rowley, £200; Mr. George Stephens, £150; Mr. Foster White and the

THE ABOLITION OF THE CHURCH RATE.

There coincided with the completion of this great restoration the passing, on the 31st July 1868, of Gladstone's Compulsory Church Rate Abolition Act. A voluntary church rate was instituted in its place, which in the first year only realized £48; but in the next year (1869) a special appeal raised it to £134. In 1871, however, in order to pay off the outstanding debts of the churchwardens, it was found necessary to draw upon the proceeds of the sale of the old Watch House, which at that time amounted to £340.

There had been considerable opposition to the payment of the rate for some time before its abolition. In the year 1832 a parishioner had been cited before the Ecclesiastical Court for non-payment of the rate;¹ and in 1839 the vestry had been requested to support the efforts of the churchwardens to collect it.²

The effect of this Act was far-reaching. Among other things it materially affected the influence of the vestry. 'Who pays the piper calls the tune.' The parishioners used to pay the rate and therefore, through their vestry, they justly claimed the regulation of its expenditure; but they could not do so when the rate was only voluntary.

Another matter which also affected the vestry was the repeal, in the year 1851, of the Acts of Parliament under the authority of which the parish had managed its own affairs, such as cleaning, lighting, &c.³ After that event they could neither influence the amount of the rates the parish was called upon to pay, nor the expenditure thereof: all they had to do was to levy such a rate as would cover the contribution order. The final blow came in the year 1907 when, by the Union of Parishes Act, the whole of the city for the purposes of the poor law was considered to be one parish, the separate parochial overseers and assistant overseers being merged into the Court of Common Council. This, therefore, will be a convenient place to give a brief history of the vestry.

THE VESTRY.

A 'vestry' is a place adjoining the church where the vestments of the clergy are kept. The assemblies of the whole of the parishioners for the dispatch of the business of a parish were generally held in the church vestry, and so the assemblies themselves came to be called 'vestries'. All parishioners had a right to attend a vestry, but in

Hospital, 100 guineas each; and Miss Burdett Coutts, £100; the remainder, about £2,500, being subscribed by the City Companies and the public.

¹ *V. M. Bk.* vii, 97.

² *Ib.*, 201.

³ Above, p. 345; also p. 211.

many parishes the practice arose of choosing a certain number of persons yearly to manage the concerns of the parish for the rest and these were called select vestries. Sometimes, as here, the select vestries were not elected annually but were self-elected.

We have no record that the lay folk dwelling within the priory wall held any meetings or vestry before the suppression, but we know that in the time of Queen Mary, the year 1555, there was a vestry here open to all parishioners; and this continued until the year 1607, when, as already seen,¹ the parishioners complained to the Archdeacon of London, who approved of a select number of vestrymen acting for the rest, which arrangement continues to the present time.

The early vestry books of the parish are unfortunately lost, but we have a valuable and reliable record among the *Cartae Miscellaneae*² in the Lambeth Library signed by Dr. Westfield and the churchwarden in the year 1635. By this record the dates of 1555 and 1607 are definitely established.

This record consists of the answers of the minister and churchwardens given to certain questions sent to them by order of the Bishop of London, and other lords and judges of the High Court of Star Chamber.³

1. To the question whether the business of the parish was ordered by a vestry of selected persons or by a general meeting of all the parishioners, they replied that it was ordered by a vestry of selected persons and not by a general meeting.

2. To the question whether they had the vestry by grant from the Bishop and his chancellor, or by use and prescription, they replied that they found, by their ancient vestry books, that for the previous eighty years the affairs of the parish had been ordered by the vestry, and until the 15th March 1606-7 by a vestry general; at which time the parish, being much increased by many buildings, the parishioners finding many inconveniences by a disagreeing multitude, made complaint to the then archdeacon of London for reformation, whose official, Mr. Icor Creake, approved of a select number of vestrymen under his handwriting in their vestry book, which order had been continued until that time.

3. In answer to the question as to what power they claimed to their vestry, they replied that by virtue of their vestry they elected officers for their parish, made rates for the repair and beautifying of the

¹ See above, p. 318.

² Vol. vii, No. 36. (Knowledge of this record comes from Sidney Webb, *English Local Government*.)

³ Sidney Webb, *English Local Government*.

church and for paying the clerk and sexton's wages, and for the relief of the poor, the examining of officers' accounts, and the settling of other things for the good and quiet of the parish.

4. In reply to the question as to what fees and duties they received for all ecclesiastical rights, and what table of fees they had, they replied that they had an ancient table of all such fees which some of the ancient inhabitants affirmed had long 'sithence' been confirmed by the then Bishop's chancellor which they continued without alteration, and particulars of which they gave.

Nothing is said in the answers as to the number of vestrymen agreed upon, but the vestry usually consisted of about thirty: in the year 1759 there were forty-five members present at a meeting.¹

Parishioners were eligible for a seat on the vestry when they had served the various offices according to ancient custom; or when, having been nominated to an office, they had paid the fine instead of serving (the amounts of these fines has been already dealt with).² The vestry had the power to refuse anybody not suitable for the position, for in the year 1663 it was resolved that two men, owing to some misdemeanour were 'not capable of being vestrymen'.³ When a vestryman removed from the parish his name was struck off the list;⁴ but this led to inconvenience in the year 1783 when, as has been said,⁵ so many parishioners' houses were burnt out that there were not sufficient men left to transact the business. The same difficulty occurred in 1830 after the two destructive fires of that year.

It would appear, however, that the vestry had the power to co-opt members, for as early as the year 1677 two men 'were chosen vestrymen',⁶ and in 1728 it was ordered 'that some vestrymen be chosen in to fill up some vacancies', when two men were chosen accordingly.⁷ In 1742 eleven men were added to the vestry at one time.⁸

In the year 1716 there was an agitation against select vestries, but a Bill in Parliament that year for their reform was thrown out. In 1720 a protest was made by a section of the parishioners, headed by Joshua Lock and John Darby, challenging the legality of the select vestry in this parish.⁹ To test it they gave notice in church on Easter Sunday for the parishioners to meet on the Thursday following to choose churchwardens and other parochial officers. They duly met in the body of the church whilst the select vestry met in the vestry room. The former invited the latter to join them, but the invitation

¹ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 359.

² *V. M. Bk.* i, 17.

³ *V. M. Bk.* i, 61.

⁴ *Ib.* ii, 233.

⁵ *Ib.* vii, 131.

⁶ *Ib.* ii, 361.

⁷ Above, p. 348.

⁸ Above, p. 361.

⁹ *Ib.* iii, 208.

being declined they thereupon chose as churchwardens Archibald Pentre and John Russell, whilst the select vestry chose the same Pentre and Thomas Clement. A *caveat* was then issued against the swearing-in of Pentre and Clement elected by the select vestry, but they were, by a judge, duly sworn churchwardens. Richard Hyett (the late churchwarden) and the vestry, however, being desirous that the contest might be determined, brought a libel or action against Lock and Darby alleging that from time immemorial the right of choosing churchwardens and managing the affairs of the parish had been with the vestry exclusive of the other parishioners. Lock obtained a prohibition against further proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Court and proceeded to trial in the Common Pleas. Hyett for the vestry set forth the plea that the custom was 'that the rector and churchwardens for the time being and such parishioners who had served the office of churchwarden of the church and such parishioners who had fined and paid for the same office and who afterwards by the voice of the greater number of the parishioners, being members of the vestry and parochially assembled should happen to be chosen members of the vestry and not otherwise, had used to be members of the vestry and exclusively of other parishioners to meet in the vestry room of the church and to deliberate about parochial affairs'. The jury found that Hyett had fully proved the case about ancient usage and the select vestry but, as it appeared by an ancient vestry book that two persons who were vestry-men in the year 1662 were afterwards chosen churchwardens, the verdict of the jury was that they found the select vestry to be from time immemorial, but the defendants (Hyett and the vestry) not having fully made good their pleadings that the vestry-men elect were such only as had fined for the office of churchwarden, and it appearing in two or three instances that persons were chosen vestry-men who had not fined for the office of churchwarden, they therefore found for the plaintiffs (Lock and Darby). Thereupon on Sunday, December 17th, Lock and Darby gave notice of a meeting to elect constables and scavengers, but the select vestry being the first to assemble to the number of twenty-four chose these officers and on Plow Monday, according to ancient custom, presented them at the Guildhall. The swearing-in was opposed by Lock and Darby and twenty others, who insinuated that the verdict was against a select vestry : which it was not. The select vestry being ready to join issue and voluntarily to try the same, all the parties were called in and heard. Whereupon it was ordered by the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen that the constables and scavengers who were presented by the churchwardens in the usual manner be sworn in the

outer court for the due execution of their respective places. And so it ended, but the dispute cost the parish £100.

The origin of the dispute was the order of the vestry of the 2nd March 1720, that the church and steeple be beautified and repaired, and that of the 13th July which ordered a rate to defray the cost, and in default of payment proceedings to be taken.¹ The Bishopsgate inhabitants contested the legality of their select vestry at the same time.

The select vestry at St. Bartholomew's never abused its powers. Mr. Sidney Webb in his book on local self-government quoted this parish as an example of honest administration,² and as welcoming into its ranks any respectable inhabitant who was willing to serve or fine; and he thinks that the vestry was justified when, in response to Sir John Hobhouse's letter in 1829, it 'resolved unanimously that the vestry, conscious of its own integrity in the discharge of the various duties devolving upon it, honestly and anxiously invite Parliamentary inquiry and will, to the utmost of its power, render every information to the committee of the House of Commons now sitting respecting the select vestry of this parish'.³

In the following year, on the 6th April 1830, while the churchwardens with the overseers were holding a meeting in the vestry room to make a poor rate, a list containing the names of some of the inhabitants respecting their assessment was sent in, and then some of them 'forcibly rushed into the vestry and conducted themselves in a very improper and tumultuous and offensive way whereby they were obliged to adjourn'.⁴ The matter was brought before the Consistory Court, when the judge pronounced the charge of riot as proved, but not that of brawling, because only one witness could swear thereto. The parishioner proceeded against was Samuel Bagster, who was fined £20 by way of expenses. It is of some interest that the copies in the parish safe⁵ of the sentence of the judge in the case against Bagster, and also in that against Wise (another parishioner), were made from shorthand notes by Charles Dickens, the author, and that these copies were examined, corrected, and signed by him. He describes himself as 'Shorthand writer, 5 Bell Yard, Doctors Commons'. An autograph letter in the British Museum from Dickens, dated January 20th, from 13 Furnival's Inn, and attributed to the year 1835,⁶ is written in a similar hand, and the 'D' and 'k' in the signature are made in a similar way and not as in the later signatures.

¹ *V. M. Bk.* ii, 227.

² *V. M. Bk.* vii, 23.

³ Parish Safe, D. 36 & 37.

⁴ See p. 238, n. 3.

⁵ *Ib.*, 47.

⁶ Add. MSS. 29300, f. 105.

In the same year (1830) a *mandamus* was served on the churchwardens to convene a meeting of the inhabitants to appoint a select vestry for the government of the poor, to which the vestry objected on the ground that there was 'already a select vestry in the parish established and acted upon by virtue of ancient usage', and Mr. Gale, the parish solicitor, was instructed to ascertain, under the advice of counsel, if another select vestry could be lawfully appointed.¹ As nothing more is recorded, no doubt the *mandamus* was withdrawn.

The last opposition to the select vestry was in 1853 and came from within. A meeting of the vestry was called and a resolution moved 'That the system of self-election under which the parish has been so long governed is contrary to the spirit of the English constitution and abhorrent to this age of progress: that the ratepayers have no voice in their taxation in themselves or representatives: that in order to remedy this evil the vestry of this parish be in future an open one and all ratepayers in future be vestrymen'.² Only two members, however, voted in favour and three against.

In the year 1755, as has been already stated,³ the powers of the vestry, as a local governing authority, had been enlarged and strengthened by a private Act of Parliament entitled 'An Act for the better enlightening and cleansing the open Places, Squares, Streets, Lanes, Alleys, Passages and Courts within the Parish of Saint Bartholomew the Great, London; and regulating the Nightly Watch and Beadles within the said Parish'. By it the rector, churchwardens, overseers and vestrymen were appointed trustees for putting into execution all the powers given by the Act. The rates were to be made yearly and were not to exceed 1s. 8d. in the £.

In 1768 an amending Act had to be obtained 'for empowering the Trustees . . . to pave the Streets and other places within the parish, and to remove annoyances and Obstructions'. Among other things too numerous to mention here, the trustees were directed to have the names of the streets written at the corners, and they were empowered to have the houses numbered.

In 1851 these private Acts were repealed, as the passing of the City of London Sewers Act of 1848 authorized the Corporation to take over all the duties for which they were enacted. By vote of the vestry, on the 10th March 1852, the books and documents of the trustees under these Acts were handed back to the select vestry.⁴ There are still, however, parish trustees who continue to act in regard to such trusts as still rest in them, as is shown by their meetings held

¹ *V. M. Bk.* vii, 53.

² *Ib.*, 419.

³ Above, p. 345.

⁴ *V. M. Bk.* vii. 379.

in 1872, 1884, 1885, 1886, and in 1908.¹ The vestry also continues as a select vestry; but it seldom meets at other times than at Easter, when, owing to its civil duties having been taken away, its meetings are very poorly attended.

PRIVILEGES OF THE PARISH.

Up to the middle of the nineteenth century the parish possessed special privileges and immunities distinct from those enjoyed by most of the other parishes of the city; and inasmuch as these gradually died out during the rectorship of Rector Abbiss they may be appropriately described here.

The origin of these peculiar privileges and the exclusive attitude of the parish is no doubt traceable to its monastic days. A similar instance is the parish of Holy Trinity, Minorities, which was the Abbey or House of the Nuns Minoresses near Aldgate. There the monastery was granted absolute freedom from all ecclesiastical authority by a papal bull in the year 1295; and from all civil jurisdiction by Letters Patent from the King in the year 1400.² These grants were the foundations of the remarkable privileges that survived there into the last century.

At St. Bartholomew's Henry I granted by his Charter to the prior and convent freedom from all earthly servitude and from earthly power and subjection except episcopal custom³ and other privileges. The same privileges were given by Henry II in his Charter of *circ.* 1173,⁴ and these were confirmed by the Charter of Henry VII⁵ in the year 1489. Now the grant made to Rich in the year 1544 by Henry VIII gave all the rights in the water supply from Islington and all the rights and privileges in the Fair to Rich, to enjoy as freely and as fully as they had been enjoyed by Prior Bolton, but it did not extend to other privileges and exemptions granted to the prior and convent, some of which may have been shared by those dwelling in the parish which was within the monastic walls. It may be that Rich held, or pretended to hold, the opinion that the parishioners were still entitled to enjoy the other privileges granted to the monastery, apart from those connected with the water and the Fair, because it was of this particular charter of Henry VII, which confirmed the monastic privileges, as other confirming charters had not done, that in 1583 Baron Rich, the grandson of Sir Richard, obtained from Queen Elizabeth an exemplification. And when, in 1663, his grandson Robert (the second

¹ *V. M. Bk.* x, pp. 139, 316, 332, 341, 590.

² Tomlinson, *Hist. Minorities*, pp. 21, 44, 60, 165.

³ See Vol. I, p. 60.

⁴ App. I, No. 4, pp. 478, 489.

⁵ *Ib.*, No. 29.

Earl of Holland) had transcripts made into a book 'to show the boundaries and privileges of the place and his own title thereto' this exemplification was included.¹ The privileges claimed and enjoyed by the parish in the year 1825 were fully recited in a petition to the mayor and aldermen, and entered on the vestry minutes in March of that year.²

It is therein set out :

First. 'That the parish was not in any way subject to the jurisdiction of the city trustees until the reign of James I, who, by his charter of the 20th September 1609, did ordain and grant that the said city of London and the Circuits, Bounds, Limits, Franchises and Jurisdictions of the same should extend and stretch forth in and through all and singular the several Circuits, Bounds, Limits, Franchises and Jurisdictions (*inter alia*) of the late dissolved Priory of St. Bartholomew London, near Smithfield, so as from thenceforth for all and singular the Circuits and Franchises aforesaid of the said Priory or House of St. Bartholomew for all times to come should be and remain within the Circuits, Precincts, Liberties and Franchises of the same City of London.' And

Secondly. 'That although the parish had been since that time within the precinct of the city, and although it was between the wards of Farringdon without and Aldersgate without, it was not itself within any ward of London³ and that it was not subject to the customs of the city and that the parishioners were not liable to serve ward offices.'

Evidence of the truth of this contention still exists in the fact that St. Bartholomew the Great, as other parishes of monastic origin (The Temple, Whitefriars, and St. Bartholomew's the Less), has not the right of a Precinct to nominate fit and properly qualified persons to go to the wardmote for final election as representatives to the Court of Common Council in the City of London.⁴ In the year 1866 this extension was not considered as a privilege, so some thirty inhabitants of the parish requested the churchwardens to call a meeting of the parishioners to consider the question of a Precinct return for St. Bartholomew the Great.⁵ At the precinct meeting a precinct clerk was elected and two parishioners were nominated as Common Councilmen for the precinct. The nomination was sent to the alderman of the ward, Sir James Duke, and the matter came up at the wardmote ; but it was ruled by the alderman that 'there was no power of

¹ Vol. I, p. xxvi.

² V. M. Bk. iv, 553-4.

³ The vestry protested in 1706 (31st May) that they were not in the ward of Farringdon without.

⁴ The author is indebted to the late Mr. W. H. Jackson for this information.

⁵ V. M. Bk. ix, 334.

conferring the right of Precinct on St. Bartholomew's the Great, it being a matter of ancient custom'.¹

Although this parish, therefore, has not the right of primary nomination, the inhabitants are on the list of ward voters, so that when there is a contested election and the sixteen members have to be chosen, the inhabitants of the parish have a vote for each of sixteen candidates. The only officers of the ward are the clerk and the beadle, both of whom are paid officials.

Thirdly. 'That not being subject to the customs of the city, the inhabitants were entitled to carry on trade in the parish without being free of the city.' This was an exemption also enjoyed by St. Martin-le-Grand of which the city was naturally jealous; it gave rise to much trouble, as has been already shown.² But as the control formerly exercised by the City Companies over their trades was with remarkably few exceptions abandoned in practice before 1837 (in fact the right of search had been given up before the end of the eighteenth century)³ the exclusiveness of this privilege has disappeared by the extension of the right. In spite of this, however, in the year 1850, the Bakers' Company threatened proceedings against an inhabitant of the parish to make him take up his freedom: being 'contrary to ancient custom long enjoyed' the vestry resolved 'that by the charter granted by King Henry I to Pryor Bolton (*sic*) confirmed by charter of King Henry VIII to Sir Richard Rich, the inhabitants of this parish are exempt from corporate service and fines as non-freemen which exemption is further confirmed by the fact that the inhabitants of this parish have been in quiet possession of these immunities time out of mind.'⁴

Fourthly. 'That they were not liable to serve upon any juries or inquests, other than Coroners' Inquests on deaths happening within the parish.'

This freedom from Jury service was frequently challenged; thus, when in 1726 several inhabitants were summoned to appear at the Old Bailey to serve as jurymen contrary to the ancient custom of the parish it was 'resolved that the persons summoned do not attend to the said summons, and that if any prosecution shall arise' the vestry would indemnify them.⁵ In 1788 twenty-four of the inhabitants were summoned by the coroner to serve on a jury at the hospital; the vestry thereupon resolved that the warrant should not be obeyed because from custom immemorial the inhabitants were only liable to

¹ *V. M. Bk.*, 341.

² Unwin, *Guilds of London*, p. 344.

⁴ *V. M. Bk.* vii, 355.

³ Above, p. 206.

⁵ *Ib.* ii, 327.

serve in their own parish.¹ Again, in 1851, the churchwardens laid before the vestry a requisition from the secondaries of London calling upon them to furnish a list of persons qualified to serve upon juries, when the vestry, on behalf of the inhabitants, again claimed exemption, this time 'by ancient charter and prescriptive right'.²

In 1861 a vestry was called 'to consider an attempt made to compel the inhabitant ratepayers to serve upon juries' when 'it was resolved to call a public meeting of the inhabitants who had been exempt from Jury service from time immemorial'.³

From this time the matter is not again mentioned in the Vestry Books, but it seems that fines were inflicted on this occasion. Whereupon, in 1862, Serjeant Petersdorff's opinion was taken,⁴ which was adverse to the views of the vestry. He held that 'a claim of exemption from the fulfilment of a common law and statutory duty could not be successfully based upon a charter or prescription, not clearly and in words distinctly conferring the immunity': that 'there were very few words in Henry VIII's charter that could be considered by any liberality of construction to confer upon the contemporaneous inhabitants or succeeding generations the immunity sought to be established'. He considered that the charters were 'limited to the prior and the canons regularly officiating and their successors' and did 'not extend to the whole of the then and subsequent inhabitants'. That the charter 'gives to the inhabitants the benefit of local court, but none of the charters contain any negative provisions excluding them from common law or statutory duties'. If it was decided to continue the resistance, he advised to petition the Treasury to remit the fine or to suspend its enforcement until the matter could be brought before the Queen's Bench. The latter course was apparently taken on behalf of Mr. James Houghton, but it failed. The matter was finally settled by the passing of the Juries Act in the year 1870,⁵ Sect. 9 of which enacts that 'The persons described in the schedule hereto shall be severally exempt' from serving as jurors . . . 'but save as aforesaid no man otherwise qualified to serve . . . shall be exempt from serving thereon, any enactment, prescription, charter, grant or writ to the contrary notwithstanding'.

Fifthly. It was claimed that the vestrymen were entitled to choose their own constables and watchmen, and to make all rates for paving, cleaning, lighting and watching the parish; the history of which claim has already been given.⁶

¹ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 542.

² *Ib.* vii, 646.

³ 33 & 34 Vict., cap. 77.

⁴ *Ib.* vii, 376.

⁵ Belfry cupboard, drawer 18, bundle 1.

⁶ Above, p. 345.

It would certainly seem that, before the suppression, those living within the monastic walls were exempt from city levies, except by way of voluntary contributions, since in the year 1512 aldermen were appointed to confer with the prior and the master of the hospital for a contribution from their tenants.¹

Robert the third Baron Rich apparently attempted to push his privileges too far, both with the Corporation and with the Privy Council, for about the year 1593 the Court of Aldermen decided to 'apply for a *Quo Warranto* touching the pretended liberties of White Friars and Great St. Bartholomew's'.² And, in 1597, the inhabitants of the parish, having taken exception to joining with the city in the levy issued by Queen Elizabeth of 500 soldiers for active service (probably under Lord Essex, to assist the French king against the Spanish invaders), the Privy Council wrote to Lord Rich, to whom, as they say, the 'liberty' belonged, 'that in these public services for the Queen and state the "liberty" did not give such exemption and called upon him to take such steps that the parishioners would bear their due proportion of the levy'.³ Two years later, in 1599, the Court of Aldermen ordered the Recorder to 'consider the wrongs and abuses offered to the City by Lord Rich and the inhabitants of Great St. Bartholomew's and what course should be taken by law for reformation hereof'.⁴ But apparently the Corporation got no satisfaction, as in 1606 a committee was appointed 'to confer towards purchasing the dissolved priory';⁵ but that too failed, and in 1705 the parish is referred to (in Counsel's opinion) as 'the Royalty of which the Earl of Warwick and Holland is Lord'.

In the eighteenth and early in the nineteenth centuries the Corporation showed their resentment against the privileges of the parish by withholding from the parish their portion of the benefactions of the poor;⁶ but all feelings of that kind have now passed away.

The vestry were jealous not only of the rights of the parishioners within the parish, but also of those without. Thus, in 1822, St. Bartholomew's Hospital closed the right of way which had existed up to that time from Little Britain through the hospital ground to Giltspur Street, against which action the vestry drew up a memorial and remonstrance.⁷ To this the Treasurer of the Hospital replied that neither the parishioners nor the public were excluded because decent and respectable persons, on knocking at the gates, were permitted to

¹ Repertories, Guildhall, 2, f. 125 b, 20 Jan., 4 Hen. VIII.

² *Ib.*, 23, f. 41 b.

³ Acts of P.C., 1597, p. 128.

⁴ Repertories, Guildhall, 25, f. 14 b.

⁵ *Ib.*, 27, f. 240 b.

⁶ A petition, *circ.* 1763, Reg. Par. Doc., 519. Belfry cupboard, drawer 18, bundle 3.

⁷ *V. M. Bk.* iv, 481, 490, 11 Apr. 1822.

pass through: that the governors had thought fit to close the gates as a matter of internal regulation: that in the case of public tumult they had heretofore closed the gates by day, and their right to do so had never been disputed: and that the parishioners had no occasion to look at the inscription 'No thoroughfare' placed on one of the gates. But the vestry very properly replied that by such an inscription they considered the thoroughfare obstructed and forbidden, and that they had seen a respectable female who had knocked at one of the gates the day before forbidden to pass through, and the gate shut in her face. The governors, however, disregarded the remonstrance, so the vestry presented a petition to the Court of Aldermen, whereupon an order was given to the city solicitor to indict the governors at the next session; upon this the hospital agreed to make a wicket in the iron gates and to allow the wickets to be open during the customary hours of the day.

The subject of the poor largely occupied the attention of the vestry and the parish trustees at this time. From the year 1601, when overseers of the poor were appointed by Queen Elizabeth's Act, down to the year 1907, the churchwardens and overseers had to make provision for the poor of the parish. That the work was arduous is shown by the churchwardens' accounts. A person becoming a charge on the rates was chargeable to the parish in which his birth took place; the churchwardens therefore had to exercise great vigilance that children of non-parishioners were not born in the parish. Churchwarden Laming's account of the year 1697, printed in the Appendix, though coarse, gives a graphic idea of the derogatory work which at that time fell to the lot of a churchwarden.¹

From a list of the names of 'the poor pensioners' in the parish in 1681² we learn that there were at that time 4 men, 2 women, 8 widows, and 8 children receiving as a rule 1s. a week, though 1 widow and 5 children had 9s. a week between them, another widow had 2s., and one of the men only 6d. a week. For a woman in Bethlehem Hospital 3s. a week was paid. In 1667 there had been 13 widows, 1 man, and 6 nurse children costing the parish £40 9s. A return made in 1698 showed a list of 23 pensioned poor costing the parish £74 os. 9d. Orphan children chargeable to the parish, when of sufficient age, were sent to some tradesman or mechanic who gave to the churchwardens a bond,³ varying from £20 to £40, for the maintenance and education of the child, and for teaching him some art or trade for which a boy was not to be bound after he had reached the age

¹ App. II, p. 526.

² Belfry cupboard, drawer 18, bundle 2.

³ App. II, p. 520 (a bond dated 13 Mar. 1639).

of 24 years; a valuable consideration being given by the churchwardens. Pauper children were also apprenticed at the charge of the parish.¹

The adult poor, in receipt of poor relief, had, by Act of Parliament, to wear a badge, and this, as the vestry books show, was much resented.²

The first record of a workhouse is in the year 1707. It is in connexion with a lawsuit between this parish and the workhouse in Bishopsgate, called the Corporation Workhouse.³ The case was lost, and the parish had apparently to contribute to the Corporation Workhouse, and the case cost the parish over £90.⁴ In the year 1737 a committee was appointed to find a place for a workhouse for the parish. This was found in Pelican Court, which led out of Little Britain between St. Bartholomew's and Christ's Hospitals, to the latter of which the house belonged.⁵ But in 1741 it was 'ordered that the poor be taken from the workhouse and put to such persons as the churchwardens and overseers shall think proper'.⁶ In the year 1766 we find the vestry entering into an agreement with a Mr. John Powell 'for wholly maintaining and cloathing the poor of the parish for one year' for the sum of £430;⁷ but the parish had still to pay the quota assessed for the support of the London workhouse, £23 9s. 4d.⁸ In 1796 the vestry entered into a contract with a Mrs. Sarah Showell of Bear Lane for the keep of the poor at 4s. 3d. a head a week for grown persons and 3s. 9d. a week for children;⁹ but later the children seem to have been sent to another contractor at Enfield.¹⁰ In 1799 and in 1801,¹¹ when the prices of all provisions went up, the contractors were allowed to advance their charges.¹² At the same time, in 1801, some adult poor were taken from Mrs. Showell's workhouse and sent to Mr. McKenzie's in Islington;¹³ and in 1812 the churchwardens were empowered to place poor with J. Tipple & Son, Hoxton.¹⁴ In 1824 it was decided to send children of 9 years of age and over to Sewell & Cheap's Flax Mills at Hounslow instead of to the mill at Watford, as had been the custom.¹⁵ In the year 1827 the vestry accepted the offer of Carr, Dodgson & Co. to take the female children of 7 years and upwards into their employ, the parish to give the children a good working suit of clothes and to pay 2s. 6d. a week for two years.¹⁶

¹ Specimens of Indentures, Parish Safe, D. 5, 1616-1758; see App. II, p. 521.

² V. M. Bks. for 1697, 1729, 1736.

³ Ib. i, 415.

⁴ Ib., 419.

⁵ Ib. iii, 106.

⁶ Ib., 186.

⁷ Ib., 398.

⁸ Ib., 407.

⁹ Ib. iv, 76.

¹⁰ Ib., 105.

¹¹ Ib., 106.

¹² See above, p. 360.

¹³ I'. M. Bk. iv, 126.

¹⁴ Ib., 273.

¹⁵ Ib., 532.

¹⁶ Ib., 598.

In 1822 the compulsory finding of work for the poor began to be a very serious matter, and the London workhouse asked for a grant of £2,443 for the purpose; whereupon the churchwardens, with those of several city parishes, met at Bow Church, and resolved to request the assistance of the Court of Common Council to put down the London workhouse as no longer necessary.¹

In 1832 the great Reform Bill was passed, and in 1834 the new Poor Law established the workhouse system with Union of Parishes, which placed the paupers under central management and control, and therefore ended the responsibility of the churchwardens. An amending Act was passed in 1868, and the next year the clerk read to the vestry the Poor Law order for the dissolution of the West London Union, and the consolidation of the parishes comprised in it, with those of the City of London and East London Unions, into one Union to be called the City of London Union.² Offices for this new Union were then established at 61 Bartholomew Close, where they are still.

In 1846 the Public Baths and Washhouses Act was passed, but its adoption by the City being left optional, it was not taken up. In the following year the vestry of St. Bartholomew's appointed a committee to confer with St. Sepulchre's regarding the establishment of such an institution for the joint parishes,³ but nothing was done. In 1890 an effort was made to induce the Corporation to adopt the Act because of the deplorable condition of the poor in this and some of the adjoining parishes, as they had nowhere to wash either themselves or their clothes. The vestry passed a resolution in favour of the scheme,⁴ which was brought forward by petition to the Court of Common Council. The churchwardens appeared before the Court, but the petition was rejected. Another effort was made in May 1893,⁵ when a committee was appointed to approach the central governing body of the City of London Parochial Charities Fund, seeing that the charities of the City had all been taken over under the City of London Parochial Charities Act of 1883; but this last effort met with no better success.

In 1881 a benevolent institution was established in the parish under the title of 'The Fraternity of Rahere Almoners' by the churchwardens, Mr. Thomas Sangster, Mr. John Hollinghurst, and by Mr. James Stevens of Clapham, and others, for the purpose of affording assistance and relief to deserving and necessitous persons residing in

¹ *V. M. Bk.* iv, 500.

³ *Ib.* vii, 304.

⁵ *Ib.*, 466, 11 May 1893. City Press, 13 May 1893.

² *Ib.* x, 85

⁴ *Ib.* x, 406, 3 Apr. 1890.

or otherwise connected with the parish and its immediate neighbourhood, in memory of the founder of the priory. In 1882 Mr. Stevens compiled a brief account of the priory and of this institution, which was sold privately for the benefit of the object in view.

Mr. Abbiss made many presents to the church apart from his large donations to the Restoration Fund. We learn from a memorandum in his handwriting¹ that, between the years 1869 and 1873, when the lighting of the church was not considered satisfactory by him, he gave the six gas standards which are still preserved in the church. He also gave some altar lights, a new churchwardens' pew, an old oak chair, and a carved oak bench, which latter for some reason he considered to date from about the year 1400, but it is, apparently, not earlier than the nineteenth century. The chair and the bench now stand in the civic pew.

The aged rector began to fail in 1873. On the 9th November of that year he took a baptism for the last time, on the 23rd he took his last marriage, and on the 7th December he preached his last sermon, as already stated; he was, however, up to the year 1880, frequently present at the services of the church. In 1877, being then aged 84, he attended a vestry meeting, when it was resolved 'that the parish be perambulated and the boundaries thereof beaten according to ancient custom on Ascension Day, and that five pounds be charged to the poor rate for that purpose'.² On the day he himself took his place in the procession, wearing a black gown, and walking with the churchwardens and vestry clerk in front. With the exception of the 'beating' in 1879 in connexion with the Manchester Hotel, which is partly in this parish and partly in Aldersgate, the bounds have not been beaten since.³

On the 20th October 1882 the vestry appointed a church works committee, consisting of eight members, as the roof wanted repair, and complaint was made of the coldness of the church: thereupon Mr. Abbiss promised £100 to perfect the heating apparatus.⁴

On the 24th November he was present at the vestry for the last time, and on the 8th July following (1883) he died at his house, No. 39 Myddelton Square, being within five days of his 91st birthday. The funeral service was held at St. Bartholomew's on the 14th, and the interment took place at Stoke d'Abernon (where the Rev. F. P. Phillips was the rector and the squire), in the graveyard on the

¹ Belfry, drawer 18, bundle 3.

² *V. M. Bk. x*, 201, 5 Apr. 1877.

³ For beating of bounds, see above, p. 208.

⁴ *V. M. Bk. x*, 274.

south side of the church, where the following inscription is on the tombstone :

The Rev. John Abbiss
64 years rector of the ancient
Priory Church of St. Bartholomew Smithfield
Died 8th July, 1883
Aged 93 years.¹

The late Mr. W. H. Jackson, the vestry clerk, who was acquainted with him from the middle of the 'forties, has communicated further reminiscences, which will be found in the Appendix.²

¹ An error for 90 years.

² App. II, p. 530 ; see also above, p. 374.

CHAPTER XXI

NINETEENTH CENTURY (PART II)

WILLIAM PANCKRIDGE, M.A., RECTOR 1884-1887.

'ON the 24th January, 1884, William Panckridge, clerk, M.A. (pl. XCVI, p. 374), was instituted to the rectory vacant by the death of John Abbiss on the presentation of Frederick Parr Phillips, clerk, M.A., Rector of Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey, the patron.'¹ He was inducted on the 25th January 1884, when there were present the Bishop of St. Albans (T. H. Claughton), the Bishop of Bedford (Walsham How), Bishop Blomfield, the Rural Dean, the patron, and others.

Mr. Panckridge was the son of Francis Panckridge, Esq., of Bradwell, Oxon. He was educated at a private school at Banbury, whence he went to Jesus College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1864 and M.A. in 1868. He was ordained deacon in 1865, and priest (by the Bishop of London) in 1866. After leaving college he was a master at All Saints' School, Bloxham, Oxon., under the Rev. R. Egerton. He was curate of St. Matthew's, City Road, from 1865 to 1866, when he was appointed head master of St. Thomas's, Charterhouse, middle-class school. In 1870 he was also evening lecturer at St. Lawrence Jewry. In 1872 he went back to St. Matthew's, City Road, as vicar, and remained there until he came to St. Bartholomew's in 1884. He was a member of the London School Board from 1885 until his death two years later.

His coming to St. Bartholomew's was the occasion of a great revival of church life in the parish, which had naturally suffered from the previous rector having been so long incapacitated by his great age. He instituted a working men's club, a boys' club, a Sunday school for boys, systematic visiting in the parish, and other parochial organizations. He introduced a surpliced choir of men and boys, for the payment of whom and of the organist he made himself responsible.

He preached his first sermon on the 17th February 1884, and from that time continued to preach regularly. He always had the assistance of at least one curate, and in addition frequently invited other preachers to occupy his pulpit; among such were the Bishop of Bedford, the Bishop of Colchester, Bishop Bromby, Canon Benham,

¹ Reg. Lond., Jackson, iii, 89.

Canon Elwyn, and Canon Phillips, the patron. Until July 1884 he was assisted by the Rev. R. F. Hosken, and then by the Rev. H. B. Bromby, an old college friend, who gave up his appointment as Dean of Hobart, Tasmania, to come to work with him. Within twelve months, however, Bromby was appointed vicar of St. John the Evangelist's, Bethnal Green, and Rural Dean of Spitalfields, and in 1892 he was transferred to All Saints', Clifton, where he remained until his death on the 21st December 1911. Bromby was succeeded at St. Bartholomew's by the Rev. N. C. S. Poyntz, but in September 1886 he too had preferment, and was presented to the vicarage of Dorchester, Oxon., which he held until his death in 1920. Poyntz was succeeded by the Rev. F. W. J. Daniels and the Rev. Pelham Ogle, both of whom remained until Mr. Panckridge's death in 1887.

Mr. Panckridge's first appearance at a vestry meeting was on the 4th April 1884,¹ and at the Easter vestry, on the 17th of the same month, he nominated Mr. E. A. Webb his warden, the vestry electing Mr. R. H. Peck of Bartholomew Close as their warden.² There were 41 vestrymen at this time, but the matters with which they had to deal as a vestry were few and unimportant. In November 1883 they had to consider an offer from the Butchers' Company of £1,000 for the parish house, No. 86 Bartholomew Close; ³ but as this house was scheduled under Bryce's City of London Parochial Charities Bill, then passing through Parliament, the vestry did not consider themselves free to deal with the offer.

In July 1884 the vestry found it necessary to serve a notice upon the occupiers of the houses abutting on the great churchyard, that any persons entering the churchyard from such houses or throwing refuse thereon would be treated as trespassers or offenders.⁴

In January 1885 the vestry chronicled the information that the Fishmongers' Company, who claimed the right-of-way over the passage from Queen's Square to Aldersgate Street, known as Bowman's Buildings, had removed the bar from the entrance to this passage,⁵ which greatly facilitated its use by the public.

In April 1886 it was reported to the vestry that the Corporation had decided to demolish the glebe houses, No. 95 Bartholomew Close and No. 1 Duke Street, to widen the entrance to the Close.⁶ At the same time the transfer of the watch-house fund to the trustees of the parochial schools for building purposes was notified.

The one matter of importance which came before the vestry at this time was the further restoration of the church.

¹ *V. M. Bk.* x, 302.

² *Ib.*, 306.

³ See above, p. 219.

⁴ *V. M. Bk.* x, 309.

⁵ *Ib.*, 318.

⁶ Above, p. 223.

THE RESTORATION OF 1885.

William Panckridge will always be remembered at St. Bartholomew's as the prime mover, with Canon Phillips the patron, of the second restoration of the church.

At the induction of Rector Panckridge in 1884 the patron had generously given £1,000 to be applied to the further restoration, a work which, as we have seen, could not be carried through in 1867 from inability to secure the fringe-maker's premises.

On the 15th September 1884, on the suggestion of Canon Phillips, the rector called a meeting of the churchwardens and overseers 'to form a consultative committee to consider the purchase of certain buildings standing on the site of the ancient church; such committee not to interfere with the works committee constituted by the vestry on the 20th October 1882, to deal with the repair of the existing fabric'.¹ A consultative committee was formed of those present at the meeting with the addition of the patron. The two churchwardens (E. A. Webb and R. H. Peck) and the two overseers (Benjamin Turner and W. T. Wingrove) agreed jointly to purchase No. 10 Cloth Fair, commonly known as the Blacksmith's Forge, then on the site of the north transept; and to hold the same as trustees for the parish until the latter was in a position to take over the property for the benefit of the restoration of the church (p. 120).

Sir Aston Webb (not knighted at that time) had previously ascertained that the owner, Mr. F. G. Debenham, was willing to part with the house for the benefit of the church for the sum of £1,250. At the next meeting (on 11th October)² Sir Aston submitted an offer from Mr. Debenham to sell for £1,120, which was accepted, and the purchase was carried through in due course.³ Subsequently the four trustees conveyed the property⁴ at the cost price to the rector, the patron, Sir William (then Mr. T. W.) Boord, and Mr. E. A. Webb for the restoration of the north transept.

At the initial meeting, 15th September 1884, the purchase of the Fringe Factory, occupying the ancient Lady Chapel, and known as 40-42 Bartholomew Close, was considered. The leaseholder at that time was Mr. Denison, who had succeeded Mr. Stanborough: the freeholder being Mr. Frederick Hindley. The latter was known personally to Sir Aston, who undertook the negotiations, and whose name was added to the committee.⁵ The price asked for the property was £8,000. The land measure was shown by survey to be 5,300 ft.

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* i, 361.

² *Ib.*, 364.

³ Parish Safe, D. 64.

⁴ *Ib.*, D. 65.

⁵ *Rest. M. Bk.* i, 366.

super, and the portion projecting into the church 1,289 ft. super, the value of which together Sir Aston estimated at £6,150.¹ In March (1885) he succeeded in obtaining an option of it for a month for £6,500.²

Thereupon the patron offered to purchase that portion of the fringe factory which projected into the church at Sir Aston Webb's valuation, £650; provided that the committee would purchase the rest, and that the £1,500 already given by him should be expended on the restoration of the apse.³

The consultative committee, having now obtained the option of the two important buildings which stood upon the site of the monastic church, a parish meeting was called, at which it was decided to form a Restoration⁴ Committee to acquire the properties and to carry out a restoration. An influential General Committee was soon formed,⁵ including the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Bedford, the Earl of Devon, and Earl Waldegrave; the Dean of St. Paul's, the Dean of Exeter, the Dean of Windsor, and the Dean of Manchester; Canon Gregory, Canon Liddon, and Precentor Venables; Lord Charles Bruce, the Hon. Dudley Fortescue, Lord Avebury (then Sir John Lubbock), Sir Sydney Waterlow, Sir William Boord, Sir F. T. Dixon-Hartland, and many others.⁶ An appeal was issued on the 2nd January 1885, with a coloured plan showing the secular encroachments on the church, and by the middle of March £3,700 had been received, which was increased to £6,500 by the end of the year.

At the first meeting of the Restoration Committee held on the 7th May (1885),⁷ Lord Charles Bruce presiding, it was decided to enter into a contract for the purchase of the fringe factory, and to accept the patron's generous offer referred to above. To this gift the patron subsequently added a further £300 to complete the restoration of the apse, the whole of his gift, £2,450, to be considered a memorial to his uncle, the late rector, John Abbiss.

At the meeting on the 4th June, Sir Aston Webb, who had carried through the negotiations to a successful conclusion, was appointed architect to the committee, and was requested to prepare a scheme for the restoration of the church. Exact measured drawings of the then existing building having been made, the architect was able on the 15th December to present to the committee⁸ his plans and report,

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* i, 373.

² *Ib.*, 381.

³ *Ib.*, 378.

⁴ *Ib.*, 382.

⁵ *Ib.*, 397.

⁶ *App.* II, p. 544.

⁷ *Rest. M. Bk.* i, 395.

⁸ *Ib.*, 407; *App.* II, p. 545.

in which he detailed the following works to be carried out as funds would allow :

1. The completion of the Apse.
2. The re-roofing of the Church.
3. The removal of the boys' school from the north triforium, and the re-erection of schools on a portion of the fringe factory site.
4. The removal of the forge and the existing vestry, and the building of north and south transepts.
5. Repairs to the west end, and the uncovering of the remains of the nave.
6. Seating and necessary furniture, and
7. The restoration of the Lady Chapel.

The plans were unanimously approved, and their adoption was moved by Mr. Hayter Lewis, the architect of the previous restoration, who had joined the committee six months before, and remained a member until his death.

An executive committee had been appointed, and on the 29th January (1886) they laid their report before a meeting of the general committee, over which Frederick Temple, then Bishop of London, presided. The report was unanimously adopted, and the churchwardens were requested to apply for a faculty to restore the apse, the roof, and the transepts ; to remove bodies in the graveyard, and to build a new porch.¹

On the 25th March (1886) tenders were laid before the committee for completing the apse, and re-roofing the church from end to end. Dove Brothers' tender of £3,130 was the lowest, in the aggregate, and as they had previously done work in the church it was accepted ; ² this sum, however, was reduced on the architect's recommendation to use blue Bath stone in place of Totternhoe stone for inside work ; Portland stone being specified for the exterior.

The restoration, however, was not allowed to proceed without a protest from the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, who expressed the opinion that to build on the ancient semicircular arcade a modern apsidal termination would be a great mistake.³ The committee, however, strongly approved the plan of their architect, and Mr. Beresford Hope wrote ' that the arguments of the Society did not carry conviction to his mind, that they seemed to exaggerate archaeological considerations and to be thoroughly impracticable '. He hoped ' that the architect would persevere and prosper in his wise and successful plan of restoration '.⁴ The work was then commenced, and it was so arranged that the church was only closed for three

¹ Parish Safe, Faculty 24 Mar. 1886, D. 76.

² *Rest. M. Bk.* i, 430.

³ *Ib.*, 434.

⁴ *Ib.*, 443.

Sundays from the 15th August; and during that time evening service was held in the schoolroom.

By the 15th October the rector was able to report to the vestry¹ that the apse was nearly finished and the roof completed; on the 2nd November the architect reported to the committee that the builders had carried out their work to contract time (30th October), and practically without extras.² An addition of boards and moulded ribs, however, had had to be made to the apse roof, as on the removal of the scaffold the effect had not proved sufficiently dignified.³ Also when the upper part of the east wall was removed the pillar at the south end of it showed signs of weakness; it was therefore strengthened by pouring into its centre liquid cement, a flying buttress being built in the triforium to secure the wall over it.

At this time the entrance to the church was moved from the centre of the west wall to the west end of the south aisle, which necessitated the removal of the font to a position under the organ gallery;⁴ and the heating apparatus had to be extended by the insertion of iron coils in different parts of the church in consequence of the enlargement of the building.

In April (1886) a strong school building committee was formed, which purchased for £1,100, as a site for the new schools, 1,900 ft. of the fringe factory land south of that building,⁵ at one time the burial-ground of the canons. This open space was given up to building purposes with regret, but otherwise the schools would have been lost, which the rector was especially anxious to avoid.

In May the funds of the Restoration were helped by an official visit of the Lord Mayor, when Dr. (now Sir) Norman Moore and Sir Aston Webb both delivered lectures in the church to an audience of about 500 people.⁶ Sir N. Moore, who had previously given 100 copies of *The Book of the Foundation*, edited by him from the original manuscript, had 500 copies printed of *The Ordinance of Richard de Ely* of the year 1198, 'edited from the original document' in St. Paul's Cathedral Library, and these also he presented to the church.⁷

In the year 1868, when the Bridge's organ of 1731 had been lost under circumstances already explained,⁸ a small organ by Gray & Davidson was purchased by Mr. Abbiss, and erected, not in the former position at the west end of the church, but on the south side opposite to Rahere's tomb; but this small instrument was quite inadequate for the building. In May 1886 Mr. Panckridge reported

¹ *V. M. Bk.* x, 351.

² *Ib.*, 459.

³ *Ib.*, 449.

⁴ *Ib.*, 429.

⁵ *Rest. M. Bk.* i, 459.

⁶ *Ib.*, 461.

⁷ *Ib.*, 444.

⁸ Above, p. 49.

that the rector and churchwardens of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, being desirous of having a new organ, had offered their old one to St. Bartholomew's for £300:¹ the cost of moving was estimated at £125, and the cost of an organ loft at £175, or £600 in all. He pointed out that, if the offer were accepted, the organ could only be placed at the west end, which would materially affect the treatment of that part of the church, because the rector would then wish the quire stalls to be moved to the west end and the seats for the congregation to be arranged facing each other, as in the quire of a cathedral or college chapel. This arrangement, having the entire approval of the architect, who said it overcame the difficulty of the treatment of the west end, was adopted by the committee,² and the organ was purchased: the rector, Mr. T. W. Boord and Mr. J. Hilton guaranteeing the payment.³ The small organ purchased by Mr. Abbiss was bought by his nephew, Canon Phillips, for £50,⁴ and presented by him to the Epsom Guardians. The organ loft, as designed by the architect, was ordered at a cost of £215, the payment being guaranteed by twelve members of the committee.⁵ The patron then came forward with the offer to complete the quire stalls at an outlay of £225 in memory of his father and mother,⁶ and to provide marble altar steps for the new high altar which had been given by Miss Overbury, the rector's sister-in-law.⁷ A brass lectern⁸ was also given at this time by the late Mrs. J. Hilditch Evans, the widow of a late churchwarden.

On the 19th November (1886) the architect was able to make his report to the Executive Committee on the completion of this first section of the work of restoration. In the report he described the architectural fragments found during the demolition of the east wall, and of the wall dividing the church from the Lady Chapel. These fragments, with those found at the previous restoration, had been laid out on the floor of the late Fringe Factory, and are now partly in the north triforium and partly in the cloister. The report is printed in the Appendix.⁹ The matters dealt with have already been described when dealing with the quire of the church.¹⁰

The executive committee, on the 22nd November, made their report to the General Committee, in which they also set out the various gifts mentioned above that had been made to the church. These had very materially added to the beauty of the building, which had been so much improved by the restoration of the east end.

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* i, 439; and see above, p. 49 (and App. II, p. 502).

² *Ib.*, 442.

³ *Ib.*, 447.

⁴ *Ib.*, 451.

⁵ *Ib.*, 451.

⁶ *Ib.*, 458, and see above, p. 48.

⁷ *Ib.*, 456 a.

⁸ See above, p. 49.

⁹ App. II, p. 549.

¹⁰ Above, p. 15.

All was now ready for the opening ceremony, which took place on St. Andrew's Day, 30th November 1886. The sermon was preached in the morning by the Bishop of Colchester (to whom at one time Mr. Panckridge had been curate), and in the evening by the Rev. F. Parr Phillips, the patron, who, with the rector, had done so much to bring this important work to a successful issue.

The occasion was celebrated by a largely attended luncheon in the great hall of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, presided over by Sir James Paget,¹ who, in a memorable speech, described the work as one of piety, sentiment, and utility. The Lord Mayor, Sir Reginald Hanson, who attended in state both the service and the luncheon, was an old college friend of the rector.

In the following February (1887) Mr. Panckridge was seized with a serious illness. He preached for the last time on the 13th of that month. He was unable to be present at the vestry on the 31st March. At the Easter vestry, on the 14th April, he wrote an affectionate letter to the members, in which he appointed Sir William Boord his churchwarden in place of Mr. Webb, who was anxious that the parish should benefit by Sir William's services, Mr. Benjamin Turner being elected people's warden. The rector gradually became worse, and, to the great sorrow of all, died on the 8th June (1887).

At a meeting of the vestry on the 21st July a resolution was passed recording their 'appreciation of his high qualities, his splendid energy and zeal', and of his 'constant devotion to the welfare of the church and parish', and of the good which his efforts had produced in the welfare of the people.² The London School Board also passed a resolution of regret at losing his services.

He was buried at Highgate Cemetery, the first part of the burial office being said at St. Bartholomew's. The inscription on his tombstone is :

William Panckridge, priest, Rector of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield. Fell asleep June 8th, 1887, aged 50 years. R.I.P.

'He asked life of Thee, and Thou gavest him a long life : even for ever and ever.'

His widow was buried in the same grave on 30th July 1921.

The Restoration Fund at the time of his death amounted to £8,700.

Mr. Panckridge resided within the Charterhouse until the spring of 1885, when, the rooms being no longer available, he moved to No. 17 Bedford Square.

His son, Hugh Rahere, born on the 2nd October 1885, was baptized

¹ *V. M. Bk.* x, 355.

² *Ib.*, 365.

in the church by the Bishop of Colchester on the 1st November following.¹

The account of the erection of a quire screen as a memorial to this rector is given further on; the screen has already been described.²

BORRADAILE SAVORY, BARONET, M.A., RECTOR 1887-1906.

'On the 28th July 1887, the Rev. Borradaile Savory, clerk, M.A., was instituted to the rectory vacant by the death of William Panckridge on the presentation of the Rev. Frederick Parr Phillips, the rector of Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey, the patron' (pl. XCVI, p. 374).³

He was born at 13 Charterhouse Square on the 5th October 1855,⁴ being the only child of Sir William Scovell Savory, Bart., M.B., F.R.S. (Surgeon of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, president of the Royal College of Surgeons, and Surgeon Extraordinary to Queen Victoria), by his wife Louisa Frances Borradaile. He was educated privately and matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, in October 1875; he graduated B.A. in 1879 and M.A. in 1882. He was ordained deacon in 1880 and priest in 1881, when he was appointed curate at St. George's, Hanover Square, and so continued until he came to St. Bartholomew's as rector. He succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his father in 1895. He was president of Sion College in 1905. He held the position of chaplain to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and to the Royal Army Medical Corps, volunteers; and in 1890 he was senior grand chaplain to the English Freemasons. He married, in July 1881, Florence Julia, the only surviving daughter of Frederick William Pavy, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., of Wroughton in the county of Wilts.

The new rector lived both before and after his father's death at 66 Brook Street, W., and in order to be near the parish he had also chambers at 20 King Street, Snow Hill. In 1895 he inherited his father's country house, Woodlands, Stoke Poges, Bucks.

Rector Savory attended a meeting of the vestry, together with the patron, by invitation, on the 21st July 1887, seven days before his induction, to be introduced by the patron to the members of the vestry.⁵

He had as curate until 1889 the Rev. F. W. J. Daniels; then, until 1900, the Rev. C. Albert Smith (now the vicar of St. Mary's, Haggerston). The latter was succeeded by the Rev. P. T. Williams, from Jesus College, Cambridge, who remained until the year 1892,

¹ Par. Reg. xxi, 154.

² Above, p. 49.

³ Reg. Lond., Jackson.

⁴ So certified by the Registrar-General.

⁵ *V. M. Bk.* x, 365.

subsequently joining the Melanesian Mission. Williams was succeeded in the same year by the Rev. Leonard Savill, also from Jesus College, who remained until he was presented to the vicarage of Swanley, Kent, whence later he went to Dartford. The Rev. W. E. Robinson came in 1904 and remained until after Rector Savory's death. In 1902 the Rev. J. Arbuthnot Nairn, head master of Merchant Taylors' School, often preached for the rector: the Rev. S. J. Childs Clarke, minor canon of St. Paul's, the Rev. William Ostle, the vicar of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, the Rev. Blomfield Jackson, the Rev. R. M. Woolley, the Rev. W. S. Mavor, the Rev. Dr. Linklater, the Rev. C. Swynnerton, and others also helped, especially during the later years.

In March 1888 the vestry resolved to appoint a committee to raise a memorial to the late rector, William Panckridge.¹ By the 4th April a representative committee, numbering forty-one members, was formed² with Lord Charles Bruce as chairman, Sir F. D. Dixon-Hartland as honorary treasurer, and including the Bishops of Bedford and of Colchester, Bishop Bromby, the Rev. F. P. Phillips, Dr. Norman Moore, &c. It was unanimously resolved that the most suitable form of memorial would be the completion of the quire screen, the present arrangement of the organ and quire stalls having originated with the late rector. In November³ the architect submitted a design for such a screen which was highly approved both by the widow and by the committee.⁴ The cost, which was over £300, was eventually raised, Mr. Grimshire greatly assisting by allowing his subscription of £60 for providing a screen to the sanctuary to be diverted to this object. The unveiling took place on the 8th June (1889), when the patron preached a sermon which was subsequently printed.⁵

Owing to the premature death of Mr. Panckridge there were certain works promoted by him, outside the restoration, still on hand; such as rebuilding the schools and the new organ and organ gallery. These were the first things to be dealt with by the new rector. The debt on the organ gallery and the repairs to the organ were defrayed out of the proceeds of the performance of a new oratorio, *Judith*, given by Miss Holland's choir,⁶ which amounted to over £230. Again, over £100 was raised by Lady Savory by a sale of work held for the reduction of the debt on the organ at Lord Brassey's house in Park Lane.⁷

¹ *V. M. Bk.* x, 374; see above, p. 49.

² *Rest. M. Bk.* i, 508.

³ *Ib.*, 510.

⁴ *Ib.*, 519.

⁵ *Ib.*, 550.

⁶ *Ib.*, 530, 28 Mar. 1889.

⁷ The debt was not finally extinguished until 1895. *Ib.* ii, 149.

Subsequently the organ was, in 1892, provided with a case by Mr. Henry Thomas Withers, who presented 400 guineas for the purpose in memory of his brother Frederick John Withers :¹ frequent reference has already been made² to the latter's diary, written during the restoration of 1864. The organ case was designed by the architect and completed in June 1893.³

The preliminaries for the rebuilding of the schools had been settled before Mr. Panckridge's death. The rebuilding committee had been formed, as already stated,⁴ and had met in March 1886. They had obtained the consent of the parish trustees to the transference of the proceeds of the sale of the parish Watch House (£323) to the school building fund, and had appealed to the various church societies, the City Companies, &c., and had collected £900. They had also negotiated with the Restoration Committee for a site on the south side of the Lady Chapel, some 1,900 ft. super, for £1,100 as already stated⁵—£1,900 less £800, allowed in compensation for relinquishing their school-room in the triforium. Plans had also been submitted, but the owners of Bartholomew House, recently erected in Kinghorn Street, claimed compensation for loss of light and air, which was met by setting back the school building 3 ft.⁶ and by this amount Red Lion Passage was widened to the general advantage.

The plans were for a three-story building, but in March 1888, at the wish of the Restoration Committee, a two-story building was substituted.⁷ At the same time the cottage at the east end of the Lady Chapel was pulled down to give light to the schools.

The new rector, on taking up the work, had to find £2,000 for the building, and £1,100 for the club rooms in the basement, which he had decided to form. His father, Sir William Savory, had made a donation of £250 to the school building fund on the rector's induction, as well as a similar sum to the Restoration Fund. £1,600 in all was subsequently received from subscribers,⁸ and nearly £700 by means of concerts, sales of work, &c., by Lady Savory, which sums were, in addition to the cost of the club rooms, raised exclusively by the rector and his wife. The Duchess of Albany laid the foundation-stone on the 5th July 1888, and the schools were opened about twelve months later.⁹ There were various claims made by the owners of Fenton's Buildings and of the surrounding houses, but all were amicably arranged by the architect, for which he was cordially

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 65.

² *Ib.*, 104 ; for inscription, see App. II, p. 477.

³ See above, p. 410.

⁴ *Ib.* ii, 504 and 513.

⁵ *Ib.* iii, 20.

⁶ *Ib.*, 103.

⁷ See above, p. 407.

⁸ *Rest. M. Bk.* i, 477.

⁹ *School M. Bk.* iii, 79.

thanked.¹ The accounts were finally balanced and the committee dissolved on the 5th December 1892.²

In 1890 the Restoration Committee, by reason of a grant made by the Charity Commissioners under Bryce's City of London Parochial Charities Act of 1883, were able to take up the works of restoration which the architect had reported in November 1886³ as being urgently required; viz.:

The removal of the forge and parish house from the north transept;

The removal of the existing canvas-covered vestry from the south transept;

The removal of the boys' school from the north triforium;

The building of two shallow transepts to support the arches of the crossing;

The uncovering of the nave, and

The restoration of the Lady Chapel.

On the 10th January 1889, Mr. Ewan Christian, acting as architect for the Commissioners, inspected the church,⁴ and was furnished with the architect's estimate of the cost of the works required, which amounted to £7,519.⁵ Mr. Christian's⁶ estimate, exclusive of the Lady Chapel which he considered should be left to private benevolence, amounted to £8,000;⁷ and this sum was included in the Commissioners' scheme, which received the Royal Assent in February 1891.

On the other hand, the annual grant recommended by Mr. Christian of £55 for the maintenance of the fabric was entirely inadequate, and, after an inquiry, this was raised in September 1893 to £120.⁸ Two-thirds of the rent of the parish house (86 Bartholomew Close) was, however, taken by the Commissioners for civil purposes, leaving only £11 a year for the maintenance of the services of the church.

In March 1890, as the roof of the south transept was in a dilapidated condition,⁹ it was decided, with the consent of the Charity Commissioners,¹⁰ to anticipate the grant to the extent of £1,200, and to restore the south transept at once. In May the architect submitted alternative plans¹¹: one for a shallow transept as proposed by Mr. Christian; the other to occupy the whole area of the original transept. He pointed out that the rights of light over the transept acquired by the adjoining buildings presented difficulties in carrying out the larger scheme, and that a transept of those dimensions would be out of proportion with the rest of the church now that the nave was destroyed; and further, that the corresponding transept on the

¹ *School M. Bk.* iii, 35.

² *Ib.*, 98.

³ Above, p. 412.

⁴ *Rest. M. Bk.* i, 533.

⁵ *Ib.*, 563.

⁶ *Ib.*, 569.

⁷ *Ib.* ii, 1.

⁸ App. II, p. 579.

⁹ *Rest. M. Bk.* i, 568.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, 574.

¹¹ *Ib.* i, 574.

north side could in no case be so built because a large portion of the area was occupied by the public thoroughfare. Some members of the committee favoured the larger scheme, but the opinion was expressed that the committee, whilst preserving all work that existed, should aim at not building more than was necessary for the requirements of the day; and as the architect considered that the best thing to do was to build a shallow transept, his advice was followed. It was also decided to add to the transept a much needed baptistery, and otherwise to extend somewhat the work included in the Commissioners' grant. A contract was thereupon entered into with Dove Bros. for £1,750.

As soon as the vestry room was cleared away¹ from the upper part of the transept, a plain twelfth-century arch was uncovered on the east side in which the vestry fireplace had stood; and on the west side a corresponding arch of the triforium was found, with later mouldings, as already described.² As the work proceeded various difficulties arose, but they were all successfully overcome. Thus, the owner of the stable in the east cloister had, in the year 1726 (as already stated),³ been allowed to make an opening into the green churchyard for ventilation; but, as this would now open directly into the new transept bay, the owner's consent had to be obtained to close it and make a new outlet to the open air in its place.⁴ Also, probably after the fall of the cloister vault in 1833, the owner of the stable, in rebuilding his dwelling-room over, had, in order to enlarge his room, encroached some 3 ft. on the transept wall, which made it impossible to carry up the new wall at that point to the full thickness. This was got over by throwing above the intruding part of the room a small girder on which the wall was continued of the full thickness.⁵ The result was that the upper part of the flue of the dwelling-room was enclosed in the thickness of the transept wall through which the chimney pot protruded; as indeed it still does, although the room and its flue have been pulled down.

The coffins in the green churchyard, disturbed by the extension of the new bay of the transept, were reinterred at a lower level, the head stones being laid on the floor above them. The two memorial tablets taken down to build the new bay were refixed on the new portions of the east and west walls of the transept.⁶ The high brick wall, erected after the fire of 1830 to enclose the graveyard, was replaced by iron railings.

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* i, 572.

² Above, pp. 139, 339.

³ *Ib.*, 9.

⁴ Above, p. 55.

⁵ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 8.

⁶ *Ib.*, 14.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee, in February 1891, the members expressed their satisfaction at the work of the architect, which they said had brought to light unaltered all that remained of the old work and made the new harmonize with it, though distinct in design. The General Committee, at their meeting on the 28th February, expressed similar satisfaction, and also thanked Messrs. Dove Bros. for their careful work. The rector was thanked for the great part he had played in rebuilding the schools, whereby the church was also freed from a dangerous fire risk.¹ The restored transept was opened by Dr. Temple, the Bishop of London, on the 14th March (1891), on which occasion Sir Norman Moore presented 600 copies of his pamphlet on the charter granted to Rahere in 1133 by King Henry I.²

On the 9th February that year (1891), the Charity Commissioners' scheme having passed the Commons, the architect submitted his plans and estimates for completing the work therein specified,³ viz. the repairs to the Tower and West front; repairs to the vaulting in the north and south aisles; re-roofing the south triforium, and repairs to the north triforium, which had been vacated by the school. And as this part of the work could be put in hand at once⁴ a contract for £1,035 was entered into with Dove's in the following July.⁵

The other works in the grant were the building of a shallow north transept and the formation of a new vestry room, which could not then be put in hand, owing to the delay in obtaining signatures to the conveyance of the house 9½ Cloth Fair. In addition to these works, the architect recommended the utilization of the remainder of the Forge site (No. 10 Cloth Fair) for a porch, with a room over extending to the footway in Cloth Fair, which, besides making a striking architectural feature, would give covered access to the church; he also proposed to erect a west porch with a vestry over and a statue of Rahere in a niche in front, to place a flat oak ceiling in place of a stone vault over the south-west bay of the nave, and to rehang the bells. The estimate for the whole work came to £2,500 beyond the Commissioners' grant.⁶

By the 30th January following, the work ordered in July was completed. The upper portion of the tower had been entirely rebuilt; the external wall of the south triforium had been raised and an entirely new oak roof had been placed over it; a circular stone stair, giving access to the triforium, had been built and other minor works executed.⁷ Some had wished that the Early English vault of the south-west bay of the south aisle could have been restored

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 23.

⁴ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 32.

² *Ib.*, 27, and Vol. I, p. 60.

⁵ *Ib.*, 41.

³ App. II, p. 551.

⁶ *Ib.*, 14-18.

⁷ *Ib.*, 51.

in place of a new flat oak ceiling ; but this was not feasible, even if desirable, because, the tower having been built since the vaulting was destroyed, the base of the tower walls came in the way.¹

An event, in itself of minor importance, must here be chronicled, because it influenced the decision concerning the new pulpit, which was built at the same time as the north transept was restored.² In October 1891, the death of the sextoness, Miss Charlotte Hart, was reported to the vestry,³ by whom she had been appointed in October 1852. After the church was reopened in 1868, it had been kept open daily, and it was the duty of the sextoness to show the church to visitors. After Rector Abbiss's death her health began to fail, and in 1888 she applied to the churchwardens for a pension and, being to all appearance reduced to a state of great poverty, a pension was granted to her.⁴ She died on the 30th April. On the day of the funeral a will was produced⁵ leaving a sum of £2,900 invested in Consols (as well as plate, pictures, and other things). Of this sum (the proceeds of gratuities given her by visitors) she bequeathed to the rector and churchwardens for the time being the sum of £600, to be expended as they might think fit in permanently beautifying or altering the church at their entire discretion, but she suggested a pulpit, if one had not already been erected.⁶ She further left £100, the interest of which was to be distributed in coals for the poor ; £25 for a small tablet or other memento of herself in the church where she had officiated as sextoness for nearly forty years ; and £100, the interest of which was to be expended towards keeping in repair the tablet of her grandparents in the church, and of her mother, sister, brother and others in the churchyard.⁷ When the restoration of the north transept was finished, a bronze tablet was erected in accordance with the will, and placed on the new west wall, being close to the site of 9½ Cloth Fair, the house where the sextoness had lived. The tablet to her grandparents, the Wheelers, was removed from the south aisle to the same wall. The £600, less the legacy duty, was entrusted to the Restoration Committee and was expended by them in part on the new pulpit (presently referred to) and in part on the restoration of the transept.

The residuary legatee of the will presented some interesting water-colour drawings and permanent photographs of the church to Mr. E. A. Webb, who presented them to the church authorities ;⁸ they are now in the west porch vestry.

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 56, 67.

² Below, p. 422.

³ *V. M. Bk.* x, 426.

⁴ *Ib.*, 382.

⁵ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 28.

⁶ *Ib.*, 35.

⁷ *App.* II, p. 577.

⁸ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 44.

In January 1892 the restoration of the north transept was taken in hand. Preparation for the work had been going on for several years. The freehold of the blacksmith's forge, No. 10 Cloth Fair, was purchased, as already seen, in 1884.¹ The surrender of the tenant's lease was taken in November 1889.² The house 9½ Cloth Fair was a small house which stood on the western side of the transept site and abutted on the church. It formed the endowment of the almshouses, and as such had come into the hands of the Charity Commissioners under Bryce's Act. This had to be acquired before the transept could be restored. The architect valued it at £500³ but Ewan Christian's valuation was £775, and, as that sum was allowed in the grant, that amount was paid to the Commissioners for its conveyance, on the 28th July 1891.⁴

In June of the same year (1891) the Commissioners of Sewers opened negotiations for the purchase of a portion of the site of No. 10 Cloth Fair (the Forge property) to widen the road, and, as this would be of mutual advantage, a portion was conveyed to them on the 12th April 1893, at the cost price (£255). Later, in December 1895, the Corporation still further improved the approach to this part of the church at the instance of Mr. Deputy Turner, churchwarden, by throwing into the public footway a portion of land which had been occupied by No. 11 Cloth Fair.⁵

On the 30th January 1892 the architect submitted detailed drawings and estimates as follows :

	£
New North Transept	2,250
Entrance Porch to the same	449
Room over the Porch	300
West Porch with Vestry over and stairs to Organ loft	920
Recasing the West Front	416
	<hr/>
	£4,335 ⁶

The plans were all approved, and a contract entered into with Dove Bros. at these figures.

In July the rights of light and air of No. 11 Cloth Fair were dealt with.⁷ The house stood on a part of the original transept site, and the new transept wall came close up to its windows. By mutual consent the matter was submitted to the arbitration of Mr. Gruning, who considered that the freeholder had already been compensated by a grant of the right, when reconstructing, to build again on the

¹ See above, p. 407, and Parish Safe, Deeds 64, 65.

² *Ib.*, Deed 66.

³ *Rest. M. Bk.* i, 532.

⁴ Parish Safe, Deed 33.

⁵ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 164.

⁶ *Ib.*, 52.

⁷ *Ib.*, 62.

church boundary wall; he paying his own costs and those of the church trustees. The tenant was awarded £30 compensation; the trustees paying his and their own costs (some £31). This settlement was cordially approved by the Restoration Committee; subsequently the Corporation purchased the house, and as they threw the site into the footway (as mentioned above) the right to rebuild on the church wall was fortunately not exercised.

At the time of the arbitration the architect was able to report that the transept was already built half-way up the triforium; and that the recasing of the west front and the west porch were up to the level of the organ gallery. In the niche over the door of the west porch he was placing a figure of Rahere by W. S. Frith the sculptor;¹ and in the niche of the north porch, a figure of St. Bartholomew² by the same artist.

At this time one of the piers of the entrance gates to the graveyard stood immediately in front of the entrance to the church, as seen from Smithfield; to remedy this a plan was submitted for shifting the gates and widening the approach at a cost of £100;³ this was approved and was carried out, the latter (owing to the care of Dove's foreman, Gregory) without the removal of any bones from the graveyard.⁴

At the commencement of the work to the transept in February 1892, the question of retaining or removing the stone screen under the north arch of the crossing was considered,⁵ especially with regard to the new pulpit to be erected under Miss Hart's will.⁶ The architect at first proposed to continue the stalls across the screen, to be terminated by a wooden canopied pulpit at the eastern end,⁷ thus concealing the rough condition in which the first restoration committee of 1864 had left the back of the screen by removing its ashlar face. In February 1893 plans were submitted for carrying out this proposal,⁷ but with the stalls terminating in a canopy over a stone instead of a wooden pulpit. As, however, the backs to the stalls would thus cover some of the twelfth-century masonry and the canopy would entail the removal of the Chamberlayne monument, it was resolved to continue the stalls without backs, and to proceed with the pulpit in stone without the canopy.⁸ By the next meeting, however, the post-suppression wall filling the transept arch above the stone screen had been taken down, and the architect then felt that the better plan would be, while retaining the screen, to remove the filling of its two

¹ For description see above, p. 109.

² *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 64.

³ Above, p. 419.

⁴ *Ib.*, 75.

⁵ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 53.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 119.

⁷ *Ib.*, 56.

⁸ *Ib.*, 81.

arches, to replace it with wrought-iron grilles, and to recut the rough face of the arches on the church side, a proposal which was unanimously approved.¹ This arrangement opened up the transept to the church and obviated the necessity of any additional choir stalls. A model of the new pulpit was then placed in position and approved, and it was resolved, on the recommendation of the architect, that it should be executed in Hopton stone, instead of in Blue Bath, at a cost of £117.²

When, in May 1893, the plans for the wrought-iron screens or grilles were submitted, the rector frankly told the committee that he did not favour any screen being placed in the arches; but at the same time he admitted that the recommendation of the architect weighed greatly with him, as what Sir Aston had done up to that time had always proved to be right. His views were endorsed by another member of the committee, but after further explanations from the architect the plans were adopted with the generous concurrence of the rector.³

It was in the course of the excavations on the site of the blacksmith's forge (i.e. on the north side of the stone screen) that the stone coffin of a former prior was found, as described in a previous chapter.⁴

During the restoration of 1864 the narrow passage to the small north door had to be lowered in order that the steps might be outside instead of inside the church; this necessitated the lowering of the doorway. This doorway occupied then, as now, the eastern portion of the north-eastern bay of the main nave arcade. In 1892 it was considered desirable that possession should be obtained of No. 9 Cloth Fair, which abutted on the church, whereby the whole western bay of the north nave aisle could have been restored; but the trustee owners at that time were buyers and not sellers of property in the parish, and they could not be persuaded to sell the house or the part with the overhanging wooden closet which at some early period had been allowed to encroach over the church passage; the latter would at any rate have allowed the west wall in this bay to have been carried to its proper height. Three years later, in February 1895, the trustee owners approached the architect with the view of surrendering the overhanging closet in exchange for a large grant of rights over the graveyard, in view of rebuilding their Cloth Fair houses. But as the committee's work in regard to this encroachment

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 84. (See also above, p. 48.)

² *Ib.*, 84, 85.

³ For description of screen see above, p. 48, and *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 98.

⁴ For photographs of interior of coffin see *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 82.

had by then been carried out, its removal at this time would have been of no advantage, and so no arrangement was come to.¹ Twenty years later, in December 1914, the houses, Nos. 6-9 Cloth Fair, were demolished, and the site was purchased by the Corporation, from whom the site of all the houses 6-9 Cloth Fair have since been acquired. The old wooden door which gave entrance from the church passage is still preserved as the door to the south chapel, now the choir vestry; until 1914 it was used as an entrance door to the furnace room, which was then within the chapel.²

In February 1893 it was decided to ask King Edward (then Prince of Wales) to be present at the opening ceremony of the transept, on the ground that it was his ancestor, King Henry I, who granted the site for the church; that the Prince was the president of Rahere's other foundation, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and that the present work completed that contemplated in the Commissioners' grant. Consent was readily given, and throughout the many arrangements that had to be made in connexion with the ceremony, the gracious replies that were sent and the great consideration for the convenience of others shown by King Edward made a lasting impression on all concerned. There was only one suggestion with which he could not concur; the Archbishop had told the rector and his warden that the heir to the throne might sit, on such an occasion, in any place that he pleased, even within the sanctuary, but the Archbishop recommended that chairs should be provided for the Prince and the Royal party on a raised dais; to which his courteous secretary at once replied, 'I am sure the Prince would not like that: in fact, he always tells me that when he is in church he likes to feel that he is like any one else.'

On the day before the ceremony, which was fixed for Monday, the 5th June, at 3.30 in the afternoon, an intimation was received that it was also the intention of Queen Alexandra, then Princess of Wales, to be present, which was particularly gratifying to all, since it was her first appearance in public after the death of her eldest son and heir, the Duke of Clarence. It was recalled that King Henry I, after the death of his son and heir in the wreck of the *White Ship*, had in like manner assisted in the founding of St. Bartholomew's.

Besides the Prince and Princess of Wales there were present—the Duke of York, now King George, the Princess Victoria and the Princess Maud, now the Queen of Norway; and there were also present Edward White Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, Frederick Temple, Bishop of London, R. C. Billing, Bishop of Bedford, and

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 137.

² *Ib.*, 103.

Bishop Mitchinson ; also the Archdeacons of London, of Middlesex, of Guildford, and of Surrey ; the masters of Jesus College, Cambridge, and of the Charterhouse ; Canons Benham and Newbolt, Precentor Venables, and other clergy. Among the laity there were present the Earl of Meath, Lord Egerton of Tatton, Sir Trevor and Lady Lawrence, Sir James and Lady Paget, Viscountess Chewton, Mrs. Benson, Mrs. Temple, and many others. The sermon was preached by the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹ The collection amounted to £207, and there was otherwise subscribed for the Restoration Fund £1,206.

The work contemplated in the Charity Commissioners' grant being now completed (with the exception of small repairs to the monuments in the church), on the 16th November 1893 the Commissioners paid the balance of their grant of £8,000. After this the monuments were all put into a satisfactory condition.²

The Lady Chapel, as we have seen, was not included in the Commissioners' grant ; but it was now necessary that the building should be dealt with in some way. There was still a loan of £1,100 on the premises, the interest on which had at first been met by housing the Rahere club in the lower stories, and the girls' school in the upper ones at a small rent ; but in 1889 the District Surveyor reported that the top floor was in a very dangerous state and, being of timber construction, its occupation was no longer possible.³

The next year, 1890, the owners of 6-7 Kinghorn Street wished to advance their building frontage two feet to the detriment of the Lady Chapel property. This was settled by payment of £50 to the church authorities.⁴ In November 1892 the architect reported that, owing to the bad condition of the roof, decay was proceeding rapidly.⁵ He had had the building shored, but a heavy fall of snow might at any time make the roof give way : in the following February a fall of brickwork from the east end did actually occur.⁶ But it was a difficult problem to know what to do when the hands of the committee were so fully occupied with other works in progress. It was, however, decided that, although the Lady Chapel had been so badly treated that there was not much worked stone to preserve, there was at the same time far too much old work to destroy, and its restoration, as already described,⁷ was decided on.

As a first step application was made, in 1892, by the rector and churchwardens, for the transfer to them of the almshouses (under section 51 of the City of London Parochial Charities Act),⁸ so as to

¹ Full report in *Church Times*, 9 June 1893.

² *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 76, 94, 211, 220.

³ *Ib.* i, 565 ; and ii, 4.

⁴ *Ib.* 76.

⁷ See above, p. 82.

³ *Ib.* i, 532.

⁵ *Ib.* ii, 70.

⁶ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 58.

free the north side of the Lady Chapel from these abutting buildings.¹ The application was at first refused, but eventually, in 1894, the Commissioners sanctioned their sale for £150,² having previously decided that they would not allow them to be used any longer as almshouses. They covered an area of 286 square ft.³ In 1897, when they were pulled down,⁴ the two tablets commemorating their building in 1631, and their rebuilding in 1823, were removed to the wall of the south triforium of the church.⁵

In 1893 it was decided to appeal for funds for the work of the Lady Chapel restoration, and, at the meeting of the committee in May, the architect submitted a perspective drawing of the chapel, as proposed to be restored, for inclusion in the appeal for funds.⁶ But the appeal did not meet with a ready response. In consequence, in May 1894, the architect submitted a plan whereby the work could be executed in three sections; but there were difficulties to be faced whichever section was first undertaken.⁷ The architect then evolved a further scheme, which was to remove at once the whole of the dilapidated post-suppression buildings, to restore the three walls and windows and to re-roof the whole, whereby the old work would be rendered safe and the building itself would once more be in a sound condition and ready to be finished and beautified internally later as funds would allow; the crypt (or charnel house) to be excavated and restored at convenience. The total cost of this was estimated at £1,564.⁸ This scheme was unanimously adopted and the work put in hand. By the November following (1894) the demolition of the factory buildings was completed, and the restoration of the walls and roof was commenced. At the east end there remained of the wall only the south-east angle, as already mentioned when describing the Lady Chapel,⁹ but this fragment was sufficient to show precisely the inner and outer face of the wall.¹⁰ There was no indication as to how the east end of the chapel had been originally treated; it was therefore decided, on the advice of the architect, to have no windows at all in the east wall, as the effect of the direct light, when seen from the church, would interfere with the sombre character of the eastern ambulatory.¹¹ The effect of thus leaving the lighting of the chapel to side windows has proved highly satisfactory.

All that remained of the original south wall were the backs of the three buttresses left standing; it had been completely destroyed

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 58.

² *Ib.*, 122.

³ See above, p. 244.

⁴ *Ib.*, 113-15.

⁵ Above, p. 82.

⁶ *Ib.*, 130.

⁷ *Ib.*, 196.

⁸ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 93.

⁹ *Ib.*, 120.

¹⁰ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 127.

¹¹ *Ib.*, 125.

where the fourth buttress had stood. As the base of the fourth buttress still remained at the street level it was decided to restore it with the rest of the wall.¹

On the north side the original wall remained; also the window jambs and sills up to the springing of the window arches, but in a mutilated condition.

The first section of the work to the Lady Chapel walls and the roof was completed by the following June (1894).

In the meantime, in spite of a deficit of £400, and whilst the work on the Lady Chapel was in progress, it was decided to deal with the crypt, so that it might be opened separately as a Mortuary Chapel. The limit of this bone crypt westward was settled by the discovery of the north-west angle of the walls with a portion of the original chalk vault, and a portion of the vault rib, attached to the west wall, proving that this was the original west wall of the crypt, as had already been assumed.² It was decided to revault the crypt in concrete with stone ribs similar to those used in the fifteenth century (several of which had been found in the débris outside), and to give greater height by lowering the floor three inches,³ and to pave the same with granolithic. It was also decided to glaze the windows, leaving what remained of the original iron stanchion bars; to erect an altar against the east wall and to place a raised slab for coffins in the centre. All this was carried out and finished by the same time as the first part of the work to the Lady Chapel above.

The ceremony of re-opening the crypt took place on the 29th June 1895, and was performed by the Duke of Newcastle, after a service in the church and a sermon by Dr. G. F. Browne, then Bishop of Stepney.⁴

Outside the east end of the chapel there was found a brick vaulted passage filled with stone débris, as already referred to.⁵

At this time there had been raised, for the restoration, schools, and club buildings (including the Commissioners' grant), since the commencement of the effort in 1884, £31,000,⁶ but £1,200 was still required to complete the Lady Chapel.

In January 1895, the trustees of the late Sir Daniel Gooch, who had recently acquired No. 22 Cloth Fair, and No. 1 Red Lion Passage, complained of the opening by the committee of the north-east window of the Lady Chapel over their back yard. Friendly negotiations were

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 128.

² *Ib.* ii, 154.

³ Above, p. 88.

⁴ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 162 b, printed account.

⁵ *Ib.*, 125; see also above, p. 87.

⁶ *Ib.*, 162 b.

opened which ended in a strip of land 5 ft. wide being bought from the trustees for £72¹ (as already stated²). The land thus bought extended the full length of the north-east bay to the east end of the chapel. It not only enabled the window to be kept open and the crypt window below to be opened out, but it also gave access from the north side of the chapel to the open space, the east end of which already belonged to the church.³

By December 1896 the committee were prepared to commence the second and final stage of the Lady Chapel work. Estimates were submitted, amounting to £719, for completing the internal work, including a carved and panelled oak ceiling; £300 for an iron screen at the entrance to the chapel; and £150 to £200 for the furniture. These were approved, as well as the design for the iron screen, which was given privately.⁴

The work was sufficiently advanced by March (1897) to arrange for the opening ceremony, which was performed by Mandell Creighton, Bishop of London, on the 18th May. It was followed by a subscription luncheon in the Great Hall of the Hospital, presided over by the Bishop to celebrate the completion of the original restoration scheme.⁵

The uncovering of the floor of the nave had been abandoned in the year 1889. The architect reported in that year that he had had a shaft sunk in the graveyard, which showed that, although the foundations of some of the Cloth Fair houses went down 9 ft., that is they were built on the ancient church wall, in other parts, where the buildings projected into the graveyard, the foundations were only 4 ft. deep, which would involve underpinning.⁶ But apart from this difficulty the committee considered that it would not be in harmony with their feelings to disturb the human remains so recently interred.⁷

There was still some work to be done on the north side of the Lady Chapel. In the following July (1897) it was decided to form a dry area against the north wall where the almshouses had stood. In doing this the foundations of the missing buttress were uncovered, but, as it was not necessary for the stability of the building, it was decided that it should not be rebuilt. The coping of the north wall of the chapel was completed at the same time,⁸ but it could be only temporarily rendered in brick instead of stone for want of funds.⁹

There remained one window on the north side of the Lady Chapel

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 121.

² Above, p. 123.

³ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 143, 166.

⁴ *Ib.*, 191-3. The actual cost of the furniture was £142, p. 203.

⁵ *Ib.*, 202.

⁶ *Ib.* i, 533.

⁷ *Ib.*, 534.

⁸ *Ib.* ii, 207, 211.

⁹ *Ib.*, 212.

which was blocked by an old timber cottage, known as No. 2 Back Court; and this also blocked the north-west window of the crypt.¹ It stood next to the east side of the almshouse site. This cottage collapsed in December 1904; it had covered an area of 256 square ft., and an attempt was made to purchase it, but as the price asked was so exorbitant (£600), nothing further was done at that time.² In February 1896 the leaseholder, having purchased the freehold, was preparing to build another house on the site;³ but as this seemed very undesirable the committee, in the month following,⁴ reluctantly purchased the place for £500.

When further demolishing the house, the remains of the second buttress were found, which Mr. Gruning, the surveyor, on behalf of the committee, claimed as part of the party wall,⁵ and thereby it was saved. The tracery of the window had already been skilfully inserted from the Lady Chapel side in 1894. In May 1906 the architect submitted a tender from Dove Bros. to open out the window of the chapel, and, by forming an area, to uncover the window of the crypt beneath, also to repair the buttress⁶ for the sum of £138.

In the same year as the Lady Chapel was reopened (1897) the committee began to turn their attention to the remains of the cloister. In July the committee emphatically expressed the opinion that it would be most desirable to obtain possession of one or more bays of the cloister should an opportunity of doing so arise.⁷ Of the thirty-six bays only the ruins of three in the north end of the east walk remained, and these had 7 ft. of earth on the floor and were used as stables; but there was a considerable quantity of twelfth- and fifteenth-century work still visible in the mutilated arches.

In the year 1900 it was apparent that, when the leases of the 'Coach and Horses' yard fell in, in the year 1926, lofty warehouses would be built on the site and against the tower of the church. Negotiations were therefore opened for the purchase, first of the freehold and then of the head leasehold and sub-leasehold interests.⁸ The negotiations lasted over four years.

The freeholder was willing to sell his freehold interest in his six-stall stable, and a strip of some 996 square ft. of the stable yard (formerly the cloister garth) for £500 and expenses, and this the committee in April 1901 agreed to buy,⁹ as they had now more than cleared all their liabilities. The freeholder, however, imposed a condition that the church authorities were not to block any windows which he in future

¹ Above, p. 84.

³ *Ib.* iii, 5.

⁵ *Rest. M. Bk.* iii, 6.

⁸ *Ib.* ii, 221-4.

⁶ *Ib.*, 18.

² *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 261.

⁴ Parish Safe, Deed 100.

⁷ *Ib.* ii, 206.

⁹ *Ib.*, 229.

might make overlooking the churchyard, but this stipulation could not be agreed to.¹ In July (1901), however, an agreement was arrived at as regards the number of the windows, the height of the new building and its design,² and in December 1902 a faculty was obtained sanctioning the carrying out of the arrangement.³

Negotiations with the head leaseholder were opened early in the year 1901, but there were a number of beneficiaries, and the first negotiations fell through, the committee's offer of £650 being declined.⁴ In June 1903 fresh negotiations were commenced, which finally resulted in an offer to sell the head leasehold interest for £850, the committee paying £38 expenses, and relinquishing £12 a year rent on the one hand, but receiving £50 a year rent on the other, and this offer was accepted.⁵

There was now the sub-leaseholder to arrange with so as to get immediate possession, and in June 1904 his interest was secured in a portion of the site by payment of £200, and by relinquishing the above-mentioned rent of £50.⁶ This left some 10 ft. in width of the site westward, possession of which would not be obtainable until the expiration of the head lease in 1926, as already seen.⁷ The total cost of the cloister, including law costs, amounted in this way to £1,880.⁸

At the same time (June 1904) the architect was requested to prepare plans for the restoration of the cloister with rooms over.⁹ But before the plans could be made the 7 ft. of earth from the floor of the cloister had to be excavated and the filling in of the arched entrance to the church removed.¹⁰ In March 1905 plans for the work and an estimate of £785 were submitted and approved,¹¹ Mr. Maurice E. Webb for this occasion undertaking the work for his father. The old rooms over the cloister being too dilapidated to retain, plans for their rebuilding were also submitted, the rector being desirous of having them for the use of the curate, mission worker and verger; or failing that for letting to students of the Hospital; the rent to be applied to the maintenance of the services of the church.¹² These plans were also passed, but some of the committee deprecated entering on a building scheme. Before, however, anything was done, counsel's opinion was taken¹³ as to the possibility of securing that any rent

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 230.

² *Ib.*, 234; and Parish Safe, Deeds 81, 82.

³ *Ib.*, 248; and Parish Safe, Deed 80.

⁴ *Ib.*, 229.

⁵ *Ib.*, 254.

⁶ *Ib.*, 259; and Parish Safe, Deed 87.

⁷ Above, p. 140.

⁸ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 259.

⁹ *Ib.*, 259.

¹⁰ Result has been already described, p. 140.

¹¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 264.

¹² *Ib.* ii, 264.

¹³ *Ib.* iii, 10.

received from such rooms could be applied to the maintenance of the services. Counsel's opinion was that it would be impossible to ensure legally that such rent should be at the disposal of the churchwardens;¹ it would, therefore, be at the disposal of the rector for the time being. For this reason, and because the committee were now liable for the cost of the cloister to the extent of £1,300, it was decided to relinquish building the rooms for the time being and to place a temporary roof only over the cloister.²

As the work on the cloister proceeded it was found necessary to obtain from the sub-tenant immediate possession of 4 ft. of the 10 ft. strip of the stable yard, and for this £5 has to be paid annually by way of rent until the year 1926.³

Towards the end of the year the work was completed. £500 had been voted for it by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from the City of London Parochial Charities fund, at the instance of Dr. Winnington-Ingram, Bishop of London; and it was opened by him in the presence of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs on the 2nd December 1905.⁴

This was the last work brought to a conclusion during Sir Borradaile Savory's rectorship, the Lady Chapel window not being ready for opening before his death.

There were other minor events that occurred in connexion with the restoration during Sir Borradaile's time which seem to be worth recording briefly:

In July 1891 the five ancient bells, which were in a neglected condition on the floor of the belfry, were repaired and put into ringing-order by J. Warner & Sons, and a chiming apparatus was added at a cost of £75.⁵

In May 1894 Mr. H. T. Withers, who had the year before presented the church with an organ case in memory of his brother, Mr. F. J. Withers, now made a gift of a bound copy of his brother's diary written during the years of the first restoration—1864 to 1866.⁶

In March 1898 an illuminated address, signed by twenty-five members of the Restoration Committee, was presented to the architect as a memorial of 'their high appreciation of the ability with which the work had been carried out', and of the 'religious care in preserving whatever ancient work remained, and in welding the old and the new into one beautiful and harmonious whole'. An illuminated address was also presented to his brother, the churchwarden, in appreciation of his fourteen years' service as honorary secretary. A resolution

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* iii, 15.

² *Ib.*, 16.

³ *Ib.*, 1 (and Parish Deed, 89 a, 26 Apr. 1907).

⁴ *Ib.*, 2.

⁵ *Ib.* ii, 43.

⁶ *Ib.*, 103; and Parish Safe, O. B. 6.

of thanks to Dove Bros. for their conscientious work was also unanimously passed.¹

In October 1900 the brickwork which had filled the openings in the thirteenth-century clerestory window in the south side of the only remaining bay of the nave was removed. This brought to light the tracery dating from about the year 1230.² The corresponding window on the north side was treated in the same way in the year 1915, as will be shown later.

In January 1906 excavations were made in the graveyard path in search for the remains of the processional door of the west walk of the cloister.³ The foundations were found without difficulty, the plinth of the doorway still being in good condition. Measurements were taken and the remains were again filled in, that being considered by the architect to be the best way to preserve them. The plan of the doorway was then outlined in brass in the granolithic pavement by way of recording⁴ the remains below. The excavations were continued westward, whereby the nave wall with its bench and a threshold (leading probably into a parlour) were uncovered, and the nave wall was traced under the public way within 7 ft. of the Smithfield gate.⁵

In March 1906 the committee passed a resolution⁶ that it was very desirable, for the maintenance of the fabric of the church, that lighting by electricity should be substituted for lighting by gas, and they hoped that the rector and churchwardens would see their way to carry out so great an improvement. The next month the rector and churchwardens reported that they were prepared to adopt electric lighting, subject to any additional cost for lighting and heating being a first charge upon the receipts from visitors to the church. The architect's estimate was £250 for installation and £150 to £200 for simple fittings, the cost of which could be drawn from the extraordinary repairs fund.⁷ In May the matter had gone so far that a plan was submitted and approved for lighting the church by means of pendent electric lights;⁸ but after the rector's death the matter was allowed to remain over until a new rector was appointed,⁹ and after that no active steps were taken to carry it out, but the object was added to appeals for other works, the needs of which, however, always seemed more necessary.

In March 1898 the committee were perturbed by plans being published for the formation of a new road by the Corporation, which,

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 208-10.

³ Above, p. 134, and *Rest. M. Bk.* iii, 3.

⁵ Above, p. 65.

⁷ *Ib.*, 13.

² *Ib.*, 227.

⁴ *Rest. M. Bk.* iii, 9.

⁶ *Rest. M. Bk.* iii, 10.

⁹ *Ib.*, 26.

⁸ *Ib.*, 19.

starting from London Wall, and passing through Edmund Place and across Aldersgate Street, was to pass through the parish into Smithfield in such a way as to necessitate the demolition of the Smithfield gate; but in April 1900 the scheme was fortunately abandoned.¹

Three memorials of some importance were erected in the church during Sir Borradaile Savory's time, viz. :

In October 1893 a desire was expressed by the governors of the Witton Grammar School that a memorial brass to Sir John Deane,² the first rector of this church, might be erected by the scholars of the school which he founded. This was acceded to by the rector and churchwardens, and the memorial was placed on the floor of the westernmost bay of the north ambulatory.³ In the year 1903, at the request of the governors, the slab was removed to the floor on the south side of the sanctuary, over the place, as nearly as could be estimated, where Deane had willed to be interred.⁴

On the 20th November 1901 occurred the death of Mr. Joseph Grimshire, who had joined the committee in 1888, and who had always liberally assisted in the work of the restoration.⁵ In the year 1903 his friends of the Toynbee Antiquarian Society sought for permission to erect a memorial to him at St. Bartholomew's, and, following the rule it is desired to establish that a personal memorial must take the form of something required by the church, permission was given to erect a tablet (as designed by the architect) recording the names and dates of the priors and rectors of the church, on the south side of the west porch.⁶

The committee suffered a great loss in the year 1903, in the death of the patron, the Rev. Canon Frederick Parr Phillips, which occurred on the 17th March in his 85th year. A resolution was passed by the committee expressing their 'deep sense of gratitude for the great personal interest he had shown in the restoration of the church for a period of forty years, and for the munificent gifts made by him to the Restoration Fund'.⁷ His son, Captain Frederick Abbiss Phillips, being desirous of raising a memorial to his father, consented to its taking the form of a new sanctuary floor, which the rector had long wished for in the church. It was felt that this would form a very appropriate memorial, as the apse had been restored by the patron.

The committee lost other valuable members during the period under review, viz. :

In June 1893 the death was announced of Mr. R. C. Nichols,⁸

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 211.

² *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 105.

³ *Ib.*, 239.

⁴ *Ib.*, 251.

⁵ See below, p. 449.

⁶ *Ib.*, 247.

⁷ *Ib.*, 254.

⁸ *Ib.*, 69.

a very useful member and regular attendant at the committee meetings, and in May 1895 that of Sir William Savory, the father of the rector, who helped the work by his interest and pecuniary aid.

At the same time was announced the death of Precentor Venables, who had benefited the restoration by his writings in the *Saturday Review*.¹ Mr. John F. France, F.S.A., who had been a member of this committee, as well as of that of 1864, since the commencement, died on the 6th October 1901.² Sir Norman Moore, whose advice was always valuable, was obliged to resign, from pressure of other engagements, in February 1903.³ Mr. J. A. Kingdon, who joined the committee in 1890⁴ and had been of special service in many ways, died on the 4th January 1906.⁵

On the other hand, the Executive Committee were, in 1888, greatly strengthened by securing the services of the late Rev. E. S. Dewick, F.S.A.⁶ In May 1890 the late Mr. F. Harwood Lescher was elected on the General Committee.⁷ In July 1892 Mr. H. P. Boord,⁸ son of Sir William Boord,⁹ and in February 1893 the Duke of Newcastle and Canon Newbolt were also elected;¹⁰ and in 1893 Lord Addington consented to serve.¹¹ In March 1905 Mr. Maurice E. Webb, son of the architect,¹² and in February 1906 Sir Paget Bowman¹³ were elected to the Executive Committee.

Sir Borradaile had as warden Sir William Boord, M.P., until 1896, when he retired and Mr. E. A. Webb again took office.¹⁴ The late Mr. Benjamin Turner, C. C. deputy, was elected people's warden at Easter 1887,¹⁵ and was as such re-elected at each Easter vestry until his death in 1917. In 1896 Mr. Turner was thanked by the vestry for his services, and especially for having been instrumental in setting back the house at the east end of Cloth Fair and for having Bartholomew Close paved with asphalt. In October¹⁶ of that year he was presented with a testimonial by his fellow parishioners.

Lady Boord did good service to the parish during her husband's churchwardenship by having the documents belonging to the church properly sorted.¹⁷ Later a descriptive inventory was made of them, together with the books, registers, &c., with exact reference as to where each was to be found. This was the work of Sir William's successor.

The vestry again did not take a prominent part in the history of

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.*, 157.

³ *Ib.*, 246.

⁶ *Ib.* i, 514.

⁹ *Ib.* i, 573.

¹² *Ib.*, 261.

¹⁴ *V. M. Bk.* x, 481.

¹⁶ *Ib.*, 492.

⁴ *Ib.* i, 573.

⁷ *Ib.*, 573.

¹⁰ *Ib.* ii, 70.

² *Ib.*, 227.

⁵ *Ib.* iii, 1.

⁸ *Ib.* ii, 59.

¹¹ *Ib.*, 104.

¹³ *Ib.* iii, 6.

¹⁵ *Ib.*, 358.

¹⁷ *Ib.*, 379.

the time, though the rector presided regularly at their meetings. In 1786, as already seen, the vestry had to make a return of charitable donations by Deed or Will for the benefit of the poor of the parish.¹ In February 1902 an Inquiry was held into the endowments of the parish² which were subject to the provisions of the Charitable Trusts Acts, 1853 to 1891, and a Return was made to the Charity Commissioners the same year.³ The Return gives the Report made in 1819 on the Parochial schools and on the Protestant Dissenters' schools; also the Report of 1823 on the following charities :

Deane's (the first rector's); Lady Saye and Sele's (concerning the almshouses); Thorpe's; Wyatt's (bread for the poor); Doncaster's; Whiting's (the farm for the school endowment); Burgess's (for the poor); Roycroft's; Richardson's (for bread for the poor); Johnson's (for the poor); Woodward's (for bread); Elston's (for bread); and Mrs. Bridge's (for coals).

The report also refers to the description of the Charities contained in the 'General Digest' of 1875-1876. It further refers to the Report of Thomas Hare made in 1855.

All these charities, with the exception of the Parochial schools, were included in the central scheme made under the City of London Parochial Charities (Bryce's) Act of 1883, and so were alienated from the parish; but the report concerning them and the schools, as well as those concerning the Butterworth Charity and the Charlotte Hart's gifts (founded since the Act of 1883), are printed in the Appendix.⁴

On the 24th June 1904 the St. Bartholomew Hospital Act, 4 Edward VII, was passed granting power to demolish the church of the hospital, and to unite for ecclesiastical purposes the parish of St. Bartholomew the Less with that of St. Bartholomew the Great.⁵ This Act was promoted with the assent of the rector and the patron of this parish and of the Bishop of London, but the powers given by the Act have never been exercised.

In June 1906 Sir Borradaile was seized with an illness which, to the regret of all, terminated fatally at his house, Woodlands, Stoke Poges, on the 12th September following. He was buried in the churchyard there, beside his wife, on the 16th. On the gravestone is the following inscription :

In loving memory of Florence Julia the dear wife of the Rev. Sir Borradaile Savory, Bart. She was born June 14th, 1856, and died May 18th, 1902. Also in memory of the Rev. Sir Borradaile Savory, Bart., born October 5th, 1856. Died Sept. 12th, 1906.'

¹ Above, p. 365, and App. II, p. 564.

² App. II, p. 566. ⁴ *Ib.*, p. 564.

³ *V. M. Bk.* x, 531.

⁵ Parish Safe, Deed 103.

On October 12th following the vestry passed a resolution expressing the esteem in which the rector was held by the parishioners for his personal qualities, for his work for the restoration of the church, for his rebuilding of the schools, and for his efforts for the general welfare of the parish.¹

He was of a genial and cheerful disposition and thereby contributed largely to the successful carrying through of the difficult and sometimes intricate work of the restoration of the church. He made no enemies and had many friends both within the parish and without. He left an only child, William Borradaile Savory, who succeeded to the title.

¹ *V. M. Bk. x*, 569.

CHAPTER XXII

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

W. F. G. SANDWITH, M.A., RECTOR 1907.

THE Rev. William Fitzgerald Gambier Sandwith, M.A., was instituted to the rectory vacant by the death of Sir Borradaile Savory, Bart., 'on the presentation of Frederick Abbiss Phillips, Lieut. of H.M. Army retired, of the Manor House, Stoke d'Abernon'. The ceremony of institution was conducted by the Bishop of London (Dr. Winnington-Ingram) in the church on the 20th January 1907, after he had unveiled the restored window of the Lady Chapel. The induction took place at the same time by the Rev. J. W. Pratt, Rural Dean (pl. XCVI, p. 374).

Mr. Sandwith is the twentieth rector instituted since the suppression of the monastery. He is the son of the late William Sandwith of the Indian Civil Service, and was born at Baroch, India, on the 18th July 1861. He was educated at Twyford School, from whence he proceeded to Westminster, where he was Queen's scholar. He matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1880; graduated B.A. in 1884, and M.A. in 1904. He was ordained deacon in 1884 and priest (in London) in 1885. After reading for Holy Orders with Dr. C. J. Vaughan, at that time Dean of Llandaff and Master of the Temple, he was appointed curate at St. Margaret's, Westminster, under Archdeacon Farrar, in 1884; and Curate-in-charge of Enville, Staffordshire, in 1886. He was presented to the vicarage of Holkham with Egmere and Waterden, Norfolk, in 1887; and to that of St. Barnabas with St. Silas, South Kennington, in 1900, where he was in charge until 1907.

He was in the cricket and football elevens at Westminster; he was in the Oxford football eleven, and played in the semi-final for the English Football Association Cup in the Old Westminster Eleven; he was for eleven years in the Norfolk cricket eleven, of which for several years he was captain.

Prior to his induction a movement was started, on the initiative of Sir Dyce Duckworth, to raise a memorial to his predecessor, Sir Borradaile Savory.¹ An influential committee was appointed, which included the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Oxford, Mr. Peter Reid, and many others, with Sir Dyce Duckworth as chairman. Following

¹ *V. M. Bk.* x, 570.

the rule in the church, already referred to, that memorials should take the form of something required by the church, it was resolved that the most suitable memorial would be 'the protection of the sanctuary by low screens which would not interfere with the present prospect of the quire, and in which could be incorporated a personal memorial in bronze'.¹ A large-scale drawing of Sir Aston Webb's proposal was submitted to the committee and unanimously accepted by them,² but at a later meeting opposition to the scheme was raised, and seven months after, in July 1907, it was in consequence relinquished.³ The result of this has been that another mural tablet has been added to those of the eighteenth century. New Communion rails and a tablet in the porch recording the works of restoration carried out during the time of the last three rectors (two things required by the church) were, however, allowed as part of the memorial,⁴ and these, together with the mural tablet, were unveiled and dedicated on the 10th May 1908,⁵ by the then Bishop of Stepney (Dr. Lang).

During the interval between the death of the previous rector and the institution of his successor the graveyard was greatly disfigured by the erection of a very high building at its west end, facing Smithfield.⁶ This could not be prevented as it interfered with no lights in the church. During its erection the Smithfield gateway was in considerable jeopardy, as it had to be underpinned, but owing to the steps taken by the architect, it escaped unhurt.⁷ An encroachment was, however, made on the church property by the owners of the building without any previous notice. They opened a fire-escape door on to the graveyard instead of the street.⁸ A lease of a right-of-way was eventually granted during pleasure on payment of an annual rent.⁹

For many years it had been deemed desirable to obtain, if possible, the house over this Smithfield gate, which, as already pointed out,¹⁰ was the south-west portal of the church; also to remove the shop front which encroached upon it. In the year 1900 long negotiations were entered into with the trustee owners to expose the portion of the arch hidden by the stationer's shop, but without result.¹¹ In November 1908, however, Sir Aston Webb obtained from the trustees a definite offer to sell to the church authorities the house over the archway, and six feet to the south of the same, for the sum of £1,875.¹²

This gateway was alienated from the church at the time of the suppression, when Rich sold the rooms over it, but he used the arched

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* iii, 21.

² *Ib.*, 30.

³ *Ib.*, 40.

⁴ *Ib.*, 42.

⁵ *Ib.*, 54.

⁶ *Ib.*, 25.

⁷ *Ib.*, 46.

⁸ *V. M. Bk.* x, 572.

⁹ Parish Safe, Deed 110, 29 Sept. 1907.

¹⁰ Above, p. 65.

¹¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 226.

¹² *Ib.* ii, 53.

doorway as a place in which to hang a gate of his 'liberty'.¹ The gateway thus came to belong to the parish as distinct from the church ; therefore the raising of the money to purchase the gate-house was undertaken outside the Restoration Fund.

A meeting of citizens was held on November 27th, 1908, in the great hall of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, with Dr. Edwin Freshfield in the chair, when all present resolved themselves into a committee to secure the property, and the Restoration Committee were asked to carry out the work. Over £700 was received or promised at the meeting, and by the end of December the subscription list amounted to £1,550.

About the same time, on December 18th, 1908, the vestry decided,² as already stated,³ that the time had come when they might allow the Corporation to remove the gates,⁴ and cease payments to the watchmen⁵ (the last of whom happened to die during the negotiations), for the consideration of a payment of £1,500. Of this £646 was devoted to defray the balance of the cost of the gate-house and its repairs.⁶ The remainder was invested in the names of trustees,⁷ and the interest, together with the rents of the rooms over the gate, provides a sum for keeping the gate and gate-house in repair, and also for other purely parochial purposes,⁸ when there is a balance available.

The house above the arch was then put into a habitable state and strengthened with small iron girders below. During the work it was found that it was a half-timbered building, dating from the year 1595, covered in front with tiles to resemble bricks. The demolishing of the shop front exposed the remainder of the south side of the arch, and also, on the west face, a fragment of a mural arcade, as is to be seen at Dunstable Priory. The stationer's window was set back in such a manner as to be under the control of the parish trustees.⁹ On the east side of the arch an Early English base and capital to a vaulting shaft of the first bay of the south aisle were uncovered, and these have been left exposed to view.¹⁰

In 1916 the restoration of the gate-house took place, as already described,¹¹ whereby the imitation bricks were removed, and the original half-timbered building was brought to light ; and in 1917 a war shrine was placed on the new wall face on the south side of the gateway.¹²

¹ For extract from History of the Gate, see App. II, p. 555.

² *V. M. Bk.* x, 590.

³ Parish Safe, Deed 121, 6 Apr. 1910.

⁴ *Rest. M. Bk.* iii, 62.

⁵ Parish Safe, Deeds 125, 121, 127 ; *Rest. M. Bk.* iii, 60.

⁶ *Rest. M. Bk.* iii, 59.

⁷ Above, p. 68.

³ Above, p. 212.

⁶ App. II, p. 554.

⁷ *Ib.*

¹⁰ *Ib.*, 62.

¹² *Ib.*, p. 68.

The right-of-way through the gate is for foot-passengers only ; but on the occasion of the royal visit in 1893, the bar which ensured its being so used was taken down and not replaced ; however, the complaints of danger to pedestrians from heavy market carts being brought through were so frequent¹ that in 1914 the churchwardens had to replace the bar as it now is.

The girls' and infants' schools, as already stated, had been built by Rector Abbiss partly on the site of the south chapel, which was still the freehold of the church, and partly on land which Rich had alienated from the church, of which Abbiss held a long lease. In the year 1902 it was recognized that it was very desirable that the church should acquire the freehold of this leasehold property, and it was resolved to take steps to that end.² In March 1904 the lease, which was missing, having been found, it was decided to bring the matter before the patron (Capt. F. A. Phillips) as the head leaseholder.³ The estate of the late freeholder, Durran, however, being in chancery, there were difficulties ;⁴ but in 1906 the patron kindly offered to purchase, up to a certain sum,⁵ the freehold for the church. This promise his widow, now Mrs. Bowen Buscarlet, the patron, kindly fulfilled in December 1911, after long and tedious negotiations with the beneficiaries of the estate, at a cost of £150,⁶ together with heavy fees for survey, &c.

At this time excavations had been carried out⁷ whereby the dimensions of the first Lady Chapel had been ascertained ; and there were discovered in the furnace room the remains of the walls of the south chapel, disclosing the fact that the chapel had two apses, like the corresponding chapels at Norwich. On the north side of the church excavations revealed nothing of importance other than the remains of early fifteenth-century walls in the area at the north-east end. But when, in the year 1913, the furnace was removed from the south chapel, and placed outside the church by the old Boys' School, a block of masonry was found *in situ*, indicating that the north chapel also had an eastern apse like that of the south chapel.⁸

Other investigations revealed the fact that there was a narrow arched doorway (or window) in the east end of the north aisle, behind the plaster, and covered at that time by the Roycroft monument. This was opened out in the year 1914. The jamb still remains of a similar opening at the east end of the south aisle.⁹

¹ *V. M. Bk.* x, 577, Apr. 1907.

² *Ib.*, 256.

³ Parish Safe, Deed 135 ; *Rest. M. Bk.* iii, 63.

⁴ *Archaeologia*, lxiv, 169, 13 Feb. 1913.

⁵ *Archaeologia*, lxiv, 171.

⁶ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 240.

⁷ *Ib.* iii, 2.

⁸ *Rest. M. Bk.* iii, 69.

Cockerill's Buildings and Pope's Cottages on the south side of the church also formed part of the Durran estate in chancery. Again, after long and protracted negotiations, commencing in the year 1904, an agreement was made with the beneficiaries of the estate in July 1910,¹ whereby two pieces of land adjoining the church, one measuring 41 ft. by 19 ft., which included the greater part of the site of the sacristy, another measuring 41 ft. by 5 ft., to form an approach thereto, were to be granted in exchange for certain easements over the south (or green) churchyard and rights of way over Cockerill's Buildings to the same churchyard; the object being that the south side of the church should be entirely cleared from secular buildings.

In order to carry out this agreement a faculty had to be obtained. This was granted, but only on the condition that all the properties acquired in recent years by the church should be licensed in mortmain; therefore the faculty did not issue until July 1914,² as the licence in mortmain³ was not granted until the year before. It included not only licence to the rector for the time being to hold in perpetuity the premises already acquired and also those now intended to be acquired, but also some that it may be desired to acquire in the future. The deed of exchange, carrying out the above agreement, was finally executed in August 1914.⁴

The purchasers of Cockerill's Buildings and Pope's Cottages were Messrs. Israel & Oppenheimer, who began their building operations for the erection of a large and lofty warehouse in June 1912. Cockerill's Buildings covered the remains of the chapter-house, of the slype, of the prior's house, and of other monastic buildings; and as the excavations were carried to a depth of 8 ft., the walls of these were all exposed⁵ in turn. At the west end of the chapter-house the great arched entrance from the cloister was discovered with the usual arched opening on either side. In the centre of the floor was found a stone coffin, supposed to be that of Prior Thomas;⁶ also twelfth, thirteenth, and fifteenth century work from the chapter-house, bosses from the cloister, a kneeling figure of a canon carved on what had been the left arm of the prior's chair in the chapter-house, and many interesting fragments which have been laid out in the cloister. All such fragments were presented to the church by Messrs. Israel & Oppenheimer, to accommodate whom, and on payment of £30, the iron fence at the north-east angle of their premises was slightly set back,⁷ and on

¹ Parish Safe, Deed 143, 17 July 1910; *Archaeologia*, lxiv, 172.

² Parish Safe, Deed 144; 7 July 1914.

³ *Ib.*, Deed 142, 14 May 1913.

⁴ *Ib.*, Deed 145, 28 Aug. 1914.

⁵ *Archaeologia*, lxiv, 173 et seq.

⁶ As stated p. 146 above.

⁷ *V. M. Bk. x*, 610, Apr. 1912; Parish Safe, Deed 134, 19 July 1912.

payment of £300 they were allowed to raise one portion of their building another story.¹

The whole of the land abutting on the south side of the church now being in the hands of the church authorities, steps were at once taken to free it from encroachments which were a source of danger from fire. It was decided to demolish the girls' school-house and vestry-room on the south side; but the old boys' school-house on the north side it was decided, on the recommendation of the architect, to repair and leave unoccupied.² It was also decided to remove the furnace from beneath the girls' school-house on the site of the south chapel to the open area at the north-east end of the church in front of the old boys' school, at a cost, with the repairs to the old boys' school-house, of £675.³

It had been resolved in July 1912 to erect clergy and choir vestries of one story only on the site of the south chapel, which were to extend eastward as far as the steps leading to the schools; ⁴ but the demolition of the girls' school-house had revealed so much of the walls of the two apses, that it was decided to erect instead a choir vestry only upon the ancient walls of the chapel, so as to retain the interesting plan of the chapel, and to expose to view what remained of its walls. It was also decided that the clergy should use as a vestry the room on the site of the north chapel, and the rooms in the old boys' school-house as a sacristy. A further advantage of this scheme was that the cost would be reduced from £1,600 to £500. Mr. G. Duckworth Atkin then came forward and offered to erect the choir vestry on the south side at his own expense, an offer that was gladly accepted.⁵ This work was carried out in the first half of the following year, and the choir vestry was ready for opening when the Great European War broke out. The dedication ceremony, therefore, did not take place until the 9th June 1915, when it was performed by the Bishop of London (Dr. Winnington-Ingram) in the presence of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs.

At the same time as the choir vestry was being built in 1913 it was necessary to deal with the south wall of the church, exposed by the demolition of the girls' school-house and of Pope's Cottages, and also with the newly acquired land. An appeal for £1,500 was therefore sent out in June to defray the cost of this work, and also to install electric lighting, to adopt a fire protection in the form of drenchers for the church, and for improving the heating system. The response

¹ *V. M. Bk.*, 611; Parish Safe, Deed 136, 20 Nov. 1912.

² *Rest. M. Bk.* iii, 65, 12 July 1912.

⁴ *Ib.*, 64.

³ *Ib.*, 67, 27 May 1913.

⁵ *Ib.*, 68, 27 May 1913.

by the end of the year was £1,000, but as this was not sufficient—even with the prospect of obtaining £400 from the extraordinary repairs fund (standing to the credit of the church under the City of London Parochial Charities Act)—it was determined to postpone the electric lighting and alterations of the heating apparatus and to abandon the drenchers (upon the utility of which opinion was divided), and to accept a tender of £553 for dealing with the south wall, the new land acquired, and for the opening of the doorway at the east end of the north aisle.¹

As this work progressed many difficulties arose, such as the necessity of two new buttresses at the south-east portion of the church, further treatment of the south wall, which had been severely damaged by the fire of 1830, the opening of the ancient entrance to the sacristy, &c. These works involved an additional charge of over £260,² leaving the committee with that amount still to find. During the work the lower part of the walls of the northern end of the prior's house were exposed, together with an entrance doorway; there were also found the latrine coming down from Dr. Mirfield's chamber in the triforium, granted him in 1362,³ a fourteenth-century incised and other sepulchral slabs, and the seventeenth-century poor box, now shown in the cloister.

In December of 1914 the Corporation, having purchased the old Elizabethan houses in Cloth Fair, proceeded to pull them down. No. 9, at right angles to the rest, abutted on the only remaining bay of the nave of the church, and its removal revealed the twelfth-century arch of the ground arcade and of the triforium. It also revealed a thirteenth-century clerestory window, with a curious small window beside it (2 ft. by 1 ft.), and the arch of the thirteenth-century nave aisle penetrating the floor of the triforium. There were two wide gaping cracks in the wall, which was generally in a dilapidated condition, necessitating an immediate expenditure of about £140. This caused a deficit in the funds of £400 in all; but, with a further £100 from the extraordinary repairs fund, this was all cleared off by the following September (1915).

But then another cause of expenditure arose. On September 8th several incendiary bombs and one high explosive bomb were dropped by a German Zeppelin on Bartholomew Close (pl. XCVII). The church was mercifully spared, with the exception of slight damage to the clerestory windows, but on the advice of the architect Rahere's tomb was protected against a further raid with sandbags piled in the front

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* iii, 71, 28 Nov. 1913.

² *Ib.*, 74, 15 Dec. 1914.

³ See Vol. I, p. 173.



South Side



East Side

BARTHOLOMEW CLOSE AFTER THE ZEPPELIN RAID OF SEPTEMBER 8, 1915
(see p. 442)

and at the back of the monument, and by a thick layer of sand on the triforium floor above. The cost of this was £99, which was mainly met by subscriptions from the Governors of the Hospital.¹ After a time, owing to the decay of some of the bags, many of them fell, involving a further charge of £32. The Mildmay monument was also protected, though to a less extent, the cost of which was defrayed as to half by Emmanuel College, Cambridge (of which Sir Walter Mildmay was the founder), and as to the other half by the Mildmay family.

On the 7th July 1917, at half-past ten in the morning, the Close was again attacked from the air by many German aeroplanes, the sad effect of which has already been described.²

We have already chronicled the demolition of the old houses at the east end of Cloth Fair in March of the same year (1917).³ The scheme is to continue Middle Street westward in a direct line to the north porch of the church. The Corporation were approached with the view of keeping open for all time the land lying between the new road and the Lady Chapel, and with that object an exchange was effected whereby the rector and churchwardens gave up a narrow strip of land in Red Lion Passage and another by the old school-house in Back Court, and then on the payment of a nominal sum the Corporation conveyed the necessary land to the rector and churchwardens, which, by a covenant in the deed,⁴ they are 'for ever hereafter to leave open and unbuilt upon'.

At this time, on May 3rd, Mr. Alfred Frewin, a liberal contributor to the Restoration Fund, died. He bequeathed a legacy to the rector and churchwardens of £2,000, to ensure the preservation and enhance the dignity of the church, but with the expressed wish that more particularly and as far as possible the money should be expended in the purchase of any land and demolition of any buildings in the immediate vicinity of the church to ensure its preservation. It is considered that this great improvement and a continuation of it westward will comply entirely with the donor's wish.

In March 1918 an offer was made to the restoration committee to acquire the remaining five or six bays of the east walk of the cloister on the expiration of the existing lease in 1926 for the sum of £2,000. The committee did not feel justified in appealing for so large a sum during the war, but after the armistice was signed, on the 11th of November 1918, an appeal was issued which resulted in a response of £900, which justified the committee in proceeding with the purchase, and the site of the cloister was secured with possession in 1922 instead

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* iii, 78.

² Above, p. 362.

³ Above, p. 233.

⁴ Dated 18 Feb. 1918: Parish Safe, D. 162.

of 1926. It is believed that the entrance to the slype, to that of the chapter-house, and to the dormer stair will all be exposed when excavations can be made.

In 1919 the organ was reported to be in so bad a condition that it required no less a sum than £5,000 to be expended to make it fit for the musical services of the church. As there were already appeals out for the cloister and the schools, the rector undertook to raise what he could by means of lantern lectures on the church both in London and in the country. A great effort worthy of success.

Other valuable presents have been made to the church during Rector Sandwich's time: thus, in 1912 the former west porch was enclosed with an ancient oak door of the church (from which the paint had been cleaned), whereby a great risk from fire was removed; this was the gift of Mr. G. Duckworth Atkin.¹ Mr. Atkin also gave the show case in the cloister,² for the better exhibition of such interesting objects as the sandal from Rahere's tomb, Prior Perrin's seal, the MS. book by the same prior (presented by the Rev. E. S. Dewick in 1906),³ the bosses from the cloister presented by Mr. Paul Thomas White in 1912,⁴ and fragments of late twelfth-century work, and other things. In 1908 a valuable set of some 29 plans made for the restoration of 1864⁵ was presented by Mr. F. H. Reed through the instrumentality of Mr. Phené Spiers, F.S.A.; a similar set at the same time being presented to the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁶ In 1910 there was presented, by a friend of the rector, the oil painting of the Madonna and Child with St. Elizabeth (already mentioned),⁷ which now hangs above the Lady Altar.

The restoration executive committee lost by death during this time four valuable members: Mr. James Hilton, a zealous worker, who died in 1907; Capt. F. A. Phillips, the patron, who died in 1908;⁸ and Sir F. D. Dixon-Hartland, Bart., M.P., the hon. treasurer, and Sir William Boord, both of whom died in 1912;⁹ all were liberal contributors to the work. Mr. Clifford Parker resigned in 1913,¹⁰ on relinquishing his position as organist to the church, which he had held for many years. The committee had greatly benefited by his sound legal advice on many occasions. The committee was strengthened by the election of Mr. H. Wilson Holman, F.S.A., and Mr. W. H. Irons¹¹ in 1909, by Mr. G. Duckworth Atkin in 1912, and Mr. C. J. Benson, C.C., and the late Mr. Philip E. Webb (son of the architect) in 1915.¹²

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.* iii, 62.

² Above, p. 141.

³ *Rest. M. Bk.* iii, 63.

⁴ *Ib.*, 62.

⁵ Parish Safe, Plans, Roll No. 32.

⁶ *Ib.* iii, 45.

⁷ *V. M. Bk.* x, 601.

⁸ *Rest. M. Bk.* iii, 45.

⁹ *Ib.*, 62.

¹⁰ *Ib.* iii, 66.

¹¹ *Ib.*, 56.

¹² *Ib.*, 80.

Dr. Luke Paget, the Bishop of Stepney, joined the general committee in 1914.¹

The church and the writer suffered a great loss in the death of Mr. John Hope² on the 16th October 1912. He was for twenty-four years verger of the church. He was appointed parish clerk by Rector Savory³ in 1902, and was Master of the Parish Clerks' Company at the time of his death. He was the Correspondent and Secretary of the Parochial Schools. He was gifted with great power of exactness, whereby he soon learned to read both the cursive Elizabethan hand and also the court-hand writing of the various centuries, and was thus able to transcribe with great accuracy records of the church from the Latin Rolls in the Record Office, from the MSS. in the British Museum, from the Episcopal Registers at St. Paul's, and from the Mediaeval Wills at Somerset House, all of which was done in his own time for the purpose of this work.

As regards the vestry, their duties were still further curtailed at this time by the City of London Union of Parishes Act⁴ of 1907, which came into operation on the 1st April 1908. By it the hundred and more City parishes were extinguished as separate rating authorities, and the City was constituted one parish with one set of overseers, and the parochial boundaries became areas merely for ecclesiastical convenience. The City thereby became the sole authority for rating, valuation, and Parliamentary registration. All rates levied within the City boundaries are now collected and administered under the Corporation authority. The wards, ward motes, aldermen, and common council and ward officers are not, however, affected.

¹ *Rest. M. Bk.*, 74.

³ *V. M. Bk.* x, 531.

² Already referred to.

⁴ 7 Edw. VII, cap. cxl, 21 Aug. 1907.

PART V

MONUMENTS AND THINGS APPERTAINING
TO THE CHURCH

CHAPTER XXIII

MONUMENTS, MEMORIALS AND THEIR HERALDRY

THE following is a description of all monuments and memorials now in the church arranged according to date of death of the person commemorated, their position being stated in each case.¹

RAHERE, 1143. The founder's monument (pl. XCVIII) is on the north side of the presbytery in the bay next to the apse. It consists of a richly carved canopied tomb in the late Decorated style with a recumbent effigy of Rahere, two small kneeling figures on either side, and an angel rising out of a cloud at his feet, holding a shield with the priory arms. Below the effigy in front are four panels with shields. On the verge of the slab on which the effigy rests is inscribed :

+ *Hic Jacet Raherus Primus Canonicus et Primus Prior hujus Ecclesiæ.*

He died on the 20th September 1143.

The monument and the heraldry have been fully described in the chapter on the founder² (pl. XCVIII, p. 450).

SIR JOHN DEANE,³ 1563. On the floor on the south side of the sanctuary opposite to Rahere's monument is a black marble slab with an inlaid brass cross, and an inscription round the slab and below the cross as follows :

To the glory of God and in pious memory
of Sir John Deane
priest and rector of this priory church.
The pupils of the Witton
Grammar School, Northwich
of which Sir John was
the founder A.D. 1557, dedicated this memorial
St. Bartholomew's Day, A.D. 1893.

A full biographical notice of this, the first rector, has already been given.⁴

PERCIVAL AND AGNES SMALPACE, 1558/9 and 1588. This monument is on the south side of the quire on the great south-east pier of the crossing, moved here in 1867 from the south side of the presbytery

¹ I am indebted to Mr. G. W. Miller for the heraldic identification and blazonry, and to Mr. J. Jewers for some additional information.

² Vol. I, p. 70.

³ Above, p. 299.

⁴ Above, p. 299.

east of the Mildmay tomb. It is of brown marble but daubed with pitch. The heads of husband and wife, carved in the same material, are set in two deep panels. They have large Elizabethan collars and are evidently portraits (pl. XCIX *a*, p. 451). They are also depicted below on a slate panel lying side by side unclothed on a couch. On this panel and above the recumbent figures is inscribed :

Vana salus omnis.

Memor esto quoniam mors non tardat et testamentum { *Ecclesiastici Cap. inferorum quia demonstratum est tibi ; testamentum* } 14¹
enim hujus mundi ; morte morietur.

Omnia suo proveniunt [sic] tempore atque transeunt. *Ecclesiastici Cap.*²

Ante mortem ne laudes hominem quenquam } *Ecclesiastici Cap.* 11³
quoniam in filiis suis agnoscitur vir.

Percivallus Smalpace armiger
obiit 2^o die Februarii A^o Dni
1558 R. Elizabeta regnante
cujus quidem corpus juxta
hunc tumulum humatum
existit.

Agnes uxor ejus et filia
Fohis Tebowld armigeri obiit
tertio die Septembris A^o Dni.
1588 Elizabeta regnante
cujus quidem corpus juxta
hunc tumulum humatum existit.

Liberi inter eos Michael et Thomas
Adhuc viventes qui in religiosa memoria
Optimorum parentum suorum hoc
Monumentum posuerunt
Morienti cuncta quiescunt
Beati qui moriuntur in Domino.

Below the recumbent figures on the same panel is inscribed :

Behowlde youreselves by us, sutche once were we as you
And you in thyme shal be even duste as we are now.

Below the tablet is a recessed plinth or tablet the whole width of the monument, on which is inscribed :

Suum cuique decus posteritas rependet
Qui sapis capis etiam istud religione vita constat nichil
Tibi ascribe Deo vero te totum prebe illi ex animo preces
Concipe laudes grates huic fini homo natus et O bene
Multo firmior fides quam reponit penitentia.

Below this second tablet is a shield from which the armorials have quite gone, but below it are written 'Smalpace et Devenische', from which we may safely infer that they were : Smalpace, Sable an inescutcheon within an orle of martlets or, impaling Devenische, Vert a saltire engr. or, between four cross crosslets fitchée argent.

¹ From the Vulgate, cap. 14, verses 12, 17.

² Ib., cannot find cap. or ver., perhaps cap. 14, ver. 18.

³ Cap. 11, ver. 30 (28 in English Version).



RAHERE'S MONUMENT
(see p. 449)

a



PERCIVAL AND AGNES SMALPACE, 1559, 1588
(see p. 450)

b



SIR WALTER MILDMAV, 1589
(see pp. 24, 451)

The above arms of Smalpace occur several times on the monument to John and Margaret Whiting.

There are no parochial records of Percival Smalpace. From his will ¹ we learn that he was one of the clerks of the Board of Green Cloth. The monument was restored by Mr. Gilbert J. Smallpiece in 1897. There is an oval tablet to the memory of Percival Smalpace, grandson of the above, in St. Botolph's church, Aldersgate.²

The Latin portion of the above inscription may be thus translated :

All welfare is vain.

Remember that death will not be long in coming and that the covenant of the grave hath been showed unto thee for the covenant of this world is 'He shall die the death'. All things come forth at their due season and pass away.

Judge none blessed before his death since it is in his sons that the man is known.

Percival Smalpace Esquire
died the 2nd day of February
A. D. 1558 in the reign of
Queen Elizabeth. His body
lies buried near this
monument.

Agnes his wife and daughter of
John Tebowld Esquire died the
3rd day of September A. D. 1588
in the reign of Elizabeth.
Her body lies buried near this
monument.

Their children Michael and Thomas are still living and in affectionate memory of their most excellent parents have erected this monument.

To the dying man all things become peaceful ;
blessed are they who die in the Lord.

Posterity will award to each his due distinction. Be wise and adopt with reverence this precept : Thy life is of no account for thee, enrol thyself in the full service of the true God : proffer to Him prayers from thy heart, and express thy praise and thanksgiving. To this end was a man born. And, O ! very far more steadfast is a faith which repentance renews.

SIR WALTER MILD MAY, 1589, and his wife Mary, 1576. This monument is against the south wall of the south aisle in the second bay east of the transept (pl. XCIX *b*). Formerly it stood against the south wall of the presbytery, in the bay immediately opposite the tomb of Rahere, as shown by Malcolm in 1803,³ at which time it was surrounded by iron rails ; and had, in 1792, been painted to represent variegated marbles and varnished.⁴ It was removed to its present position during the restoration in 1865, when the coffins of the knight and his dame, then considerably above the floor level, were exposed to view.⁵

¹ Wills, App. I, p. 545.

² Strype, *Stow*, iii, 116.

³ See above, p. 23.

⁴ See below, p. 466.

⁵ Withers, *Diary*, p. 28, 1 Feb. 1865.

It is a fine classical monument of different coloured Italian marbles, built after the manner of an altar tomb. It is in three stories and the one, containing the coffins, constitutes the tomb: the front and ends consist of plain marble panels upon which rests a plain marble slab. The second story contains in the centre the memorial tablet on which is inscribed:

Mors nobis lucrum

*Hic jacet Gualterus Mildmay Miles et Maria uxor ejus
ipse obiit ultimo die Maii, 1589,
ipsa decimo sexto die Martii, 1576
reliquerunt duos filios et tres filias.
fundavit collegium Emanuelis Cantabrigiæ
Moritur Cancellarius et subthesaurarius scaccarii
et regiæ majestati a consiliis.*

(In English: Death is gain to us. Here lies Walter Mildmay, knight, and Mary his wife. He died on the last day of May 1589; she on the 16th day of March 1576. They left two sons and three daughters. He founded Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He died Chancellor and sub-treasurer of the Exchequer, and a member of her Majesty's Privy Council.)

Below the tablet is a smaller marble slab on which is inscribed:

*Hoc Monumentum Restaurandum curavit Henricus Bingham
Mildmay Armiger 1870.*

(In English: Henry Bingham Mildmay Esquire had this monument restored 1870.)

Around the tablet are eight shields emblazoned with the arms of those families whose names are inscribed on a slip above each shield. Low circular bosses, the same size as the shields, alternate with them. On either side of the tablet and shields are two marble columns and two pilasters: these stand on the slab of the tomb. The columns are each surmounted with an heraldic shield placed in an ornamented circle. The third story of the monument consists of a panel which contains an achievement of the arms of Sir Walter Mildmay, surmounted by a helmet, crest and mantling with the motto *Virtute non Vi*. The panel is flanked by two small pilasters and above each of these are bold models of the crest standing free with a small urn between them which reaches to the top of the aisle vault.

There are eleven shields in all on the monument. They commemorate the marriages made by Sir Walter and several of his children. They have been repainted more than once. The first repainting probably took place in the eighteenth century when the beautiful marble of the monument was painted over in imitation

marble,¹ and they were repainted again when this marbling was taken off and the tomb repaired by Mr. Henry Bingham Mildmay as above in 1870. There are several mistakes in the arms and the families to whom they are assigned; but when these mistakes were made is not known. If they existed before 1870 they were not rectified at that time.

Shield I. In the large shield in the panel in the third story the arms are : Quarterly.

1. MILDMAI (of co. Gloucester). Argent, three lions rampant azure.
2. MILDMAI (of Essex). Per fess nebuly argent and sable three greyhounds' heads erased counterchanged collared gules.
3. LA ROUS.² Azure on a canton or molet sable.
4. CORNISH.³ Sable, a chevron embattled or between three roses argent barbed and seeded ppr.

Over all a martlet or, for difference (of a fourth son).⁴ Crest : a lion's head erased and gorged with a coronet (now all gold but probably the head originally azure).⁵

Shield II. On the shield above the marble column on the dexter side (i.e. to the spectator's left) are the same arms of Mildmay impaling those of Walsingham.

Quarterly of nine.

1. WALSINGHAM (of Essex). Paly of six argent and sable a fess gules.
2. WALSINGHAM (of Kent). Gules bézantée, a cross humettée counter-componé argent and azure.
3. NORTOFT.⁶ Sable, a lion rampant or.
4. BAMME.⁷ Ermine on a chief indented sable a trefoil slipped argent between two annulets or.
5. DRYLAND.⁸ Gules, gouttée d'eau, a fess nebulée argent.
6. ROYTON.⁹ Gules, a chevron between three garbs two and one argent and as many crosses bottonée fitchée one and two or : on the chevron a molet sable for difference (of a third son or line).

¹ In decay in 1785. See *Gentleman's Magazine*, 20 July 1785, letter X. Y. to Mr. Urban.

² Matilda d. & h. of . . . Rous m. Sir Robert Mildmay.

³ Margaret d. and h. of John Cornish m. Thomas son of Sir Robert Mildmay and great-grandfather of Sir Walter Mildmay.

⁴ Jewers.

⁵ Ib.

⁶ Margaret Nortoft m. Sir Rd. Walsingham; he *ob.* 1365.

⁷ Margaret Bamme m. Thos. Walsingham I; she *ob.* 1445.

⁸ Constance Dryland m. Thos. Walsingham II; she *ob.* 1476.

⁹ Royton an ancestor of Dryland.

7. WRITTLE.¹ Sable, on a bend argent a bendlet wavy of the field, in the sinister chief a cross bottonée fitchée argent.
8. BOYS.² Argent, two bars and a canton gules, over all a bend sable.
9. RAMSEY.³ Sable, a chevron between three rams' heads coupé argent.⁴

Shield III. On the corresponding shield above the other column on the sinister side (i. e. to the spectator's right) are the same nine quarterings of Walsingham within a lozenge.

Shield IV. Of the eight shields around the tablet on the second story : the dexter shield above the tablet contains the following arms :

MILDMAY, as above, quarterly (1) Mildmay, (2) Mildmay, (3) La Rous, (4) Cornish.

Shield V. The sinister shield above the tablet contains MILDMAY as the last, impaling Walsingham as above.

Shield VI. On the dexter side of the tablet (on the spectator's left) the upper shield contains the following arms, under the names ' Mildmay and Sherrington '.

MILDMAY AND SHERRINGTON impaled.

Dexter. Mildmay as above—quarterly.

Sinister. Sherrington quarterly, viz.,

- 1 and 4. SHERRINGTON.⁵ Gules between two flaunches chequy argent and azure as many crosses formée in pale or each changed with a cross formée sable.
2. LAVAL.⁵ Azure, a bend argent.
3. FANSHAM.⁶ Party per pale indented or and azure six martlets counterchanged.

Shield VII. Beneath this is a shield superscribed ' Brouncker and Mildmay ' with the following arms :

1. Fitzwilliam and Mildmay impaled.

Dexter, FITZWILLIAM.⁷ Lozengy argent and gules.

Sinister MILDMAY as above, quarterly.

(The superscription ' Brouncker and Mildmay ' is wrong ; the arms of Brouncker are : azure six pellets in pale three and three, on a chief embattled sable a lozenge of the field.)

¹ Elinor Writtle m. Jas. Walsingham ; she *ob.* 1479.

² Mabel Boys m. Sir Pierce Writtle.

³ Elianor Ramsey m. Ralf Writtle.

⁴ Above nine coats occur as first nine quarterings of Walsingham's monument in Chislehurst Church (see *Hist. Chislehurst*, Webb, Miller, Beckwith, p. 136).

⁵ Ralph Sherrington m. d. and h. of William de Laval.

⁶ Thos. Sherrington, grandson of Ralph, m. Elizabeth Fansham. He was grandfather of Grace w. of Anthony Mildmay.

⁷ Sir Wm. Fitzwilliam m. Winifred d. of Sir Walter Mildmay.

Shield VIII. Beneath this and below the tablet is a shield superscribed 'Barret and Mildmay' with the following arms :

Barret and Mildmay impaled.

Dexter, BARRET.¹ Per pale argent and gules, barry of four counterchanged.

Sinister, MILDMAI, as above, quarterly.

Shield IX. Beside this and below the tablet is a shield superscribed 'Leveson and Mildmay' with the following arms :

Leveson and Mildmay impaled.

Dexter, quarterly.

1. LEVESON.² Azure, a fess nebulée argent between three holly (or oak) leaves or.

2. PRESTWOOD.³ Argent, a chevron gules between three cinquefoils sable.

3. BODLEY. Gules, five martlets argent in saltire, on a chief indented azure three coronets or.

4. LEVESON.⁴ As above.

Sinister, impaling Mildmay as above.

Shield X. The upper shield on the sinister side of the tablet has the arms of Mildmay (Gloucester) with those of Mildmay (Essex) on a shield of pretence (see shield I above).

Shield XI. The lower shield has Mildmay (Gloucester) in the 1st and 4th quarter, Mildmay (Essex) in the 2nd and La Rous in the 3rd (i. e. similar to shield I, except that the 4th quarter repeats the 1st and the arms of Cornish are omitted).

These two last shields are, as they now stand, both wrongly superscribed 'Mildmay and Capel', because the arms of Capel (Gules, a lion rampant between three cross crosslets fitchée or) do not appear on either of them. Sir Humphrey Mildmay of Danbury Place, Essex, married Mary daughter of Henry Capel of Hadham, Herts (she was not an heiress, so even if the arms on the shield of pretence had been hers, they would have been incorrectly placed). As six marriages were made by the five children of Sir Walter, it would seem probable that the six shields at the sides and below the tablet were designed to commemorate them, but at present the marriage of Martha Mildmay and Sir William Brouncker, and that of Humphrey Mildmay and Mary Capel are omitted. As the name 'Brouncker' occurs

¹ Charles Barret, Esq., of Belhus, Essex, was the 1st husband of Christian Mildmay.

² Sir John Leveson was 2nd husband of Christian Mildmay.

³ Nicholas Leveson of Willenhall, co. Staff., m. Maude, h. of John de Prestwood.

⁴ Nicholas Leveson, Lord Mayor of London, and of Haling, co. Kent, m. Dionysia d. of Sir Thomas Bodley.

above shield VII, and that of 'Capel' above shields X and XI, it may not have been so omitted at first, and Fitzwilliam may have originally appeared above one of the three shields.

The history of the heraldry of Mildmay during the sixteenth century, Mr. G. W. Miller says, is curious. The family at first bore the arms of Mildmay (Essex), the three Greyhounds (see shield I, 2 above). They were entered in the Herald's visitation of Essex in 1552: they are the sole arms assigned to them in Glover's 'Ordinary' of about that date, but the date of the grant is not known.¹ In the latter part of the sixteenth century the Mildmays, like the Spensers, Walshinghams and others, seem to have desired to have a long pedigree and the right to bear an ancient coat of arms. It was, as Professor Freeman sarcastically remarks, 'the golden age of pedigree making', and Cook, Clarenceux King-of-Arms, was able, he says, by 'divers auntient and credible authentical deedes, charters' &c. to trace back their descent to one Sir Hugh Mildmay who 'lyved in Kynge Stephen hys tyme' and by an act of restitution² dated 1583 to obtain for the Mildmays the ancient arms: viz. the three lions rampant (see shield I, 1 above). As may be seen from the monument, the previous, and now superfluous coat, was not discarded at once but it continued to be used as a second quartering. It appears thus for the last time on the funeral certificate of Sir Anthony Mildmay in 1617.

Another curious feature in the history of Mildmay heraldry is that Sir Walter Mildmay had applied for and been granted in 1552 a coat of entirely different character by Dethick Garter King-of-Arms,³ viz. azure on a bend argent a pegasus sable langued gules. These arms remained during thirty years following the bearings of the family. We suggest elsewhere that the 'Flying Horse' public-house in the cloister garth, now the 'Coach and Horses', may have derived its name from this coat of arms of the Mildmays.⁴

On the 26th May 1660 Rachel Newport wrote to her brother Sir R. Leveson, 'Tomorrow night we intend to bury her (Rachel Bromley, who died on the night of the 25th) in great St. Bartholomew's in my grandfather Mildmay's vault'.⁵ But there is no reference to this on the monument.

ELIZABETH SCUDAMORE: died 1593. This monument is in the centre bay of the north aisle: it was moved here from the south side

¹ Sir Walter Mildmay was knighted 22 February 1546/7.

² Harl. MSS., No. 245, and Howard's *Misc. Gen. et Her.* ii, 193.

³ Cott. MSS., and Howard's *Misc. Gen. et Her.* ii, 261.

⁴ Above, p. 137.

⁵ Hist. MSS. Com., Report v, 146, Trentham.

of the quire, where it had been fixed between the arches of the first and second bays of the quire ¹ (from the east) on the west side of the Mildmay monument. It consists of a square tablet in a marble frame with a circular boss on both sides and on the lower end, whilst above is a shield with a helmet and crest. On the tablet is inscribed :

Hereunder lyeth buried the Bodye
of Elizabeth Scudamore wife of
Phillipp Scudamore of Bornham
in the Countie of Buck Esquier, she
dyed the 9th of July 1593 and had to her
former husband Henry Coddendam
Esquier Auditor of the Mynt by
whom she had issue Alice married to
Robert Chamberline of Sherborne
in the Countie of Oxon Esquier

Dorothy married to Thomas Pigott of Dodershall in the Countie of Buck
Esquier Elizabeth married to William
Paulett of Winchester Esquier and
after Richard Fines Knight Lord
Say and Seale, the said Phillipp

Scudamore was afterwarde knighted and Travellinge beyond the seaes died at Antwerp in the yeare 1611 and lyeth buried there in St. Jacobbs church.

The shield with helmet and crest above the monument are as follows :
Arms—gules, three stirrups leathered and buckled or. Crest—
a bear's paw, erect sable, issuing from a ducal coronet or.

Notes on Elizabeth Scudamore, Philip Scudamore, Henry Coddendam and Lady Saye and Sele will be found in the chapter on the inhabitants of the parish.²

SIR ROBERT CHAMBERLAYNE : died 1615. This marble monument is in its original position on the north side of the quire, on the north-east pier of the crossing above the pulpit (pl. Ca, p. 458). It consists of a carved effigy in armour kneeling under a canopy with curtains held back by a male and female winged figure, one on either side, and surmounted by a convex elliptical shield with arms. On either side is an obelisk, and above is an interrupted circular pediment with the crest, a hind's head. Below the effigy is the following inscription : ³

*Roberto R(oberi) f(ilio) Chamberlanio Jacobi Magnæ Britanniae
Francic(i)⁴ Hibernic(i)⁴ pij fœlicis semper Augusti inauguratione
nobiliss(imi) de Balneo Ordinis Militi Castelli de Sherburn in agro
Oxonienſi Domino ab antiquiss(imis) Tankevilliae in Normandia
Comitib(us) longa Majorum serie demisso. Quantæ cunq(ue) fortunæ
capaci, animo Magno nato nec virtutib(us) minorib(us), quas dum*

¹ Lewis and Slater, *Report*, 1863, p. 9 ; 'cut into mouldings.'

² Above, p. 270.

³ Extensions not on the tablet are in parentheses.

⁴ *Sic.*

sibi suis(que) fovet exterarum Nationes complurimas lustravit morum calidus Linguarum(ue). Terram postremo sanctam et Sepulcrum Domini venerabundus adiit suum(ue) (HEV fata) quale aut ubi incomperito reperiit littore si quidem solvens anno Virginie Partus MDCXV. Tripolim inter Cyprum(ue) (quantum conjici fas est) Fatorum an Hominum inclementia coelebs a suis procul periit.

Tam dulcis olim Contubernij memor tanto(ue) dolori et desiderio impar, amico amicus merenti mærens p(osuit).

Vixit annos circiter xxx.

Cælo tegitur qui non habet urnam.

(In English : To Robert Chamberlayne, son of Robert by the institution of the pious happy and ever August James, of Great Britain France and Ireland, made a knight of the most noble order of the Bath ; lord of the castle of Sherburn in the county of Oxford, descended by a long line of ancestors from the most ancient Earls of Tankerville in Normandy. Fit for any fortune, however great, born with an intellect and an equally great character, whilst cherishing these for himself and his own people, he also travelled many foreign countries, skilled in their habits and languages. Eventually he reverently approached the Holy Land and the Sepulchre of our Lord, and found also (alas) his own (sepulchre) of what kind or on what shore is unknown, dying in the year of the Virgin Birth 1615. A bachelor, far from his own people he perished by the inclemency of the weather or of man between (as far as can be guessed) Tripoli and Cyprus. A sorrowing friend, mindful of so sweet and old a companionship and unequal to support so great a grief and loss erected this (monument) (to a well deserving friend). He lived about 30 years. He is covered by heaven though he has no tomb.)

On the shield is quarterly of nine, viz. :

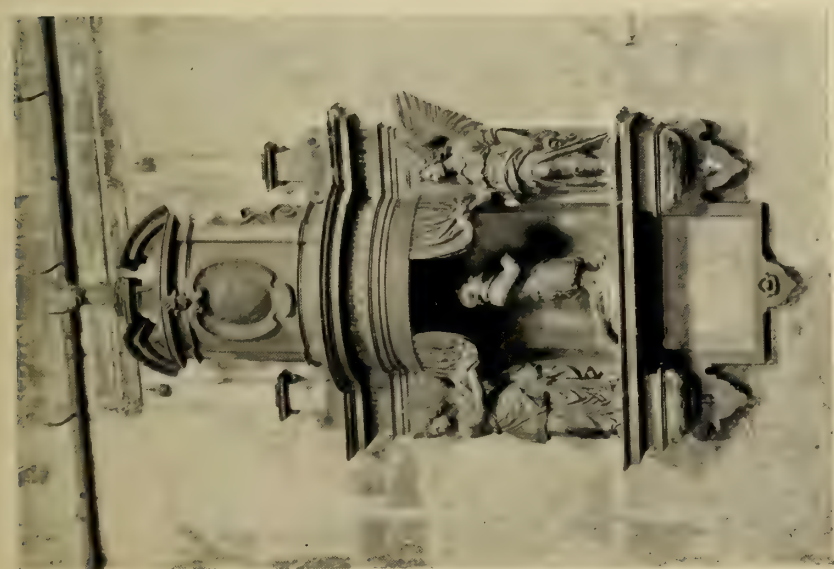
1. CHAMBERLAYNE. Gules, an escutcheon argent within an orle of eight molets or.
2. TANKERVILLE.¹ Gules, a chevron between three escallops or.
3. GATESDEN.² Azure, five lioncels rampant three and two, or.
4. MORTEINE.³ Ermine, a chief indented gules.
5. EKENEY. Sable, two lions passant or, a label of three points gules.
6. ST. JOHN.⁴ Argent, on a chief gules two molets or.

¹ The Chamberlaynes claimed descent from the Counts of Tankerville in Normandy. The first to assume the name of Chamberlayne is said to have been Richard de Tankerville, who was chamberlain to King Stephen.

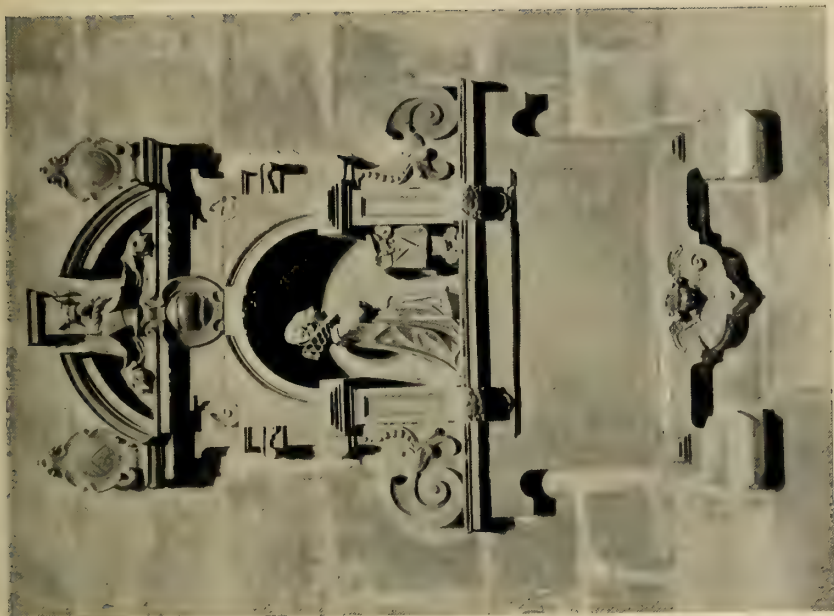
² Sir Richard Chamberlayne, grandson of Richard, married Jane daughter and heiress of John Gatesden.

³ Sir John Chamberlayne, grandson of Sir Richard, married Jane daughter and heiress of Sir John Morteine by the heiress of Richard Ekeney of Ekeney.

⁴ Margaret, daughter of John, Lord St. John of Lagenham, Surrey, wife of Sir J. Pulteney, Mayor of London, married Sir Nicholas Lovaine.



SIR ROBERT CHAMBERLAYNE, 1615
(see p. 457)



ELIZABETH FRESHWATER, 1617
(see p. 459)

7. LOVAINE.¹ Sable, on a bend argent, cotised or, three saltires gules.
8. ABELL. Argent, a saltire engrailed azure.
9. CHEESEMAM.² Per fess embattled or and sable three molets pierced counterchanged.

ELIZABETH FRESHWATER, 1617. This marble monument, before 1864, was in the south aisle close by the entrance to the south side chapel.³ It is now on the east wall of the south transept (pl. *Cb*, p. 458). It has within a panelled arch a carved effigy kneeling at a *prie-Dieu*. The figure has a large ruff of the period and a head-dress. Above is a shield with arms and a broken pediment and crest, and two other shields, one on either side. Below the effigy is a tablet ornamented with three cherub heads and the following inscription :

‘ Here lyeth interred the body of
Elizabeth Freshwater, late
wife of Thomas Freshwater of
Henbridge in the County of Essex
Esquire ; eldest daughter of John
Orme of this parish, Gentleman
and Mary his wife. She died
the 16th day of May Anno Domini
1617 being of the age of 26 years.

*Mors properius, quali tinxisti tela veneno
Ut sic trina uno vulnere præda cadat
Unam sæva feris ; sed et uno hoc occidit ictu
Uxor dulcis, amans filia, chara soror.*

Here also lieth the bodies of Mary and John Orme.
He died the 10th January 1616,⁴ Mary Orme
died the 16th of April A. D. 1618’.

(In English :

Oh ! death, too speedy, with what poison didst thou tip thy shafts,
That thus should fall a threefold victim to a single wound,
Thou fiercely smitest one alone, but at this one stroke there falls
A sweet wife, a loving daughter and a sister dear.)

On the shield are these arms carved : ‘ Azure, a fess between two

¹ Robert Chamberlayne, of Sherburn Castle, Oxon., father of Sir Robert, married Elinor, daughter of Sir Nicholas Lovaine.

² Francis Chamberlayne, grandfather of Sir Robert, married Ann, daughter and heiress of Robert Cheeseman, of Norwood. Sir Robert was great-grandson of Sir Edward Chamberlayne, the celebrated naval commander, and was the last of the elder branch of the old family of Tankerville-Chamberlayne.

³ Strype, *Stow*, Bk. iii, 237.

⁴ Vol. I, App. I, p. 553.

fishes naiant argent. Crest, two fishes in saltire, tails in chief, argent, enfiled by a coronet or.

The parish register shows that she was buried the next day after her death, viz. on the 17th May 1617.¹

Nicholas Orme has a slab in the floor of the south aisle near where the monument formerly stood.²

FRANCIS ANTHONY, 1623. This alabaster monument, now in the north aisle, on the east side of the sacristy door (entrance to Rahere's north chapel) was formerly on the north wall of the presbytery over the pier adjoining the west end of the founder's tomb where it cut into the arch mouldings (as shown in Archer's *Vestiges*).³ It consists of an oblong tablet in a frame; above is a shield, helmet and crest. On the tablet are depicted three columns from the tops of which is festooned a wreath of roses; below is inscribed:

Sacred to the memory of that worthy and lerned
Francis Anthony, Doctor in Physick
There needs no verse to Beautify thy praise
Or keepe in memory thy name
Religion virtue and thy skil did raise
A threefold pillar to thy lasting Fame
Though poisenous envye ever sought to blame
Or hyde the fruits of thy intention
Yet shall they all commend that high desygne
Of purest gold to make a medicine
That feele thy helpe by that thy rare invention.
He dyed the 26th of May 1623 of his age 74
His loving sonne John Anthony doctor in physick
Left this remembrance of his sorrow. He dyed
ye 28th April 1655 being aged 70 year and was

buried near this place and left behind him 1 sonne and 3 daughters.

The shield has carved quarterly:

1. ANTHONY. Argent, a leopard's face gules between two flaunches sable.
2. ERLEY. Gules, a chevron between three bay leaves slipt argent.
3. ——. Argent, a lion rampant sable.
4. HAWES. Azure on a chief or, nine cinquefoils gules, a canton ermine.

Crest—a demi antelope (or goat) ppr. attired and unguled or, and charged with a bezant. See *Visitation of London*, 1568.⁴

Francis Anthony was the son of Derrick Anthony by his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Richard Erley of Elterick, Leicester-

¹ Reg. i, 120.

² See also Lewis and Slater, *Report*, 1863, App. II, p. 542.

³ Below, p. 491.

⁴ Jewers.

shire.¹ The first wife of Francis Anthony was Alice, daughter of William Hawes of Essex. The coat above hers is probably a quartering of her family whose pedigree is not recorded in the heralds' visitations.

ANTHONY LOWE, 1641. This marble monument is on the north side of the east window of the south aisle and has a tablet in the centre, with a smaller one below. The tablet is surmounted by a broken pediment in the centre of which is a shield in an ornamented panel. On the tablet is inscribed :

*Hic jacet
Anthonius Lowe Armiger de interiori templo juris
consultus peritissimus ; vir
Antiquæ fidei et probitatis
Unicum reliquit filium
Arthurum et tres filias
Franciscam, Beatrice(m) et Iana(m)
Placide in Domino obdormivit
vicesimo nono die Aprilis
Anno Domini 1641.
Maria uxor ejus (qua cum
conjunctissime vixerat pene
annos 44, quæque suos cineres cum ipsius misceri
admodum exoptat) Mærens, Dolensque posuit.*

(In English : Here lies Anthony Lowe, Esq., a most skilful barrister of the Inner Temple : a man of old-fashioned honour and probity. He left an only son Arthur and three daughters, Frances, Beatrice and Jane. He fell asleep peacefully in the Lord the 29th day of April, A. D. 1641. Maria, his wife, with whom he had lived most unitedly for nearly 44 years, and whose chief desire is that her own ashes should be mingled with his, erected this (monument) in grief and sorrow.)

The shield has these arms carved :

LOWE. Gules, two wolves passant argent—in chief a molet for difference. (The yellow appearance is probably due to age and varnish.²)

He was churchwarden in the year 1619. He appears in the Lay Subsidy rolls of 1623 and 1624³ assessed at £10 in land, and lived in the second house (west) on the south side of Middle Street, then called Rugman's Row.

JAMES RIVERS (of Comb, Sussex), 1641. This is a marble monument on the east side of the entrance to the south chapel, and has, in an oval panel, on each side of which is a classical column, an alabaster carved effigy of James Rivers. It is a half-length figure with a belt across the chest and in the right hand the hilt of a sword.

¹ *Visitation of London*, Harl. Soc. ; also above, p. 283.

² *Jewellers*.

³ 20 James I, 147/505 and 515.

It is generally supposed to be the work of Hubert le Sueur, the French sculptor who lived in the parish ¹ (pl. CI *a*). Above is a shield, helmet and crest; below is a tablet on which is inscribed:

Within this hollow vault here rests ^ε frame
Of that high soul wch. late inform'd ^ε same
Torne from ^ε service of ^ε state in 's prime
By a disease malignant ² as the time
Who's life and death design'd no other end
Than to serve God his country and his friend;
Who when ambition rytanny and pride
Conquer'd the age, conquer'd himself and dy'd.

Here lyeth ^ε Body of James Rivers Esq. (Sonne
and Heir of John Rivers of Chafford ³ in ^ε County
of Kent (Baron^t) who married Charity Dau^{tr} and Cohe^{rs}
of Sr. John Shurly, of Isfield in ^ε Cou^y
of Suss'x, Who died June ^ε 8th 1641.

On the shield are these arms carved:

RIVERS. Azure, two bars dancetté or, in chief three bezants: impaling

SHURLEY (of Sussex). Bendy of eight azure, a canton ermine.
(Burke gives it as paly bendy of eight, and Berry's *Sussex Pedigrees* as bendy of six.)

The crest—on a mount vert a bull passant sable gorged with a coronet, chained, armed and unguled or.

We learn from the parish registers that he was buried on the 9th June, the day after his death, 'out of the house of W. Freake Esq. the close side' from which, and from the fact that we find no other record of him in connexion with the parish, we assume that he was staying in the Close with a friend at the time and was not resident here. He probably died of the plague as did Sir George Hastings three weeks later. His great-grandfather, Sir John Rivers, Knight, of Chafford, was Lord Mayor of London in 1573. His father, Sir George Rivers, was made a Baronet in 1621 and was still living when his son died.⁴

The monument was formerly on the south side of the quire on the spandrel over a circular pillar,⁵ from whence it was moved during the restoration of 1864 because it cut into the arch mouldings.⁶ It was at some period covered with black pitch, which was removed in the year 1912 when the inscription was re-written at the request and charge of a descendant, Mrs. Rivers-Moore.⁷

¹ Above, p. 281.

² The Royalists were called 'malignants' during the great rebellion.

³ A mansion in the parish of Penshurst.

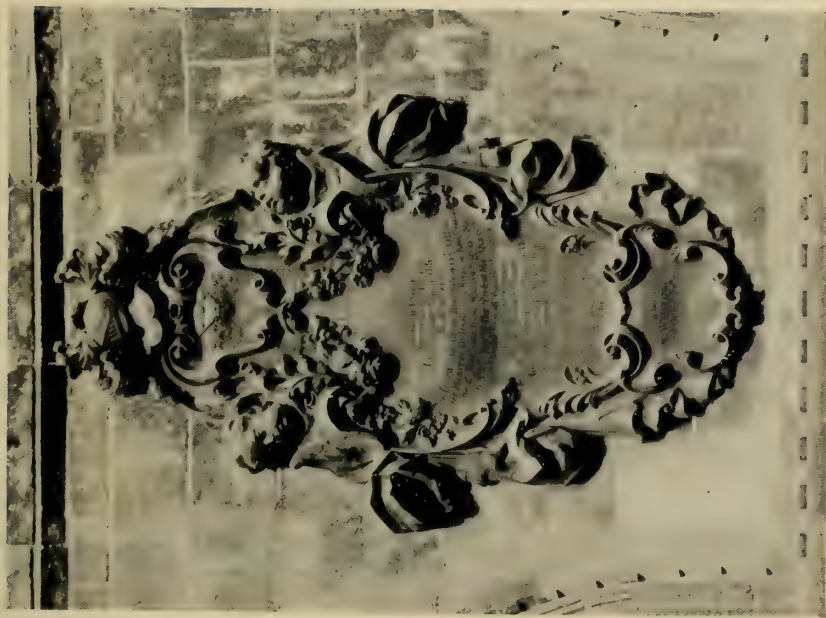
⁴ For particulars of the family see Hasted, *Kent*.

⁵ Allen, *London*, iii, 639.

⁶ Lewis and Slater, *Report*, 1863, App. II, p. 542.

⁷ *Rest. M. Bk.* iii, 62 and 72.

b



JOHN WHITING, 1704, MARY WHITING, 1727
(see p. 471)

a



JAMES RIVERS, 1641
(see pp. 281, 462)

EDWARD COOKE, 1652. A marble monument (covered with black pitch) in the south ambulatory on the west side of the entrance to the south chapel has in the centre a carved effigy of Edward Cooke holding in his left hand a book, on which he is writing with the pen he holds in his right hand. Above is a broken pediment with a shield and crest; below the effigy is a plain tablet, and below the tablet another shield. On the tablet is inscribed:

*Hic inhumatum succubat, quantum terrestre viri
Vere venerandi, Edwardi Cooke Philosophi
Apprime docti nec non Medici spectatissimi
Qui tertio Idus Augusti Anno Dom. 1652.
Anno(ue) ætatis 39 certa resurgendi spe
(utinecesse) naturæ concessit.*

Unsluce yo^r briny floods, what ! can yee keepe
Yo^r eyes from teares and see the marble weepe,
Burst out for shame : or if yee find noe vent
For teares, yet stay, and see the stones relent.

The tablet is made of a stone which readily condenses the water from the air in damp weather; before the hot-water pipes were placed below drops would often be seen condensed upon it.

(In English: Here lies interred all that is mortal of a truly reverend man, Edward Cooke, an exceedingly learned Philosopher as well as a very notable man of medicine, who, on the third of the ides (the 11th) of August A. D. 1652, and in the 39th year of his age, yielded perforce to nature in the sure hope of a resurrection.)

On the upper shield are carved:

COOKE. Gules, three crescents or, on a canton of the last a martlet, sable.

Crest—a leopard passant collared.

On the lower shield is carved the above coat impaling

WADE. Sable, a saltire between four escallop shells, or.

He married Mary Wade, of Hampstead, in 1645.

Edward Cooke is described in the Parish Register¹ in the record of his burial on the 14th of August 1652 as 'Doctor of Physick'. Otherwise his name does not occur in the parish records. His father, also Edward Cooke, occurs in the charter of the Society of Apothecaries, of which he was a Fellow in 1617.²

Formerly this monument was on the opposite side of the south ambulatory, where it filled one of the stilted arches at the south-east corner of 'Purgatory'. The restoration of the apse necessitated its removal in 1864.

¹ Parish Register, ii, 175.

² This information was supplied by Mr. C. R. B. Barrett.

ELLIS YONGE, 1659. A small alabaster monument below the east window of the south aisle (formerly on the south side of the quire) has a tablet on which is inscribed :

Here lieth the body of Ellis Yonge Esq., one of the secondaries in the office of the King's Majesties Remembrancer in the court of exchequer who dyed the 26th of July, 1659, and in the eleventh year of his Ma'tie's Raigne,¹ being aged 63 years.

Above is a shield emblazoned with these arms impaled :

1. Ermine, a lion rampant or ;
2. Azure, a cross or.

These arms are not those recorded of any Yonge or Young family.² The name does not seem to appear in the burial or other parochial register : neither is there anything to show that he had any connexion with the church or parish. He left a nuncupative will of no interest.³

JOHN MILLETT, 1660. In the south aisle, on the wall west of the ancient sacristy door (i.e. the first bay east of the south transept) is an alabaster monument, with pilasters on the sides ornamented with various mariners' instruments. Between these is a tablet with a smaller one below and a shield above. On the tablet is incised :

Captain John Millett Mariner 1660.

Many a storm and tempest past
 Here hee hath quiet anchor cast
 Desirous hither to resort
 Because this parish was the port
 Whence his wide soul set forth and where
 His father's bones intrusted are.
 The Turkey and the Indian trade ;
 Advantage by his dangers made ;
 Till a convenient fortune found,
 His honesty and labours crown'd.
 A just faire dealer he was knowne,
 And his estate was all his owne
 Of which hee had a heart to spare
 To friendship and the poore a share.
 And when to time his period fell
 Left his kind wife and children well
 Who least his virtues dye unknowne
 Commit his memory to this stone.

Obijt anno ætatis 59 anno domini 1660 December 12°.

On the shield these arms are carved :

MILLETT. Gules, a cinquefoil pierced or.

¹ Thus ignoring the Commonwealth.

² Mr. Jewers says ; ' they probably should be—Per bend sinister Erm and Erms, a lion rampant or. The family of Young who were seated in co. Worcester and co. Lincoln were of Welsh descent.'

³ Wills, P.C.C. 306 Nabbs, Buried 7 Aug. 1660.

The parish registers confirm the statement made on the tablet that John Millett had been, unlike the three preceding persons commemorated, a parishioner; for there are records of the burial of five John Milletts. The first, buried in 1626, was probably the father referred to on the tablet. The two buried in 1633 and 1636 respectively were both sons of John Millett and Judith his wife. The one buried in 1649 was the son of John Millett, and probably was the son John who was baptized in 1645 and who was then described as the son of John and Judith Millett. The fifth John Millett, buried in 1668, may have been another brother, or he may have been John, the son of Richard and Susan Millett, christened in 1637. We may therefore assume that there were three and perhaps four brothers all named John, which illustrates the practice, then not uncommon, to give, when a child died, the same name to his successor.

In his will, dated the 20th October 1658,¹ he describes himself as 'of Wandsworth, Surrey, Mariner'. He willed to be buried here 'as near as may be' to his 'father, mother and children' and to 'have a broad stone layed over with an epitaph engraven thereon'. There is, however, no entry of his burial here in the parochial register, though there is of that of his widow in 1662. He left some brewhouses and dyehouses in Cocke and George Yard, Thames Street, to his son Nicholas, and the lease of two houses in Long Lane to his daughter Elizabeth. The will is witnessed by John Whiting—probably the elder.

THOMAS ROYCROFT, 1677. In the south aisle, in the second bay west of the entrance to the south chapel, is a classical monument with marble columns on each side of a tablet with the backs of six books below and a shield with a small helmet above. On the tablet is inscribed:

M. S.
Hic juxta situs est
Thomas Roycroft Armiger
Linguis orientalibus Typographus Regius
Placidissimis moribus et antiquâ Probitate ac Fide
Memorandus
Quorum gratiâ optimi civis famâ jure merito adeptus est
Militæ Civicæ vice tribunus
Nec minus apud Exteros Notus
Ob Libros elegantissimis suis Typis Editos
Inter quos sanctissimum illud
Bibliorum Polyglottorum
Opus quam maximè eminet
Obiit die 10 Augusti anno reparatæ salutis MDCLXXVII
Postquàm LVI ætatis suæ annum implevisset
Parenti Optime Merito Samuel Roycroft
Filius unicus, hoc Monumentum pie posuit.

¹ Wills, App. I, p. 555.

(In English : Near here is laid Thomas Roycroft Esquire, the King's Printer in Eastern languages. Memorable for his most gentle character and old-fashioned uprightness and faith, by reason of which he deservedly obtained the reputation of an excellent citizen. He was Lieutenant of the City Militia. Nor was he less renowned among foreigners on account of the books published in his most elegant type, among which that most sacred work of the Polyglot Bible is of chief eminence. He died on the 10th August in the Year of Redemption 1677 after he had completed the 66th year of his age. To a parent who so well deserved it, Samuel Roycroft, his only son, piously erected this monument.)

The shield is emblazoned with these arms, almost obliterated :

ROYCROFT or Rycroft. Per bend or and gules, three griffins' heads erased counterchanged, on a chief argent a fleur-de-lis between two roses gules.

This monument was originally on the north side of the presbytery where it cut into the arcading of Rahere's tomb on the east side above the priests' door. In 1864 it was removed to the east ambulatory and placed in the bay north of the Lady Chapel. In 1913 it was found that it covered a narrow twelfth-century passage or window through the wall of the church ; it was therefore moved in 1914 to its present position. Among the papers in the belfry cupboard is a builder's estimate, dated 13th January 1792, 'To paint Roycroft monument variegated marbles and properly varnish the same' (also to gild 479 letters, &c.) '£5 4s. 2d.' 'To be done in every respect equal to Mildmay's monument' (there was another monument 'in the south-east angle of the chancel' with 968 letters, to be treated in the same way).

A biographical note of Thomas Roycroft will be found in the chapter on the inhabitants of the parish,¹ also of his son Samuel, who was commemorated on a flat stone in the chancel inscribed :

H. R. I. P. Samuel Roycroft de hac Parochia, generosus, quod mortale habuit deposuit Nonis Februarii, MDCCXVI. Ætat. Sux LX.²

(In English : Here rests in peace Samuel Roycroft of this parish, gentleman : what was mortal of him he put off on the nones (the 5th) of February 1716. Aged 60 years.)

This stone has now disappeared, but that to his wife Elizabeth remains.

JOHN AND MARGARET WHITING, 1681, 1680. In the centre bay in the north ambulatory is a marble monument consisting of a square tablet in a foliated frame with three festoons below, in the centre one

¹ Above, p. 287.

² Strype, *Stow*, Bk. iii, p. 237.

of which is a shield with some traces of arms. Above the tablet are three shields with arms, and over the centre one is a helmet and crest. The tablet is thus inscribed :

Neare this place lye buried the bodies of
 John Whiting and Margaret his
 wife who lived lovingly together
 in holy wedlock in this parish 40
 yeares and upward and dyed in peace
 the said Margaret dyed on Easter
 day 1680 in the 61st year of her age and He
 dyed the 16th day of July 1681 being 74 yeares
 old having had issue 12 children John
 Rebecca and Sarah onely surviving.

*Johannes in memoriam optimorum parentum hoc
 monumentum posuit.*

Shee first deceased, Hee for a little Tryd
 To live without her, likd it not and dyd.

The centre shield above has carved : Smalpace, Sable an inescutcheon within an orle of martlets or, and the crest an heraldic antelope trippant argent supporting a broken spear-head point downward or. To the left hand an emblazoned shield quarterly, I and IV, Shipham, or, a cinquefoil between six cross crosslets fitchée . . . II. Sable a saltire argent (the colours doubtful). III. . . . a chief . . . (?)sa . . . The shield to the right has I and IV Smalpace as above, the colours only partly remaining ; II and III. . . . a bend or, impaling the quarterly coat on the left side. On the shield at the foot of the monument there can be just traced three roundels in chief ; we may therefore conclude that it is the coat of Whiting, viz. Per saltire azure and ermine a leopard's face or and in chief three bezants. (The Rev. John Whiting, S.T.P., rector of St. Martin's Vintry, married a daughter of Shipham.) There is a large freestone shield over this monument, but it does not belong to it, and the arms are quite obliterated from the crumbling surface.

The last two lines of the inscription are adapted from those written in 1625 by Sir Henry Wotton¹ on the death of the wife of Sir Albert Morton, which begin ' He first deceased ', &c.

John Whiting lived in Long Lane, where he had a house with seven hearths,² for which, in the year 1661, he paid £44 a year rent.³

¹ *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, 1651.

² Lay Sub. (Hearth Tax), 147/627, 252/23.

³ Rentals and Survey, R.O., Exhibits Chancery Bundle 18, Rental 1661.

He appears in the Vestry Minute Books from 1666 to 1676 as signing the minutes with Thos. Roycroft and others. He was buried in the church on the 20th July (1681), and as he was buried in linen his executors paid £2 10s. to the churchwarden for the use of the poor.¹ His widow Margaret was buried here, also in linen, on the 15th April 1680, but her Christian name has not been entered in the register.²

The parish registers show that all his twelve children were baptized at the church. His son John, who erected this monument, endowed the parish schools and is commemorated by a tablet in the quire.³ His son James, who died in 1676, and 'seven of his brethren' also had a memorial stone in the floor, which has now disappeared.

JOHN KELLOND, 1685. On the south wall of the quire above the compound pier is an oval stone draped tablet with three cherub heads; it is surmounted by a shield and crest; below is a smaller tablet for the date. On the larger tablet is inscribed:

M. S.

Hæc juxta marmora

siti sunt cineres

juvenis amabilis

Johannis Kellond Armigeri

a lachrymis temperate parentes

Flebunt interitum quem tegunt

Marmor et cælum

Nec Lampade vigilate perenni

Custodiant urnam quas coluit virtutes

Candor et Innocentia

Filius Fuit olim dilectissimus

Solatum fuit jam desiderium

Johannis Kellond Armig: de Painsford

in comitatu Devonix et tritissimæ Matris

Bridgettæ, Johannis Fownes nuper de

Whilley Armiger: in eodem agro sororis

ex utraq(ue) familia illustri

Proles non Ignobilis

Jam juxta Reliquias Avunculi sui

Thomæ Fownes de hac Parochia quondam Ar:(migeri)

Cui sanguine fuit Agnatus

Hic vicino etiam cinere quiescit.

¹ Parish Reg. iv, 24.

² Ib. i, 15.

³ Below, p. 471.

On the smaller tablet is inscribed :

Obijt 2do die Julij
1685
Salutis Ætatis suæ Anno 19º.

(In English : Near this marble are laid the ashes of a lovable youth, John Kellond, Esquire. Restrain yourselves from tears, ye parents, marble and sky will weep for the death they cover ; watch not with an ever burning torch ; let the virtues, simplicity and innocence which he cultivated guard his tomb. The dearly loved son was once the comfort, but now the loss of John Kellond Esq. of Painsford, in the county of Devon, and of his sorrowing mother Bridget, sister of John Fownes, late of Whitley, Esquire, in the same county, a not unworthy offspring of each illustrious stock. He now rests here near the remains of his uncle Thomas Fownes, formerly of this parish Esquire, to whom he was close in blood and is now close also in his tomb. He died on the 2nd day of July in the year of salvation 1685 (and) of his age 19.)

On the shield is carved :

KELLOND (or Kelland) : Sable a fess and in chief three fleurs-de-lis, argent, on the fess a crescent for difference of a second son. Crest, a demi heraldic tiger salient or, maned argent.¹

There seems no legitimate reason why this young man should be commemorated in the church at all. There are no records in the parish books concerning his parents, and the only one concerning himself is that of his burial, which runs : ² ' John Kellond Esqr. of the county of Devonshire was buried the 3rd of July, 1685, in Mr. Master's Pewe ', and in the margin is recorded (regarding the law enforcing burial in woollen) ' affidavit made ye 4th of July, 1685, before Sir Thomas Orby Kt. Baronet, County of Middlesex '. The Mr. Master mentioned in the register would be James Master, himself buried in the church. It is probable that the reason given for his burial here was that his maternal grandparents, Thomas and Hester Fownes, lived for forty years or more in the parish, for their son John was baptized here in August 1653,³ their daughter Elizabeth in November 1657,⁴ and their son Charles in April 1660.⁵ The grandmother Hester was buried here in July 1690,⁶ and also a George Fownes from the Mercers' Chapel in June 1702.⁷

JAMES MASTER, 1702, ANN MASTER, 1705. On the south wall of the south ambulatory, next to Prior Bolton's door on the east side,

¹ Jewers.

² Par. Reg. ii, 18.

⁶ Ib. iv, 73.

⁴ Ib. iii, 17.

⁷ Ib. iv, 60.

² Reg. iv, 48.

⁵ Ib. iii, 24.

is a large plain monument with an oblong tablet, flanked with pilasters, above which is a pediment with a shield, and below a semicircular tablet commemorating Streynsham Master, the naval captain, not buried here. On the tablet is inscribed :

Near this place lies ye body
of James Master of East Langdon in ye county
Of Kent, Esq. he married Joyce only daughter of
Sr. Christopher Tornor of Milton-Ernest in ye
County of Bedford, Kt., one of ye Barons of ye Court of Exchequer
in ye reign of King Charles ye 2 by whom
he had 4 sons and 10 daughters. He departed this life

Aug: 9th 1702 Aged 75

He was ye son of Richard Master of East
Langdon Esq. by Ann his wife daughter of
Sr. James Oxenden of Dean, in ye Parish of Wingham
in ye County of Kent, by whom the said Richd. Master
had twelve sons and eight daughters. She died Jan. 30th

1705

Aged 99 years and six months and lies interred in this
place.

He ye said Richard Master
was the son of Sir Edward Master
of the same place Kt. Governor of Dover Castle
by Audery one of ye daughters and coheirs of
Robt. Streynsham ¹ of Ospring in ye said County Esq.
Streynsham Master

the only surviving son of James Master Esq.
married Elizabeth only daughter and heir of
Richard Oxenden of Brook
in ye Parish of Wingham in ye County of Kent Esq.
and departed this life June 22, 1724, Aged 42 years
being married 4 months, and lies there interred
leaving no issue.

On the lower tablet is inscribed :

The said Streynsham Master
Commanded several ships in ye Royal Navy
and did in ye year 1718 particularly distinguish himself
in ye Engagement against ye Spaniards
On ye coast of Sicily ; by forcing
the Spanish Admiral in Chief
to surrender to him.

¹ By Frances, daughter and heiress of William Wightman of Harrow on the Hill.

The shield has these arms impaled :

Dexter—

- 1 and 4. MASTER. Azure, a fess embattled between three griffins' heads erased or.
2. STREYNHAM. Or, a pale indented gules.
3. WIGHTMAN.¹ Argent, on a bend engrailed gules between three Cornish choughs proper three leopards' faces or.
4. MASTER. As above.

Sinister—

TURNOR, Erms, on a cross quarterly pierced argent four fers de molines sable; in the centre of the cross an annulet argent.

This monument, according to a water-colour painting by William Evans of Eton (now in possession of the author), was, in the year 1836, on the wall facing its present position. This James Master² of East Langdon lived in this parish (as is shown by the rate books of 1676 to 1686) at what is now 67 Bartholomew Close, the west end of the ancient frater. He apparently moved from the parish before his death, because the entry in the burial register of 13th August 1702 says 'from the parish of St. Andrew's Holborn'. He was, as stated on the tablet, one of a family of twelve sons and eight daughters. Of his own four sons and ten daughters the parish registers record the baptism here of the eldest son, Streynsham, in March 1681; and of three daughters, Diana in 1683, Bridgett in 1685, and Lucy in 1688. His aged mother's burial is thus recorded in the register, 'Madam Ann Master was buried from Red Lyon Streete in Holborn, Feby. 4, 1704/5 (certificate on the file),³ aged above 100'.

The only surviving son, Streynsham,⁴ referred to on the tablet, died in 1724. He was Captain of the *Superbe*, and it was at the battle of Cape Passaro, 1718, that he distinguished himself.

JOHN WHITING, 1704, MARY WHITING, 1727. On the north wall of the quire above the compound piers is an alabaster oval tablet (pl. CI b, p. 462) surrounded with drapery, garlands, and two cherub heads. Above is a helmet and shield with these arms :

WHITING. Per saltire argent and ermine a leopard's face or, in chief three bezants.

¹ The quarterings of Streynsham and Wightman were included in the grant to Master, 2 May 1696 (Berry's Kent Ped.).

² Not the James Master whose Expenses book, 1646-1676, was published in *Archæologia Cantiana*.

³ Reburied in woollen.

⁴ Not the Streynsham Master whose diaries, 1675-1680, were published in the Indian Record Series, 1912.

This monument commemorates the son of John Whiting, referred to above, the benefactor of the schools. On the tablet is inscribed :

In the
south aisle
lyes all
that was mortal of
Mr. Jno. Whiting
of ye Tower of London, Gent.
He was a man of an exemplary life
sincere to his Friends
To ye Indigent charitable
To all affable.

He served with great reputation in ye office
of Her Majesty's Ordnance, in ye reign of King Charles
the 2nd King James, King William and Queen Mary
and in ye first year of her present Majesty Queen Anne
Disengaged himself from all public business

The better to prepare
For his blessed change
He left this world ye 20th day of Octo^r. Anno Domini 1704 Ætatis 64
In full assurance of a joyful
Resurrection

He bequeathed for the educating 20 poor children of the Parish
In which he was Borne 29 P¹ p^r.
a^m (after ye Decease of his
Beloved Wife) for ever.

On the lesser tablet below is inscribed :

Also
Mary ye wife
of ye above said
Jno. Whiting, who
died Oct^r ye 7th 1727
in ye 83rd year
of her
age.

The shield is carved with the arms of Whiting as above.

Mention has already been made of this John Whiting when describing the monument he erected to his father's memory.² Reference has also been made to his benefaction to the school.³ An extract from his will is printed in the Appendix,⁴ from which it appears that he married a widow, for he made a bequest ' to my kinsman William Reede sonne of my well-beloved wife Mary ', the will and the registers are silent as to her having borne him any children.

¹ *Sic.*

² Above, p. 38.

³ Above, p. 471.

⁴ Wills, App. I, p. 555

The record of his burial¹ in the south ambulatory reads thus : ' Mr. John Whiteing died the 20th day of October, 1704, in ye Tower. Buried from Cooke's Hall ye 26 of Oct. 1704 in ye church ', from which it appears that, at that time at any rate, he was not resident in the parish ; or his body would not have been conveyed to Cooke's Hall (on the east side of Aldersgate Street). That he should have died in the Tower, although he had relinquished his post there, suggests that he died there suddenly when visiting his former colleagues. As his widow lived for twenty-four years after his death, the schools had a long time to wait before coming into their inheritance. The register says she was ' buried from dedford ' (Deptford), 13 October 1727.²

HENRY TULSE, 1705. On the west wall of the south transept is a plain tablet surmounted by a shield and a wreath of flowers, from which the crest has gone : below is carved an ornamented face. On the tablet is inscribed :

Near this monument
Lieth the body of
Henry Tulse Son of
Henry Tulse of Lym-
ington in the county of
Southampton Esq. who
Departed this life ye 26th Day of Augt. 1705 in the 25
year of his age.

This tablet is shown in the picture by William Evans of Eton, already referred to, as being in the year 1836 on the south-east pier of the apse in the south ambulatory. Malcolm describes it as being behind the altar.³ The arms on the shield are almost obliterated ; but a bend can be traced between two dolphins or, so they are probably those of Sir Henry Tulse, Lord Mayor in 1684, which were :

Sable, a bend nebulée (wavy) between two dolphins embowed or.
Crest—A dolphin embowed argent finned or.⁴

This is another instance of a non-parishioner being granted a memorial in the church. The entry of his burial on the 31st August 1705 is the only parochial record concerning him. It states that he was buried here ' from Hornsey ' and that ' he was an apprentice to Mr. Crosfield late of ye parish ' ;⁵ a flimsy reason for burial and commemoration in the church of St. Bartholomew the Great.

¹ Reg. iv, 84.

² Reg. viii, 31.

³ *Lond. Red.* i, 294. He omits the date (1705).

⁴ Jewers refers to Harl. MS. 1049.

⁵ Par. Reg. iv, 192.

MARGARET FIELDER, 1739. On the south side of the south-east pier of the crossing is a plain alabaster tablet with this inscription :

Near this place
lyes the Body of
Mrs. Margaret Fielder
who Dyed the 18th day of July 1739
in the 57 year of her age.

She is entered in the burial register¹ as Margaret Fielding and was 'buried in the Back Ile near the vestry door'. There are no other parochial records concerning her.

LOCKYER DAVIS, 1791, MARY DAVIS, 1769. In the west bay of the north ambulatory is a large perpendicular tablet in a plain marble frame, on which is incised :

In memory of
Mr. Lockyer Davis
of the Parish of St. Andrew Holborn
who departed this Life April 23rd 1791
in the seventy-third Year of his Age
His Tenderness and Attention as a
Husband and Father have rarely been
equalled, but never exceeded.
His Integrity was inflexible
The solidity of his Judgment and
Elegance of his Manners
(which were
preserved by Temperance to the latest
Period of his life) rendered him at
once the Instructor and Delight of a
numerous Acquaintance ; his Advice
being ever solicited and seldom taken
but with advantage.

Indeed the Chasm he has left in
Society will not be readily supplied for
we may truly say with the Poet
'Take him for all in all

We shall not look upon his like again'. Also Mary Davis
wife of the above Lockyer Davis
who departed this Life Novr. 9th 1769
in the forty-eighth year of her age
She was an affectionate wife, a tender
mother, and a sincere Friend.

He was a bookseller of some repute : why he and his wife were buried here does not appear. They were both interred 'in the west aisle behind the Constables' Pew'.²

¹ Reg. viii, 64, 25 July 1739.

² Par. Regs. viii, 138, and xii, 30.

OWEN PERROT EDWARDES, Rector, 1814. In the east bay of the north ambulatory is a small oblong tablet in a marble frame inscribed :

Beneath this Tablet ¹
are deposited the remains of
The Revd. Owen Perrott Edwardes, A.M.
Forty-five years, Rector of this parish ;
Who died April the xx, MDCCCXIV ; aged LXXXIV years.

There are no armorials. All records concerning this rector (1768-1814) are set out elsewhere.²

WILLIAM PHILLIPS, patron, 1828, and MARY JANE PHILLIPS. On a brass plate attached to the rector's quire stall (the end stall south side) is inscribed :

In thankful
remembrance of
William Phillips
Patron of this priory church
and
Mary Jane his wife
these stalls are placed by their
only son Fredk. Parr Phillips
1886.
We praise Thee O God ; we
acknowledge Thee to be the Lord
All the earth doth worship
Thee the Father Everlasting.

WILLIAM PHILLIPS TAYLOR, 1829. On the west side of Prior Bolton's door, in the eastern end of the south aisle, is a marble monument with a tablet surmounted by a large cinerary urn and a shield below ; moved here in 1864 from the south side of the quire. On the tablet is incised :

On the south side of the altar
are deposited the remains of
William Phillips Taylor
of Worcester College, Oxford
and Bath, Somerset, Esquire,
who died Sept. 10th 1829 Aged 22 years
He was the only son of George Taylor, Esquire,
Lieut. Colonel in His Majesty's service
and Companion of
the most honourable order of the Bath
And grandson of the late William Phillips, Esquire
Patron of this church.
This monument was erected
by an affectionate Mother to her only son.

¹ Altered from ' Beneath the Altar '.

² Above, p. 351.

On the shield are these arms carved :

TAYLOR. Argent, a saltire wavy sable between two hearts in fess, and in chief a dexter hand couped at the wrist gules, grasping a dagger ppr., and in base a ship of three masts, sails set sable.

Crest—A cubit arm erect gules, the hand grasping a dagger ppr. hilt and pomel or. Above the crest is a scroll with the motto *Victoriae Signum*.¹

The burial took place on the 19th September from Wigmore Street, Cavendish Square, Rector Abbiss officiating.²

MARY WHEELER, 1844. On the west wall of the north ambulatory is a perfectly plain square marble tablet on which is inscribed :

In memory of
Mrs. Mary Wheeler
Died 31st October 1824
and of
Mr. Daniel Wheeler
Died 17th July 1834 aged 84 years, 68 years of this parish.
This stone is inscribed by
their granddaughter
Charlotte Hart, 1866.

JOHN ABBISS, Rector, 1883. On the first (or lowest) altar step is the following inscription in mosaic :

To the Glory of God and in memory of John Abbiss 64 years rector of this church, this apse was rebuilt by his nephew Frederick P. Phillips A. D. 1886

‘ Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness.’³
‘ Where I am there shall also my servant be.’⁴

Mr. Abbiss is not otherwise commemorated in the church. The inscription on his tombstone at Stoke d’Abernon has been already given.⁵

WILLIAM PANCRIDGE, Rector, 1887. On a brass plate on the quire screen, behind the rector’s stall, is inscribed :

To the Glory of God
and in memory of
William Pancridge
priest M.A. of Jesus College Cambridge
Born July 26th 1836
Died June 8th 1887
Rector 1884–1887

¹ These arms were originally granted to John Taylor of Kirkwall, in Orkney (see Papworth, *Dictionary of British Armorial*s).

² Par. Reg. xvii, 119.

⁴ John xii. 26.

³ Psalm cxxxii. 9.

⁵ Above, p. 404.

This screen
Is dedicated by his friends and
Parishioners in thankful remembrance
of his efforts in restoring the fabric
of this ancient Priory Church and
of the spiritual blessings conferred
on the parish by his devotion and work.
'They rest from their labours.'

On the back of the screen is carved in wood, running the whole length of the screen :

'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.' ¹

'Remember them who have spoken unto you the Word of God :
whose faith follow.' ²

The inscription on his tombstone in Highgate cemetery has been already given. ³

CHARLOTTE HART, 1891. On the west wall of the north ambulatory is a bronze tablet on a small black marble slab, on which in raised letters is the following inscription :

In memory of Charlotte Hart
41 years sextoness of this church
born 1815 died April 3 1891. She left
a large sum towards the restoration fund of this church for the
erection of a pulpit and other benefactions.

Miss Hart was appointed sextoness in October 1852, and has already been referred to. ⁴

FREDERICK JOHN WITHERS, 1892. On a brass plate on the south side of the organ case is inscribed :

To the Glory of God and in memory
of Frederick John Withers this
organ case was erected by his
brother Henry Thomas Withers
and dedicated on June 5th 1893.

Mr. F. J. Withers, during the years of the restoration, 1864-6, kept a diary, a copy of which his brother presented to the church. It has already been frequently referred to. The organ case has also been already described. ⁵

THE ROYAL VISIT in 1893. The presence of Albert Edward Prince of Wales (our late King Edward VII), the Princess of Wales, the Duke of York (now King George V), the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Lord Mayor of London and others on the

¹ Rev. xiii. 14.

³ Above, p. 412.

⁵ *Rest. M. Bk.* ii, 103 ; and above, p. 49.

² Heb. xiii. 7.

⁴ Above, p. 419.

occasion of the reopening of the North Transept and other works on the 5th June 1893 is commemorated by shields placed on the iron grille under the north transept arch; they are emblazoned as follows (the coats are the same on each grille): In the upper row, left to right, are—

1. SAINT BARTHOLOMEW. Gules, three knives erect in fess argent, hafted or.
2. QUEEN VICTORIA. The Royal arms, viz.:
Quarterly 1 and 4. Gules, three leopards or (England).
2. Or, within a double tressure flory counter-flory a lion rampant gules (Scotland).
3. Azure, a harp or stringed argent (Ireland).
3. ALBERT EDWARD PRINCE OF WALES. The Royal arms as above, differenced with a label of three points argent, over all, barry of ten or and sable a bend treflée¹ vert (Saxony).
4. ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S PRIORY. Gules, two leopards and in chief two ducal coronets or.

In the lower row are :

1. ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL. Per pale argent and sable, a chevron counterchanged.
2. THE SEE OF CANTERBURY. Azure, an archiepiscopal staff in pale or ensigned with a cross patée argent surmounted by a pall argent fimbriated and fringed or and charged with four crosses formées fitchées sable.
3. THE SEE OF LONDON. Gules, two swords in saltire argent pommels or.
4. SIR BORRADAILE SAVORY, Baronet, Rector. Argent, two pales within as many flaunches vert a chief sable thereon a staff erect entwined by a serpent ppr. In an inescutcheon the Badge of Ulster.
5. CANON FREDERICK PARR PHILLIPS, Patron. Sable, a lion rampant ducally crowned argent, langued and armed gules, between eight fleurs-de-lis or.
6. THE CITY OF LONDON. Argent, a cross gules with a sword erect argent in the quarter.

EMILY FULLER WEBB, 1896. On the iron band below the frieze of the Lady Chapel screen is pierced the following inscription :

This screen is a thank offering
to God for and in loving memory of
Emily Fuller Webb, died Jan. 20, 1896
the wife of one privileged to share
in the restoration of this church.

The screen has been already described.²

¹ A crown of rue.

² Above, p. 85.

WILLIAM HENRY DAVID BOYLE, 1897. On a brass plate on the north wall of the Lady Chapel is engraved :

Gulielmo Henrico David Boyle A.M. a Thesauro Regio qui conjugem paullo Antegressam repetens munia civilia cœlestibus musica angelica Anglicam suam mutavit Nonis Juliis A.S. MDCCCXCVII ætatis suæ XXXVII Sodali dulci dilecto desiderato hanc tabellam posuere collegæ. In te ✠ Domine.

This Latin inscription is due to Mr. Stephen Spring-Rice, at that time an assistant secretary to the Treasury, and may be thus translated :

To William Henry David Boyle, M.A., of Her Majesty's Treasury who, seeking to rejoin his wife who had shortly preceded him, exchanged earthly functions for heavenly ones, his English (music) for angelic music on the nones of July (7th July) in the year of salvation 1897, of his age 37, this tablet was erected by his colleagues to a comrade sweet, beloved and missed. In Thee, O Lord Christ.

Above is a shield with arms—quarterly : 1st and 4th or, an eagle displayed, with two heads, gules (a coat of augmentation) ; 2nd and 3rd, per bend, embattled, argent and gules, for Boyle ; over all, an escutcheon, or, charged with three stags' horns, erect, gules, two and one, for the paternal coat of Boyle of Kelburne. Motto : *Dominus providebit.*

He was a friend of Sir Borradaile Savory, the rector, and was a regular worshipper here. He was the only son of Col. William Boyle, C.B. He married in 1888 Eleanor, third daughter of the Hon. Henry Dugdale Curzon : she died 15th November, 1893. Both Mr. Boyle and his wife were talented musicians.¹

R.A.M.C. (VOLUNTEERS). On the south wall of the Lady Chapel, by the door, is a brass tablet inscribed :

To the Glory of God
and in memory of
Pte. George William Norton Stevens
Pte. Thomas Reginald Walker
Pte. Ralph Paynter Williams
London Companies
Royal Army Medical Corps
(Volunteers) Who died in the service of their
country in South Africa
During the Boer War, 1899-1902
Erected by the
Officers, N.C. Officers and men
of the Corps.

Above, encircled by a wreath, is a staff erect entwined by a serpent ppr., being the staff of Aesculapius, the badge of the R.A.M.C.

¹ Communicated by Mr. C. Dalrymple Hay.

JOHN MORGAN TYNDALE, 1900. On the west side of the north transept below the window is a bronze tablet in a frame surmounted by the City arms, helmet and crest, with griffin supporters and the Royal Crown above; beneath is inscribed 'The City of London Imperial Volunteers', and the words *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* and 'C I V' with laurels. On the tablet is embossed:

In memory of
John Morgan Tyndale
a private in the regiment and also in the
1st Tower Hamlets Volunteers. Only son of
John Temple Tyndale of this parish. He died
at Pretoria on the 22nd of October, 1900, during the South African
Campaign aged 20 years.

Below is embossed:

This memorial is erected at the expense of the regimental fund
The Right Honourable Alfred Newton Bart. Lord Mayor 1899-1900.

When this memorial was admitted to the church it was generally supposed that an ancestor, William Tyndale, the translator of the Bible, was ordained in this church, but no record of this being the case has been found.¹

JOSEPH GRIMSHIRE, 1901. On the south side of the west porch is a stone tablet enumerating the priors and rectors of this church since its foundation in 1123. There are gaps in the names of the priors between the years about 1181-1201, 1206-1213, 1213-1226, 1264-1269. Above the tablet occur again the arms of the priory with angel supporters. At the head of the tablet is carved in raised letters:

The Priory of St. Bartholomew and the Parish Church of St. Bartholomew the Great.

And below is carved:

In thankfulness to God for the life and work of Joseph Grimshire, a merchant of the city of London and benefactor to this church/ who died the twelfth of November 1901 this tablet is erected to his memory by some of his friends. Anno Domini 1904.²

The tablet is divided into three slightly sunk panels on which are the names and dates in raised letters in stone (as list already given).³

CANON FREDERICK PARR PHILLIPS, 1903. The floor of the sanctuary was relaid in mosaic in the year 1904 at the charge of Captain

¹ See Vol. I, p. 221.

² See also above, p. 432.

³ Above, p. 432.

Frederick Abbiss Phillips, patron, in memory of his father, and bears in mosaic the following inscription adjoining the sanctuary step :

In memory of the Revd. Canon F. Parr Phillips Rector of Stoke d'Abernon Surrey and patron of this church died 17 March 1903 aged 84.

Give unto the Lord the glory due unto His Name : bring an offering and come before Him : worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness.¹

Between this inscription and the altar steps is the *Ter Sanctus* in mosaic on a white ground.

SIR BORRADAILE SAVORY, Baronet, M.A., Rector, 1906, is commemorated by a personal memorial in the Lady Chapel, by new Communion rails before the high altar, and a tablet in the west porch recording the works of restoration. The personal memorial is a stone renaissance monument between the first and second windows on the north wall of the Lady Chapel. On either side of the tablet are winged figures carved on pillars supporting a broken pediment, in the centre of which is a shield, helmet, and crest. The central tablet is inscribed in gold letters :

In affectionate remembrance of
Sir Borradaile Savory, Baronet, M.A.
Rector of this parish 1887-1906
only son of Sir William Scovell Savory
Bart. F.R.S. sometime surgeon
of St. Bartholomew's Hospital
He died Sept. 12th 1906 aged 50 years
and was buried at Stoke Poges, Bucks
he was a chaplain of the order
of the Hospital of St. John
of Jerusalem ; of the Volunteer
Medical Staff Corps ; Past Grand
Chaplain of English Freemasons
and President of Sion College 1905
He worked strenuously for the
spiritual welfare of the parish-
ioners ; and for the Restoration
of the Fabric of this church.

Below on a concave plinth are the words carved in relief :

' I am the Resurrection and the Life '.

Below this again is a small stone tablet, on which is inscribed in red :

This tablet together with the altar rails
and the tablets recording the Restoration
were erected by parishioners and friends.²

¹ 1 Chron. xvi. 29.

² For inscription on his tombstone at Stoke Poges see above, p. 434.

On the shield are the Savory arms as on the screen,¹ with the motto *Esse Quam Videri*, and the pendant cross of a chaplain of the order of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. The crest above is given as 'on a mount in front of a cubit arm ppr, the hand holding a chapeau gules turned up arg, a serpent nowed vert between two branches of laurel also ppr'. The Communion rails are in bronze: on the frieze is pierced the words from the *Gloria in Excelsis*:

we praise Thee
we bless Thee
we worship Thee
we glorify Thee.

The tablet in the west porch is on the north wall, carved in stone similar to the Grimshire memorial on the south wall. It is divided into three panels, above which is carved:

'Works of Restoration to the fabric of the Church and Schools.'

On the first, or western panel, is carved:

Rev. John Abbiss, M.A. Rector 1819-1883.	
Floor lowered 2 ft. 6 in. to twelfth/century level:	1864
Apse restored on ground level, two centre/piers and three arches of arcade built and the/remaining piers of quire restored:	1868
Whitewash removed: north wall and windows/on ground floor restored: clerestory/windows filled with new tracery:	1868
Dry area formed round the church:	1868
Total expenditure £6,500.	

On the third, or eastern panel, is carved:

Rev. William Panckridge, M.A. Rector 1884-1887.	
Site of north transept, at that time occupied by/a black- smith's forge, a shop and a dwelling-house/purchased:	1884
Lady Chapel, at that time a fringe factory, and site/of canons' cemetery purchased:	1885
Apse on the triforium and clerestory levels restored/and the arcading rebuilt at the sole charge of the/Rev. Frederick Parr Phillips, Patron:	1886
Roof of the whole church renewed in oak and lead/covered: high altar, steps and quire stalls given:	1886
Organ from St. Stephen's Walbrook and organ loft/erected:	1886
Total expenditure £10,200.	

On the centre panel is carved:

Rev. Sir Borradaile Savory, Bt., M.A. Rector 1887-1906.	
Schools and Club rooms built: Boys school/removed from north triforium: north/triforium restored: quire screen erected as a/memorial to the Rev. Wm. Panckridge:	1889
South transept built:	1891

¹ Above, p. 478.

South triforium restored :	1891
North transept built : arcading in arch/opened and iron grilles inserted :	1893
North and west porches built :	1893
Aisles revaulted : west front faced with/flint and stone :	
Pulpit built, by gift :	1893
Organ case erected, by gift : bells rehung :	1893
Crypt restored :	1895
Lady Chapel restored : tracery in windows inserted	1897
Screen in Lady Chapel erected, by gift :	1897
Three bays of east alley of Cloister restored :	1905
Window north side of Lady Chapel opened out/by removal of house and restored :	1906
Total cost, Church £24,000 ; Schools £5,000.	

At the base of the memorial is carved on the stone in one line :

‘ These tablets were erected in grateful remembrance by parish-
ioners and friends of the Reverend Sir Borradaile Savory, Bt.’ 1908

J. R. WIGGINTON, 1908. In the back of the second quire stall on
the north side is a small metal tablet, on which is incised :

Here sang to the glory of God
Joseph Rowley Wigginton
anno Domini 1894-1908.

JOHN HOPE, 1912. On the north wall of the Lady Chapel, below
the Savory monument, is a similar bronze tablet, on which is incised :

Remember ye in the Lord
John Hope
Verger of this church 1888-1912
and

Master of the Parish Clerks’ Company when he died 16th October, 1912.

G. DUCKWORTH ATKIN, father and mother of, 1914. On the south
wall of the quire is a small bronze tablet, on which is embossed :

This choir vestry is
erected on the ancient
foundations of the south
chapel by G. Duckworth
Atkin in loving memory
of his father and mother
A. D. 1914.

T. K. SURSHAM, 1915. On the back of the quire stall next the rector’s
stall is another bronze tablet of the same size as J. R. Wigginton’s above,
on which is inscribed : Thomas Kusel Sursham

server of this church
killed in action in France Sep. 25th, 1915
‘ Greater love hath no man than this ’.

J. H. SANDERSON, 1916. On the back of the quire stall on the south side is another bronze tablet of the same size, on which is engraved :

James Henry Sanderson
7th Royal West Surrey Regt.
sang here to the glory of God
killed in action in France, July 1st, 1916.

RIFLEMAN HARRY VAIL. On the back of another quire stall on the south side is a bronze tablet of the same size, on which is engraved :

Rifleman Harry Vail
London Regiment
sang here to the glory of God
killed in action Palestine April 19th 1917.

SAPPER WILLIAM HUNT. On the back of another quire stall on the north side is a bronze tablet of the same size, on which is engraved :

Sapper William Hunt.
Royal Engineers
sang here to the glory of God
died of wounds France April 2nd 1918.

EDWARD PERCY CAVENEY. On the back of another quire stall on the north side is a bronze tablet of the same size, on which is engraved :

Edward Percy Caveney
Scots Guards
sang here to the glory of God
killed in action France
Aug. 25th 1918.

HARRY ELY WALDRON. On the back of a return quire stall on the north side is a bronze tablet of the same size, on which is engraved :

Harry Ely Waldron
Lincoln Regiment
Server of this church Prisoner of war
died at Le Cateau Sept. 20th 1918.

RIFLEMAN ALBERT WILLIAM LOCKYER. On the back of a return stall on the north side is a bronze tablet, on which is engraved :

Rifleman Albert William Lockyer
Rifle Brigade
Server of this Church
killed in France, May 3rd 1917.

PHILIP E. WEBB. On the north jamb of the east door of the choir vestry is an enamelled tablet, set in a mercurial gilt frame, on which is inscribed

Keep in remembrance
 Philip Edward Webb
 A.R.I.B.A. 2nd Lieut. Royal
 Engineers : He designed
 this Vestry 1913 and
 was killed in action in
 France September 25th, 1916
 the figure of Saint
 Bartholomew on the
 gate-house was erected to his beloved memory.

On the top of the frame for a crest is a web with the motto 'Weave Well', and the badge of the Royal Engineers. The figure on the gate-house was erected by his father and mother, Sir Aston and Lady Webb; the tablet by his uncle, a church warden.

MONUMENTS FORMERLY IN THE CHURCH.

The following twenty-four monuments are recorded by John Stow as being in the church when he wrote in 1598, but not one is now extant.

A date is given by Stow in one instance only, that of Roger Walden (1406), but, as we have shown, Walden was probably buried at St. Paul's, so this would have been a memorial only.

By the aid of wills, &c., we have been able to fix dates to some of the following :

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| ' John Carleton ', ¹ if the prior of that name. | 1362 |
| ' John Royston ', ² | 1387 |
| ' Roger Walden ', ³ | 1406 |
| ' Robert, son of Sir Robert Willowby '. This may have been Robert, the second son of Robert Lord Willoughby de Eresby. ⁴ | cir. 1400 |
| ' John Watforde ', ⁵ if the prior of that name. | cir. 1415 |
| ' Richard Lancaster, Herald at Arms ' ; this is <i>alias</i> Richard Brigge, ⁶ as already explained. | 1415 |
| ' William Thirlewall, Esquire ', already referred to. ⁷ | 1432 |
| ' John Golding ', to be buried before the font under a stone of marble. ⁸ | 1450 |
| ' John Louth, gentleman ' in his will ⁹ is described as Johanne Louthe de Louth and desired ' to be buried within the chapel of the Blessed Mary . . . near beside the wall of the same chapel on the north side '. | 1458 |
| ' John Durem Esquire ' (1474) ' and Elizabeth his wife '. In his will ¹⁰ dated 9th March 1473/4 he is described as ' John Durem, lately one of the Barons of the Exchequer '. | |

¹ See Vol. I, p. 165.

² *Ib.*, p. 182.

³ *Ib.*, p. 188.

⁴ Hasted, *Kent*, i, 405.

⁵ Vol. I, p. 203.

⁶ Above, p. 250.

⁷ Above, p. 251.

⁸ Wills, App. I, p. 533.

⁹ *Ib.*, p. 536.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, p. 537.

and willed 'to be buried in the church of the Priory . . . before the chapel of St. John the Evangelist founded in the aforesaid church': he left 6s. 8d. 'for the tolling of the great bell of the church' at his funeral. His widow Elizabeth in her will¹ desired to be buried beside her husband.

1477

'Eleanor, wife to Sir Hugh Fen (Fenne), mother to Margaret Lady Burgavenie.' This monument dated probably from the last quarter of the fifteenth century, for Eleanor was living when 'Hugh atte Fenne' made his will in February 1476.

'Sir — Bacon, Knight.' This must refer to Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper, unless Stow is in error, because he was the first Bacon to be knighted, and his son, also Sir Nicholas, who was knighted the year his father died (1579) did not die until 1624, or twenty-six years after Stow made his list. The Lord Keeper was at one time solicitor to the Court of Augmentations, which, through Rich, may account for his being commemorated here— (if he was so); he was buried at St. Paul's.

1578

We are unable to suggest a date for any of the following other than a period some time before Stow wrote (1598):

'Alice wife to Balstred, daughter to Knyfe' (Knyfe). (A John Knyf, in 1469, bequeathed a tenement in West Smithfield to St. Sepulchre's.)

'William Essex, Esquire.' (A William Essex² is mentioned in the will of William de Burton who willed to be buried in the church of St. John Zachary in 1368.)

'Gilbert Halstocke' (Halstoft).

'John Ludlow and Alice his wife.'

'John Malwaine' (a William Malweyn occurs in the Husting Wills in 1420).³

'William Scarlet, Esquire' (a William Scantilon occurs in the Husting Wills in 1386).⁴

'Robert Shikeld' (Therkeld) 'Gentleman'.

'Thomas Torald' (Torold). (A Thomas Torell occurs in the Husting Wills in 1361.)

'Richard Vancke', baron of the Exchequer, and Margaret his wife, daughter to William de la River (Rever).

'Hugh Waltar, gentleman.'

'John Warton, gentleman, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter to William Scott, esquire.'

'John Winderhall.'

The words shown in brackets in the above list are the corrections made by Strype to Stow's list.

¹ Vol. I, App. I, p. 537.

² Cal. Hust. Wills, ii, 112.

³ Ib. ii, 549.

⁴ Ib., p. 343.

To this list Strype, in his edition of Stow, A. D. 1720, says 'add':

'Fylone Graye.'

'Elizabeth, wife to John Gynor, Gent.'

'Dame Elizabeth, wife of Sir William Elington.'

'Agnes,¹ wife of Edward Hungerford, Esq.'

'Jone, daughter of William Smith, Esq.'

'Jone, daughter of Richard Slade, Gent.'

'Alice, daughter of John Truffel, Gent.'

'Hugh Williams.'

We assume that these few names were found by Strype among Stow's notes, and refer to the same period as Stow's list: there are no dates.

As not one of the monuments in either of the above lists, except those of Rahere and Sir Walter Mildmay, occur in the 'Catalogue of Tombs in City Churches', made by Payne Fisher in 1666, we may assume that they all had some inscription such as *Ora Pro Nobis* which offended the Puritans of 1642, and that they were in consequence ruthlessly destroyed at that time. To the absence of any inscription of the kind we may probably attribute the preservation of both the Rahere and the Mildmay monuments. Malcolm remarks² in 1803 'under the organ gallery are many broken slabs, on which there have been brass plates'. At present there are the remains of four only in the church.

¹ Probably Anne intended, see p. 99 above.

² Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* i, 244.

CHAPTER XXIV

MEMORIALS ON THE FLOOR OF THE CHURCH

THE arrangement is alphabetical as regards the first person buried in the grave, with cross references to others. The position in the church is indicated by the following initials :

S.A.	.. south aisle.	Nos. 1, 19-32.
S.T.	.. south transept.	.. 2-18.
E.A.	.. east aisle.	.. 33-43.
N.A.	.. north aisle.	.. 44-60.
C.A.	.. central aisle.	.. 61-72.
B.S.F.	.. beneath the sanctuary floor.	.. 72-78.

The actual spot where the stone will be found is indicated by a number which corresponds with a number on a plan of the church floor kept in the church. The numbering commences at the west end of the south aisle and is carried round the church and then up the centre aisle to the sanctuary floor.^{1, 2}

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Date of death.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>No. and position of grave.</i>
ALDRIDGE, Charles	Husband	22 Apr.	1829	58	1 S.A.
.. Henry Edward	Son	22 Apr.	1828	13	..
.. Sarah	Widow	18 Sept.	1852	71	..
ALLEN, William	Son	3 Jan.	1677	3	18 S.A. ³
.. Phoebe	Daughter	10 Sept.	1683	5	..
.. Mrs. Audry	—	31 Aug.	1772	—	..
.. William ⁴	Father	12 Mar.	1704	72	17 S.A.
BALL, John	Arms ⁵	23 Oct.	1722	69	67 C.A.
BERE, Jane	of Huntsham, Devon	16 Nov.	1734	64	32 S.A.
BIGNEL, Robert D'oily	Gent., late of Banbury	22 Nov.	1805	29	42 E.A.
BLAKE, William Hodgson	Son	—	—	Young	53 N.A.
.. John Rudolph	Son	—	—	Young	..
.. William	Grandson	26 June	1798	7 wks.	..
.. Alicia	Wife	30 Mar.	1809	74	..
.. William	Husband	29 May	1810	77	..
Whitaker, Ann	Mother of Alicia B.	5 July	1773	69	..
Hodgson, William	Son of Mrs. A. Whitaker	20 Oct.	1784	—	..
BLAND, James	Husband	30 Jan.	1740	62	69 C.A.
.. Margaret	Wife	31 Dec.	1741	74	..

¹ For full inscriptions see list in Parish Safe, Deed 108.

² Dates on tombstones are always unreliable. Where exact dates are required reference should be made to the Parish Registers which are at the church and indexed throughout.

³ Strype in 1720 says ' Church yard south side '.

⁴ Now obliterated.

⁵ Ball (azure) on a cross or, quarterly pierced of the field four caltraps of the first. Impaling six pieces with argent and vert three acorns argent in the vert.

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<i>Name.</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Date of death.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>No. and position of grave.</i>
BURGH, Richard	—	12 Dec.	1793	5 mths.	22 S.A.
" Thomas	—	1 Sept.	1799	—	"
Meeson, Mrs. Mary	Wife	19 July	1794	38	"
" Richard	Husband	25 Jan.	1821	69	"
Read, Sarah	—	6 Feb.	1798	11	"
BURGH, Anne	Wife of James Burgh	2 Aug.	1820	68	21 S.A.
BURWASH, William	Husband	20 Oct.	1821	66	31 S.A.
" Sarah	Wife	23 Apr.	1806	47	"
BUTTS, Elizabeth Mary	Wife	Buried : ¹	1825	71	2 S.T.
" Thomas	Husband	4 Apr.	—	—	—
		Buried : ²	1815	85	"
		23 Mar.	—	—	—
CAMPION, Susanna	Illegible and not in register	—	—	—	4 S.T.
CLARKE, Wm. Henry	Son	9 Jan.	1829	16	23 S.A.
" Benjamin	Husband	25 Nov.	1830	51	"
" Catherine Eliz.	Granddaughter	22 Mar.	1834	9 mths.	"
" Ann Susannah	"	12 Sept.	1835	4 mths.	"
" Cath. Susannah	Daughter (and wife of Benj. Clarke, jun.)	— Nov.	1835	29	"
" Elizabeth	Wife of Benj. C.	8 Oct.	1848	68	"
CLEMENT, Elizabeth	Daughter	8 Dec.	1743	5	46 N.A.
" Thomas	Son	16 Sept.	1752	18	"
" Thomas	Husband ³	20 Jan.	1758	66	"
" Sarah	Wife	21 Apr.	1764	63	"
DAWSON, Sarah Ann	Wife of Robt. D.	11 Apr. ⁴	1820	30	"
" Margaret	Daughter	(buried)	—	—	—
		4 May	1829	9 wks.	"
DAVIS, William	—	8 Feb.	1807 ⁵	36	65 C.A.
DEANE, Sir John ⁶	First Rector	—	1554	—	28a S.A.
DE BLOIS, ⁷ Sophia Dorothea	Daughter	5 Oct.	1761	13 mths.	43 E.A.
" Dorothy	Wife	10 Feb.	1765	44	"
" Mary	Second wife	30 June	1774	29	"
" Two other children	Died young	—	—	—	"
" Blois	Husband	22 May	1789	66	"
DEIGHTON, Anne	Grandmother	5 Feb.	1801	74	15 S.A.
" John	Father	28 Aug.	1807	55	"
" Elizabeth	Mother	8 Jan.	1820	58	"
" Wm. Scott	Son	19 Oct.	1841	60	"
DICKINSON, Sarah	Wife of John D.	20 May	1769	55	45 N.A.
DIXON (see Read)	—	—	—	—	29 S.A.
DOBBINS (see Payne)	—	—	—	—	68 C.A.
DOVER, Anne	Wife	28 Oct.	1816	54	7 S.A.
" John	Son	2 Apr.	1802	2	"
" Sarah	Daughter	3 Apr.	1814	11	"
" George	Husband	31 Oct.	1831	67	"
" Henry	Eldest son	5 Jan.	1834	43	"
DOWNING, Joseph	Husband	30 Aug.	1734	58	39 E.A.
" Martha ⁸	Widow	20 Sept.	1770	82	"
Woodgate, Henry	Husband	24 July	1740	36	"

¹ Date of death illegible. Reg. xvii, 80.² Reg. xxii, 7.³ Left £10 to the schools.⁴ Reg. xvii, 46.⁵ Date now broken off.⁶ See above, p. 299.⁷ There was a firm De Blois and Cook, 29 Bartholomew Close, in 1770 (London Directory). W. de Blois, daughter, Mrs. Best (W. G. D. Fletcher writes) 'was present at the Coronation of George IV; she had to sit up all the night before as her hair had to be dressed the previous day because there were so few hairdressers'.⁸ Left £5 for the poor.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Date of death.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>No. and position of grave.</i>
Woodgate, Anne	Wife, daughter of J. and M. D.	12 Feb.	1742	31	39 E.A.
" Joseph	Only son	9 Nov.	1756	22	"
DYSON, Ely	Husband	23 Aug.	1772	69	72 C.A.
" Deborah	Wife	31 Jan.	1788	77	"
Holme, Mrs. Margaret	Sister of Deborah	12 July	1778	73	"
EDWARDS, Sarah	Daughter	26 Mar.	1734	12	38 E.A.
" Oliver	Father	23 Dec.	1742	50	"
" Henry	Son	25 Sept.	1747	31	"
Jones (late Edwards), Rachael	Mother	29 Aug.	1757	66	"
" William	Second husband to Rachael	15 Nov.	1755	64	"
FENTON (<i>see</i> Rand)	—	—	—	—	29 S.A.
FLETCHER, Rebekah	Wife	16 Mar.	1753	53	55 N.A.
" James	Husband	22 Oct.	1774	88	"
Watkins, John	—	29 Mar.	1786	56	"
GRAINGER, William	—	28 June	1755	37	61 C.A.
Roe, Mrs. Elizabeth	—	25 Sept.	1766	68 or 69	"
" Stephen	—	3 Mar.	1767	68	"
GUNDRY (<i>see</i> Orme)	—	—	—	—	30 S.A.
HIBBERT, John, jun.	—	19 Nov.	1690	16	16 S.A.
HODGSON (<i>see</i> Blake)	—	—	—	—	53 N.A.
HOLMES (<i>see</i> Dyson)	—	—	—	—	72 C.A.
HUNTE, Elizabeth	Wife	22 May	1738	67	8 S.A.
" Thomas ¹	Husband	20 Nov.	1743	73	"
" Thomas	Son	11 Aug.	1767	52	"
JONES, William and Rachael (<i>see</i> Edwards)	—	—	—	—	38 E.A.
JONES, John	—	31 Jan.	1818	48	58 N.A.
JONES, John	Grandfather	18 Aug.	1818	68	64 C.A.
Williams, Robt. Phillips	Grandson	3 Feb.	1823	5	"
" Mary	Daughter, mother R. P. Williams	24 Feb.	1824	40	"
KEELING, Francis	Husband	27 Apr.	1715	50	47 N.A.
" Hannah	Wife	12 Feb.	1724	78	"
KING (<i>see</i> Woodward)	—	—	—	—	62 C.A.
LADSON, Anne	Wife of James L.	8 Oct.	1816	50	6 S.A.
LEAFE, Alban ²	Uncle	9 Aug.	1756	74	48 N.A.
Taylor, William	Nephew	12 Sept.	1764	32	"
LEADER, John	Son	9 June	1716	5	57 N.A.
" Lathleane	Husband	14 Sept.	1772	59	"
" Rebecca	Wife	7 May	1798	84	"
Savell, Mrs. Sarah ³	Daughter	14 Feb.	1800	59	"
LLOYD, Priscilla	—	15 May (buried) ⁴	1735	—	73 B.S.F.
Loveday (<i>see</i> Wetherell)	—	—	—	—	44 N.A.
LUCHIN, T.	—	1 Nov.	1836	67	12 S.T.
MASON, Mrs. Mary	Wife	25 Nov.	1766	55	27 S.A.
" John	Husband	13 Mar.	1774	54	"
" Mrs. Susannah	—	29 Jan.	1780	66	"
MEESON (<i>see</i> Burgh)	—	—	—	—	22 S.A.
MILLS, Mathew	Husband	15 Feb.	1830	77	70 C.A.
" Anne	Wife	17 Jan.	1837	77	"
MORGAN, Robert	Husband	7 May	1787	—	3 S.T.
" Catherine	Wife	27 Feb.	1788	87	"
" Robert	—	18 Nov.	1812	78	"
NORTH, Catherine	Wife	2 Sept.	1734	38	49 N.A.
" Robert	Son	3 Sept.	1747	38	"
" Robert	Husband	30 Apr.	1748	63	"

¹ Left £10 for the poor.³ Left £100 for the schools.² Left £20 for the schools.⁴ Reg. viii, 53.

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<i>Name.</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Date of death.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>No. and position of grave.</i>
ORME, Nicholas ¹	—	4 Feb.	1628	28	30 N.A.
Gundrey, Nicholas	Son of Thos. Gundrey (<i>sic</i>)	3 Dec.	1675	—	"
OXLEY, John	—	14 Aug.	1791	74	28 S.A.
" Mary	Defaced ² Buried :	30 Oct.	1784	85	"
" William	" ³ "	28 Jan.	1780	82	"
" Anne	" ⁴ "	7 Sept.	1815	81	"
PAYNE, William ⁵	Son	16 Sept.	1801	21	68 C.A.
" Thomas	—	13 Apr.	1802	20	"
" Mrs. Mary	Wife	5 Feb.	1809	63	"
" Simon	Husband	28 Nov.	1835	84	"
Dobbins, James	—	2 Nov.	1806	30	"
Pocklington, Emma	—	18 May	1811	8 mths.	"
" Mrs. Harriott	—	21 Sept.	1813	28	"
PEMELLER, Anne Maria	Wife	7 June	1828	22	25 S.A.
" James	Husband	4 Jan.	1835	39	"
Smith, Maria	Wife, mother of A. M. P.	4 Nov.	1832	46	"
" Robert Walter	Son	23 Dec.	1842	33	"
" Joseph	Husband	17 Apr.	1849	67	"
PLANNER, Sarah	Wife	19 Apr.	1801	63	13 S.T.
" Nathaniel	Husband	17 Nov.	1803	60	"
PLANNER, John	Husband	- Mar.	1790	86	5 S.T.
" Mary	Wife	23 May	1795	79	"
" Elizabeth	Daughter	29 May	1769	53	"
" Mary	Daughter	- Oct.	1763	33	"
" (Three others)	—	In infancy.	—	—	"
Sandford, Mrs. Rebecca	Daughter	—	1830	71	"
POCKLINGTON (<i>see</i> Payne)	—	—	—	—	68 C.A.
POOLE, Sarah	—	6 Jan.	1768	58	56 N.A.
Wright, Lathleane Leader	Nephew	16 Dec.	1789	15	"
" Rebecca ⁶	Mother	2 June	1809	66	"
PORTER, Richard, Esq. ⁷	Husband	14 Dec.	1669	19	71 B.S.F.
" Barbara	Wife	19 Aug.	1714	—	"
POWELL, John	Husband	17 Aug.	1747	—	35 E.A.
" Mary	Wife	28 July	1762	—	"
PRICE, Charles Hammond	Son of Ed. and Eliz. Price	12 May	1802	17 mths.	37 E.A.
" Eleanor	Mother of Ed. Price	25 July	1811	80	"
RAGG, George	—	21 Aug.	1758	43	51 N.A.
RAWDON, William	—	10 Nov.	1805	41	54 N.A.
READ, Sarah (<i>see</i> Burgh, Rd.)	—	—	—	—	22 S.A.
READ, ⁸ Samuel	Father	7 Mar.	1792	37	29 S.A.
Read, Samuel Fenton	Son	23 Sept.	1824	38	"
Fenton, Susannah	Wife of Wm. F.	7 Feb.	1803	35	"
" Mary	Wife of Thos. F.	- Aug.	1807	68	"
" Thomas	Husband of Mary	17 July	1808	74	"
" William	Husband of Susannah	19 Sept.	1816	51	"
Dixon, Temperance	Wife	31 Aug.	1825	48	"
" Wm. Archer	Husband	23 Sept.	1831	61	"
ROE (<i>see</i> Grainger)	—	—	—	—	61 C.A.
SLADE, Mary	Wife	3 Nov.	1788	31	41 E.A.
SAVILL (<i>see</i> Leader)	—	—	—	—	57 N.A.
SANDFORD (<i>see</i> Planner)	—	—	—	—	5 S.T.
SCOTT, William	Of Heddington, Wilts.	2 Dec.	1704	16	77 B.S.F.
SMITH (<i>see</i> Pemeller)	—	—	—	—	25 S.A.

¹ For inscription see p. 493.² Reg. xii, 9.³ Reg. viii, 156.⁴ Reg. xvii, 15.⁵ Ib.⁶ Sister of Mrs. Sarah Savill, left £500 for the schools.⁷ A Latin inscription, see below, p. 493.⁸ Altered from Rend.

Name.	Description.	Date of death.	Year.	Age.	No. and position of grave.
SORRELL, Jane	Wife of Thos. S.	22 Nov.	1818	50	66 C.A.
" R.	Son	1 Aug.	1820	28	"
" T.	Husband	1 Feb.	1825	61	"
STURT, Joseph	—	28 Sept.	1699	45	59 N.A.
" Thomas	— Buried : ¹	16 Sept.	1683	—	"
" Ann	— ²	—	—	—	"
" Lucretia	— Buried : ³	25 Sept.	1699	19	"
" Elizabeth	— Buried : ⁴	14 Sept.	1738	—	"
TAYLOR (<i>see</i> Leafe)	—	—	—	—	48 N.A.
THORNELL, Jonathan ⁵	Hair merchant	14 Nov.	1757	56	50 N.A.
VANDERPLANK, Bartholomew	Husband	19 July	1792	48	24 S.A.
" Mary	His widow	16 Sept.	1824	72	"
" John	Son	3 Jan.	1845	72	"
" Maria (Miss)	Daughter	13 Jan.	1849	54	"
WALTON, Edward	—	10 May	1830	54	63 C.A.
WATTS, Rebecca	Wife	20 Sept.	1785	61	75 B.S.F.
" Robert	Husband, of Staple Inn, Gent.	24 Sept.	1795	73	"
WATKINS (<i>see</i> Fletcher)	—	—	—	—	55 N.A.
WELDALE, Mrs. Mary	— Buried : ⁶	8 Mar.	1729	30	10 S.T.
" John	—	20 Apr.	1731	61	"
" Mrs. Elizabeth ⁷	—	13 Dec.	1759	53	"
" Mrs. Ann ⁸	—	6 Apr.	1773	62	"
WETHERELL, Sarah	Daughter	22 Dec.	1761	9	44 N.A.
" Elizabeth	Daughter	20 Feb.	1772	23	"
" Marmaduke	Father	4 Dec.	1772	64	"
Loveday, Ann	Wife of Wm. L.	31 Mar.	1767	26	"
WHITAKER (<i>see</i> Blake)	—	—	—	—	53 N.A.
WHITE, Elizabeth	Wife	12 Jan.	1749	—	36 E.A.
" Edward	Husband	9 Sept.	1757 ⁹	—	"
WITHAM, Elizabeth	Widow	— Nov.	1747	—	Cloister ¹⁰
WILLIAMS, R. P. and Mary (<i>see</i> J. Jones)	—	—	—	—	64 C.A.
WILLIAMS, Mary	D. of Hannah W.	16 Mar.	1821	4 mths.	74 B.S.F.
" Thomas	— Buried : ¹¹	20 June	1837	49	"
WRIGHT (<i>see</i> Poole)	—	—	—	—	56 N.A.
WOOD, Mrs. Mary ¹²	Wid. of Thos. W., d. and h. to Wm. Harwood, of Winchester	—	—	—	52 N.A.
WOODGATE (<i>see</i> Downing)	—	—	—	—	39 E.A.
WOODWARD, Joseph	Husband	17 Apr.	1728	67	62 C.A.
" Joseph, jun.	Son	24 Aug.	1734	34	"
" Mrs. Susannah	Wid. of Christ. W. ¹³	26 Jan.	1738	25	"
" Susannah	Daughter	21 June	1737	18	"
" Joseph	Son	20 Aug.	1741	5	"
King, Mrs. Susannah	Daughter	12 Oct.	1791	29	"
WYLDE, Gilbert	S. of Sir Wm. W., Justice of the Com. Pleas.	3 Nov.	1671	—	76 B.S.F.

¹ Reg. iv, 37.² Not in Reg.³ Ib. viii, 63.⁴ Reg. iv, 141.⁵ Left £20 for the schools.⁶ Reg. viii, 138. Gave £50 for the schools.⁷ Gave £50 for the schools.⁸ Gave £400 O.S. annuities for the schools and £10 to the poor.⁹ Reg. viii, 112, says 1757.¹⁰ Was buried in green churchyard, 1 Dec. 1747, Reg. viii, 89.¹¹ Reg. xvii, 169.¹² Arms carved: Sinister, on a chevron between three martlets three molets; Dexter, a lion rampant; Crest, a dove with an olive branch in his beak.¹³ Another, Chris. Woodward, left £50 to poor of parish for bread, 1751, and fourth residue of estate for coals, paid by Mr. Roe 1765, and £50 for the schools.

Inscriptions on above :

I. NICHOLAS ORME.

*Hic jacet Nicolaus Orme
de Hospitio Lincolnensi
Armiger, qui postquam
annos 28 explevisset, 4 die
Februarii Ao Salutis
MDCXXVIII expiravit ; et jam placide requiescit
una cum utroque parentus [sic]
duobus fratr-ibus [sic]
una sorore, et duobus sobrinis
ex Thoma Gundrey, generoso
oriundis, ac quod mortale
in illis fuit, hoc in pulvere
prius deposuerunt.
Hic jacet Nicolaus Gundrey
ejusdem Thomæ filius
generosus
qui obiit III Dec. MDCLXXV.*

(In English :

Here lies Nicholas Orme, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq., who, after he had completed his 28th year, expired on the 4th day of February in the year of Salvation 1628, and now rests in peace together with both his parents, his two brothers, one sister and two cousins-german, by Thomas Gundrey, a gentleman born, all that was mortal of whom they had laid in this dust before him.¹

Here lies Nicholas Gundrey son of the same Thomas, gentleman. Who died on the 3rd of December, 1675.)

2. WILLIAM PAYNE.

Reader be sure make Christ your friend
Be always ready for time end
I in my bloom was snatched away
Therefore repent make no delay.
Youth and health could not me save
From God's decree, learn from my grave.

3. RICHARD PORTER.

On a large stone in the centre aisle is inscribed (considerably worn in parts) :

*Effare marmor
Quod præ dolore effari nequit conjux
maestissima tibi pæne jam facta
similis.
Hic jacet quod mori potuit
Richardi Porter Armigeri ingentis
spei brevis ævi juvenis, quem fatum heu nimis properans in vicesimo suæ ætatis
[anno hinc sustulit]
Condidit hos castos cineres. Mariti sui
amantissimi Barbara Porter in
eodem facta pariter felix ac infelix uxor nempe intra unius anni curriculum
charissimi spousi Hymenæos et Nænias
cecinit
Obiit 14 die Decembris anno
Dni 1669.*

Above, p. 491.

*Sub hoc Saxo pariter sitæ sunt exuviæ mortales Barbaræ predictæ
quæ Viduitalis suæ anno XLV
Salutis autem MDCCXIV
Augusti die XIX
Castam Deo animam reddidit
et cum dilectissimo Marito hic una Requiescit
Beatam Manens utriusque Resurrectionem.*

(In English :

Tell, thou marble, that which for her grief a deeply sorrowing wife who is already almost become as still as thou cannot tell. Here lies what could die of Richard Porter Esq., a young man of immense promise but few years, whom fate, alas, with excess of haste bare hence in the 20th year of his age. These pure ashes of her dearly loving husband were laid (to rest) by Barbara Porter whose happiness in him as his wife is the measure of her unhappiness, for she actually, in the course of a single year, sang the wedding hymn and dirge of her darling spouse. He died the 14th day of December A. D. 1669.

Beneath this stone is also placed the mortal garb of the aforesaid Barbara who in the 45th year of her widowhood, the 1714th of salvation, on the 19th day of August, gave back her pure soul to God, and here rests with her beloved husband awaiting the blessed resurrection of them both.)

MEMORIALS FORMERLY ON THE FLOOR OF THE CHURCH.

NOW DISAPPEARED.

They are mentioned by Strype in his *Stow*, 1720 ; and by Malcolm, in *Londinium Redivivum*, 1803.

Bland, James, 1740 and Margaret B. 1741. In the nave.	Malc., i, 293.
Birkened, Elizabeth, second d. of Sir John Roberts, 1659	Strype,
Canterbury, Knight.	Bk. iii, 237.
Cressener, D. A. ¹ In the nave.	1746 Malc., i, 293.

Hic jacent exuviæ D. A. Cressener, Ecclesiæ anglicanæ presbyteri indigni, licet in spem tamen beatæ resurrectionis per merita ineffabilia dilectissimi. Obiit Sep. 26, 1746. æt. 82.

Coult, Abigall. Upon a fair stone close to Nicholas Orme is this inscription. In the figure of a Rose 'Obitur & Moritur'. 'Here lyeth the body of Abigall Coult, the daughter of Maximillian Coult ; who departed this Life the 19th day of March, 1629 in the 16th yeere of her Virginity.'	Strype, Bk. iii, 237.
Dickenson, John. Back of the altar.	1749 Malc., i, 294.
Greenwood, Paul.	1677 Strype, Bk. iii, 237.
Grosfield, Mary, late wife of William Grosfield. And Captain William Powel, her father, in the body of the church.	1699 Strype, Bk. iii, 237.
Heyman, Robt., gentleman.	1641 Malc., i, 293.
Hibbert, William.	1702 Strype, Bk. iii, 237.

¹ At one time lecturer ; gave £20 for the poor of the parish.

Jackson, Martha. Before the rails of the altar.	1750	Malc., i, 293.
Pitt, Mary, wife of George Pitt, Esq.	1639	Strype, Bk. iii, 237.
Roycroft, Elizabeth, wife of Lieut. Col. Roycroft, of this parish.	1678	Ib.
Roycroft, Samuel. ¹ Before the rails of the altar.	1716	Strype, Bk. iii, 237. Malc., i, 293.
Steel, Daniel 1674 ; Mary S. 1677 ; Moses S., Solomon S.		Strype, Bk. iii, 237.
Simpson, Mrs. Elizabeth. Before the rails of the altar.	1788	Malc., i, 29
Townshend, John. South aisle.	1773	Ib., i, 294.
Whiting, James, son of John Whiting (sen.) and seven of his brethren, &c.	1676	Strype, Bk. iii, 237.

(There were twelve children in all, eight sons and four daughters ; several died in infancy. Only two survived their parents—John, who endowed the schools, and Rebecca.)

Malcolm,² writing in 1803, says that for some years past an old escutcheon had hung on the pillar of the north aisle, from whence it was removed to a dark corner of the vestry room where it then was.

' P. M. Georgii Hastings, filii secundi Francisci Dñi Hastings, de Ashbye de la Zouch, Militis ; qui duxit in uxorem Seymour, filiam et cohæredem Gilberti Prin, de Allington, com. Wintoniæ, militis ; per quam quatuor filios et tres filias habuit. obiit 1 Julii, 1641. Posuit merito bene merenti uxor ejus mæstissima 1^o die Junii, 1655.

1. *Georgius filius primus natus 22 April, 1621 ; obiit . . . die Junii, 1627.*
2. *Carolus, filius secundus, natus 29 die Novemb. 1623.*
3. *Ferdinandus, filius tertius, natus 12 Jan. 1626 ; obiit die Conceptionis B. Virginis a^o 1645.*
4. *Franciscus, quartus, natus 2 Decembris 1628 ; obiit a^o 1631, apud Weybridge.*
5. *Katharina, innupta 1655.*
6. *Martha, nupta Oweni Owens, arm. die Purificationis B. Virginis, 1652.*
7. *Margareta ob. die Assumptionis B. Mariæ, A. 1654, ætat. 19.'*

George Hastings was buried on the 4th July : against the entry in the Parish Register it is stated that he died of the plague.³

MEMORIALS NOW IN THE CHURCHYARDS

(All in the Great Churchyard unless otherwise indicated.)

The arrangement is alphabetical. The number refers to the number of the inscription copied in full in a book kept in the vestry, made and arranged by Mr. W. H. Irons.⁴ Where more than one surname occurs on a stone, particulars

¹ For inscription see above, p. 465.

² Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* i, 295.

³ *Par. Reg.* i., p. 189.

⁴ The numbers correspond with those used by P. C. Rushden, *Churchyard Inscriptions of City of London*, 1910. See transcript by Mr. W. H. Irons, Parish Safe, O.B. 7.

are given under the number of the stone, with cross reference from the alphabetical order. All are headstones excepting Nos. 1 and 2.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Date of death.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Ref. No.</i>
(ALLEN), Eleanor ¹	Wife and their children	—	—	—	—
ARPTHORP, John	Husband	27 June	1811	58	24 dorse
„ Elizabeth	Daughter	—	1802	5	„
„ John	Son	—	1803	11 mths.	„
„ John	Son	—	1805	1	„
„ Hannah	Daughter	—	1808	6	„
„ John	Son	—	1809	1	„
Hall, Mrs. Sarah	Wife, formerly of John Arpthorp	9 Jan.	1837	69	„
DAVISON, Mrs. Martha	D. of J. Arpthorp, and W. of Wm. D.	20 Sept.	1835	37	24 face.
„ William	—	28 Oct.	1847	54	„
„ Sarah	Second wife	10 Feb.	1884 ²	—	„
BARKER, Joseph	Father	3 Dec.	1818	40	26
„ Joseph Alfred	Son	29 June	1824	16	„
„ Jane	Daughter	14 May	1825	12	„
BARNES, Joel	Husband	6 Oct.	178—	? 56	44
„ Ann	Wife	8 Feb. ³	? 1805	77	„
„ Diana	Daughter	1 Sept.	1770	3	„
Williams, Ester	Daughter	29 Aug.	1782	31	„
„ Ann Ester	Daughter	— Oct. ⁴	1783	8	„
BARRASS (<i>see</i> Simpson)	—	—	—	—	6
BATES, Thomas	Husband	26 May	1819	68	27
„ Mary	Wife	23 Feb.	1843	86	„
BEDFORD, Elizabeth	—	18 Feb.	1819	16 mths.	39
„ Eliza	—	9 Apr.	1822	19 mths.	„
BENWELL (<i>see</i> Johnson)	—	—	—	—	5
BROUGH, Mary	Wife	12 Aug.	1796	48	33
„ Charlotte and Charles	Daughter and son	In infancy.	—	—	„
„ William	Husband	5 Dec.	1819	75	„
„ Eliza	Granddaughter	5 July	1819	3	„
BROUGH, William Thomas	Father Wm.	13 Apr.	1835	63	33 dorse
COLLINS, Elizabeth	Wife	5 Mar.	1803	45	45
„ William	Husband	20 Sept.	1807	55	„
COMPTON (<i>see</i> Hastings)	—	—	—	—	30
DANELL, Joseph	—	24 May	1829	55	12
DENNESON, Sarah	Wife	24 Feb.	1814	50	31
„ Mary	Mother	9 May	1798	63	„
„ Sarah	Second wife	11 Apr.	1819	38	„
„ Geo. Wm.	Husband	28 June	1819	51	„
DUDDY (<i>see</i> Finney)	—	—	—	—	35
GALE, Thomas	—	2 Apr.	1820	60	31
EDSON, Richard	—	Died : 7 Dec.	1826	74	9
„ Susanna	—	Buried : 18 Dec.	1826	69	„
Edwards, Margaret Jane	—	Buried : 4 Oct.	1834	33	„
EDWARDS, Ann	Grandmother	21 Feb.	1801	67	11
„ Ann	Grandchild	11 Jan.	1804	3 mths.	„
„ Sarah	Grandchild	10 Dec.	1810	4	„
„ Richard Adam	Grandchild	13 Dec.	1810	3	„
„ Sarah Ann	Grandchild	1 Sept.	1811	4 mths.	„
„ George William	Grandchild	12 Oct.	1813	2	„
„ Ruth Young	Wife	4 June	1826	42	„
„ John	Husband	3 Aug.	1829	60	„
ELSTON, William ⁵	In Green Churchyard	9 July	1821	69	7

¹ Part missing, P. Rushden says Eleanor Allen.

² Buried in Putney cemetery.

³ Ib.

⁴ Buried 26th Oct.; name Ester is not in Register.

⁵ Left interest on £200 for bread for the poor.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Date of death.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Ref. No.</i>
FINNEY, Ann	Grandmother	17 May	1802	84	35
DUDDY, Harriott	Granddaughter	Buried :	1853	76	"
		15 May ¹			
FONTENEAU, Rebecca	—	7 Nov.	1824	74	37 (44 dorse)
Matthews, Phoebe	D. of Mr. Joel Barns	25 Jan.	1826	68	"
" Samuel	—	6 Feb.	1836	59	"
GRAHAM, James	—	17 Feb.	1827	52	4a dorse
GILLINGWATER, John	Grandson	21 Dec.	1824	6 mths.	38
" Mary	Grandmother	16 July	1828	66	"
" Isaac	Grandfather	15 Oct.	1828	55	"
FLOOKS, John	—	11 Nov.	1804	42	18
" 6 children (5 named)	—	—	—	—	"
GOODFELLOW, John	—	5 Apr.	1822	38	32
Hall (<i>see</i> Arpthorp)	—	—	—	—	24 dorse
Hart (<i>see</i> Wheeler)	—	—	—	—	14
HASTINGS, George	Son-in-law	23 Mar.	1816	39	30
Compton, Sarah	Mother	6 Jan.	1823	80	"
Taylor, Sarah	Daughter	16 Aug.	1832	56	"
Guthrie, Elizabeth	Daughter	1 May	1837	58	"
HOLLAND, M. H. (<i>see</i> Johnson)	—	—	—	—	5
HOLLAND, Ann Bewge (<i>see</i> Wheeler)	—	—	—	—	14
JENNINGS, Thomas	Husband	25 Dec.	1785	68	41
" Thos.	Son	1 Jan.	1786	44	"
" John	Son of Jos. S. Jen- nings	15 Aug.	1788	7	"
" Sarah Soph., and	Wife	31 July	1792	19 mths.	}
" Soph. Margt.			1794	each.	
" Elizabeth	Wife	—	1794	82	}
" Mary Ann and			1797	7 wks.	
" Wm. Henry	—	—	1799	4	}
" Samuel			1801	27	
" Louisa Ann	—	31 Aug.	1802	8 mths.	"
" Joseph	Husband	6 Aug.	1807	55	"
" Sarah Ann	Wife	3 July	1806	60	"
" Thomas	Son	—	—	—	"
JONES, John (and 2 children in infancy)	—	22 Sept.	1833	61	3
" Catherine	—	22 Jan.	1837	72	"
JOHNSON, Wm.	Husband	15 Oct.	1814	26	5
" Susannah	Wife	28 Aug.	1819	27	"
Benwell, Elizabeth	—	10 Oct.	1819	2 wks.	"
HOLLAND, Mary Horne	Mother of Johnson, Susannah	1 Jan.	1820	56	5
Benwell, Mary	—	30 Apr.	1820	7 mths.	"
Holland, Ann	—	30 Mar.	1827	28	"
KNIGHT, Harriot	Wife Jos. Knight, d. of M. H. Holland	15 Jan.	1829	21	5a dorse
MATTHEWS (<i>see</i> Fonteneau)	—	—	—	—	37
MILLS, John	Late of Kensington Gore	31 Jan.	1810	49	10
MITCHELL, Mary	Wife	5 May	1806	35	21
" Susanna	Daughter	19 Aug.	1800	4 mths.	"
" Ann	Daughter	16 Nov.	1808	3	"
" Samuel	Husband	4 Aug.	1832	66	"
" Elizabeth Stevens	Widow	9 May	1839	61	"
MORRIS, James	Husband	13 Jan.	1814	51	34
" Sarah	Wife	3 Feb.	1823	71	"
PAGE, Jane	Wife	13 Jan.	1817	57	1 (mural tablet)
" Robert	Husband	6 Mar.	1824	55	1

¹ This was the last funeral in these churchyards.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Date of death.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Ref. No.</i>
PARSONAGE, John (epitaph)	Husband	21 Dec.	1810	54	36
" Ann	Wife	9 Oct.	1821	73	"
PRIT, William Cooper	(Late of Yarnnton, Oxon.)	5 June	1816	14	4
POWELL, John	Husband	20 May	1799	66	40
" Elizabeth	Wife	11 Mar.	1787	49	"
	Also 5 children not named				
" Sarah Anne	—	Nov. ¹	1805	2	"
Swanwick, Sarah	—	10 May	1806	44	"
Powell, Elizabeth	—	June ²	1829	59	"
" Vaun Edwards	Grandson	May ³	1835	13	"
RICHARDS, Ann	Wife	12 Aug.	1793	51	15
" Richard	Husband	27 June	1796	52	"
Attenborough, Mary	Daughter	27 Mar.	1815	33	"
" 2 children	Died in infancy.				"
STARKEY, William	Husband	23 Oct.	1809	43	20
" William	Son	13 July	1789	4	"
" Harriott	Children. Died in infancy.		1792	—	"
" Edward			1802	—	"
" Harriott			1805	—	"
" Susanna	Wife	11 June	1825	63	"
" William	Grandson	Sept. ⁴	1823	4	"
" Henry Edward	Grandson	Aug. ⁵	1835	7	"
SWANWICK (<i>see</i> Powell)	—				40
STEARNS, John	—	14 Apr.	1808	46	29
STEPHENS, Stephen	Husband	15 Aug.	1804	64	16
" Elizabeth	Wife	14 Feb.	1813	73	"
" Ann	Mother	—	—	86	"
" George	Son of S. and E. S.	2 Mar.	1826	52	"
SMITH, Martha	Wife	1 Dec.	1819	27	28
" George	Husband	3 Oct.	1829	52	"
" Martha	Daughter	2 Feb.	1832	19	"
SMITH, Judith	In Green Churchyard	16 June	1698	—	2 (mural tablet)
SIMPSON, Elizabeth	Wife Thos. S.	20 Dec.	1775	76	6
Barrass, Hester (Mrs.)	Sister	21 Dec.	1775	80	"
TIBBS, Sarah	Wife	23 Apr.	1804	41	19
" Samuel	Husband	26 June	1813	50	"
THOMPSON, Elizabeth	Wife	22 Aug.	1841	42	43
" Mary	Daughter	31 Mar.	1834	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	"
WAFFORNE, Joseph	Husband	25 Feb.	1834	59	42
" Mary	Wife	25 Mar.	1837	62	"
WRATHALL, Jane	Wife	9 Feb.	1808	55	23
" Lupton	Husband	26 July	1821	64	"
" William Lupton	Grandson and son of Wm. and Rosamond W.	3 May	1827 ⁶	2	"
" Rosamond	Wife	13 Oct.	1827 ⁶	44	"
" William	Husband	Feb.	1841 ⁷	56	"
WEAVER, Alfred ⁸	Infant son of Geo. and Harriett W.	20 May	1848	14 mths.	8
WHEELER, Mary	Wife	31 Oct.	1824	74	14 ⁹
" Daniel	Husband	17 July	1834	84	"

¹ Buried, 14 Nov.² Buried, 28 June.³ Buried, 20 May.⁴ Buried, 14 Sept.⁵ Buried, 4 Sept.⁶ Buried here from a dissenters' burial ground, 11 Feb. 1841.⁷ Buried here with above, 11 Feb. 1841.⁸ Green churchyard.⁹ The upkeep of this tombstone was provided for by the will of Charlotte Hart. See above, p. 419.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Description.</i>	<i>Date of death.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Ref. No.</i>
Hart, Martha	Daughter	31 Jan.	1842	54	14
„ Martha Charlotte	D. of Martha Hart	9 Dec.	1852	40	„
„ 2 children	Died in infancy.				„
Holland, Ann Bewge	(Interred at Finchley)	15 Apr.	1868	78	„
Williams (<i>see</i> Barnes).					

MEMORIALS FORMERLY IN THE CHURCHYARDS.

(Now disappeared.)

Crome, Valentine ¹	Citizen of London	—	1662	—	Stow, Bk. iii, 238
Heardson, Thomas	Freemason	—	1618	—	Ib.
Skitt, John	Late of Warrington, Lancashire	7 Feb.	1833	22	P. Rushden, Churchyard Inscriptions.
Titmuss, William	Husband	29 Aug.	1819	54	Ib.
„ Sarah	Wife	2 Jan.	1844	73	Ib.

¹ He left £5 to the poor of the parish for permission for a monument 3 ft. high in the graveyard, 7 May 1662.

CHAPTER XXV

THINGS APPERTAINING TO THE CHURCH

SILVER PLATE.

A LARGE chalice, silver gilt with conical cover, inscribed '*Ex dono Anthonii Burgesse 1690*' and arms engraved: Argent. Six lozenges gules 3, 2, 1. A canton azure. Crest, a stag's head caboshed.¹ Inside the foot is inscribed '*St. Bartholomew the Great*'.²

The date mark is for 1689, and maker's mark P. M. (not identified).

Measure: height $9\frac{7}{8}$ in., diameter of bowl $5\frac{1}{8}$ in., of foot $4\frac{7}{8}$ in.

Weight: of chalice 19 oz. 6 dwt., of cover 8 oz. 5 dwt.

A similar chalice and cover inscribed '*St. Bartholomew the Great Ex dono Johannis Whiting 1690*' and arms engraved: Per saltire azure and ermine a leopard's face or, in chief three bezants.³

Date mark for 1689. Maker's mark P. M. (as above).

Measure: height 10 in., diameter of bowl $5\frac{1}{8}$ in., of foot $4\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Weight of chalice 18 oz. 19 dwt., of cover 8 oz. 6 dwt.

One large paten silver gilt inscribed '*St. Bartholomew the Great*'.

Date mark and maker's mark as on chalices above.

Measure: diameter $12\frac{1}{2}$ in., height $2\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Weight: 22 oz. 5 dwt.

One small chalice silver gilt inscribed on the face '*The gift of William Edwardes Lord Kensington patron of this church St. Bartholomew the Great*'; inside the foot '*1792*'; on the back these arms engraved for Edwardes Baron Kensington: Quarterly, first and fourth ermine a lion rampant sable (for Edwardes), second and third gules a chevron between three crosses botony or (for Rich). Crest upon a mount vert a wyvern, wings expanded argent. Supporters two reindeer ppr. attired and unguled or. Motto, *Garde la foi*.

Date mark for 1792. Maker's mark H. C. (probably for Henry Chawner) in an oblong stamp.

Measure: height $6\frac{1}{2}$ in.; diameter of bowl $3\frac{1}{4}$ in., of foot $3\frac{1}{8}$ in.

Weight: 7 oz. 2 dwt.

One small paten silver gilt with the Edwardes crest (as above) engraved. Inside the foot is engraved 1792. The maker's mark H. C. (as above); measure, diameter $4\frac{5}{8}$ in.; weight, 4 oz. 2 dwt.

One spoon perforated silver gilt. Date mark, 1774; weight, 1 oz.

One silver stand for the same.

¹ This is the coat of Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent.

² Above, p. 325.

³ As on the Whiting monument, p. 471.

One almsdish silver gilt inscribed: '*In usum Ecclesiae S. Barthol: Mag: D. D. M. J. Phillips Rectoris soror et nuper patroni vidua, 1830.*'¹

In the centre is engraved a cross with three passion nails surrounded by a glory and on the rim a shield with arms: Dexter—Sable, a lion rampant ducally crowned argent langued and armed gules between eight fleurs-de-lis or (Phillips). Sinister: Gules, a fesse lozengy between three scallops argent (Abbiss). (Being a woman's coat there is no crest. The Abbiss crest is a spur azure, leather sable, buckle of the first.)

Date mark for 1831. Maker's mark A. F. (Andrew Fogelberg) over S. G. (Stephen Gilbert) in a shaped shield.

Measure: 9½ in. Weight: 15 oz. 6 dwt.

One Beadle's staff or verge with a silver head surmounted with a silver effigy of St. Bartholomew holding a flaying knife and inscribed, on the front:

The gift of Mr. Samuel Atkins
citizen & clothworker of London
to the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great
Anno Dom. 1731, being then churchwarden.

and on the back,

repaired & beautified
A. D. 1828, Richd. Bell, John Dawkins, churchwardens.

Date mark for 1730. Measure of statuette, 13 in. Weight of statuette, 22 oz. 7 dwt.

One silver snuff-box inscribed:

The gift of
the Rev. John Abbiss
Rector
of St. Bartholomew the Great
4th May, 1826
Thomas Hestor and Henry Slade, churchwardens.

On the lid is inscribed 'S. B. G.' in an oblong.

Measure: 3½ in. by 2⅓ in. by 1 in. high. Weight: 6 oz. 7 dwt.

PEWTER.

One bowl (somewhat corroded) roughly inscribed inside on the bottom with a wreath 'St. Bartholomew the Great, 1703'.

Measure: top rim 12 in. diameter, bottom 8½ in., depth 5½ in.

The two touch marks outside on the bottom are too faint to distinguish.

This bowl may have been used for baptismal purposes.²

Three large dishes or plates. Measure: top 11½ in. in diameter.

The marks are the well-known cross surmounted by a crown (extraordinary

¹ *V. M. Bk.* vii, 49.

² Mr. W. J. Englefield, past Master of the Pewterers Company, kindly examined this bowl.

or hard metal ware) and the touch of James Boost¹—his name half encircling the device—a crescent and six stars. Inscribed below, 'St. Bartholomew the Great'.

Two small dishes or plates. Measure: top 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. in diameter.

The marks are the cross with the crown above and the touch of Francis Piggott,² Newgate St., London. Device a teazle with a crescent above. Inscribed below, 'St. Bartholomew the Great'.

THE ORGANS.³

The first organ, of which there is a record as belonging to this church, is a Conobles Organ, 1715.⁴

The following from Ch. Wm. Pearce, *Notes on Old London City Churches, their Organs, Organists, and Musical Associations* (p. 18).

An organ was erected in St. Bartholomew's Church by RICHARD BRIDGE in 1731. According to Mr. HENRY LEFFLER, this instrument contained:

Three sets of keys. Compass GG, short octaves to D in alt. Swell, Fiddle G to D.

Great (8 stops).—Op. Diap., 52 pipes; Stop. Diap., 52; Prin., 52; 12th, 52; 15th, 52; Tierce, 52; Sesquialtera, IV ranks (draws in halves), 208; Trumpet, 52.

Swell (6 stops).—Op. Diap., 32 pipes; Stop. Diap., 32; Prin., 32; Cornet, III ranks (a *new one* in the year 1800), 96; Trumpet, 32; Hautboy, 32.

Choir (4 stops).—Stop. Diap.; Prin.; (these two *by communication* from the Great); Flute, 52 pipes; Cremona, 52.

He calls it *a very good organ all through*.

His friend, the late Mr. J. W. BILLINGHURST (formerly vestry clerk of St. Margaret's, Lothbury), wrote concerning this organ in 1855:

'The keys are black, the sharps having a strip of white inserted. The Diapasons are *very* weak, the Cremona very fair; the effect of the Swell, *good*.'

Some thirty years afterwards, Mr. Billinghurst added the following remarks:

'In 1865, when extensive restorations took place in the church, this organ was removed to Russell's factory, where it was *lost*! The church being closed for about four years, Russell died during this period, and by inadvertence the organ was sold as part of his effects.'

A small organ by GRAY & DAVISON was erected near the chancel when the church was re-opened for service, and this inadequate instrument gave place to the organ now over the quire screen, which was purchased and removed hither from St. Stephen's, Walbrook, in 1885. This organ (of which the original

¹ Mr. C. W. Sawbridge, clerk of the Pewterers Company, says that James Boost was admitted to the Livery 1758, Steward 1767.

² This Francis Piggott was admitted to the Livery, 1741; Steward, 1753; Renter Warden, 1760; Upper Warden, 1769; Master, 1770.

³ See also above, p. 49.

⁴ See above, p. 49.

case still remains at St. Stephen's) was built by GEORGE ENGLAND in 1765, at a cost of about £570, and (according to Mr. HENRY LEFFLER) contained the following stops :

Three setts of keys, GG long octaves to E. Swell to G.

Great (11 stops).—Op. Diap., 57 pipes ; Stop. Diap., 57 ; Prin., 57 ; Nason, 57 ; 12th, 57 ; 15th, 57 ; Sesquialtera, IV ranks, 228 ; Mixture, II ranks, 114 ; Cornet to C, V ranks, 145 ; Trumpet, 57 ; Clarion, 57.

Swell (8 stops).—Op. Diap., 34 pipes ; Stop. Diap., 34 ; Prin., 34 ; German flute, 34 ; Cornet, III ranks, 132 ; Trumpet, 34 ; Hautboy, 34 ; Clarion, 34.

Choir (6 stops).—Dulciana to G, 46 pipes ; Stop. Diap., 57 ; Flute, 57 ; 15th, 57 ; French Horn, 39 ; Vox Humana, 57.

A very good organ.

In 1825 Mr. GRAY added a second Open Diapason to the Great Organ (in place of the V rank Cornet) and an octave and a half of Unison Pedal pipes with a Great to Pedal coupler. Many years afterwards the organ was enlarged and improved by Messrs. HILL & SON, as follows :

Great (11 stops).—Op. Diap. (No. 1), 8 ft. ; Op. Diap. (No. 2), 8 ft. ; Stop. Diap. (metal treble), 8 ft. ; Prin., 4 ft. ; Nason (open wood), 4 ft. (this stop is now labelled 'Wald Flute') ; 12th, 2½ ft. ; 15th, 2 ft. ; Mixture, IV ranks ; Furniture, III ranks ; Trumpet, 8 ft. ; Clarion, 4 ft.

Swell (11 stops).—Bourdon, 16 ft. ; Op. Diap., 8 ft. ; German Flute (metal grooved to Op. Diap. in bass octave), 8 ft. ; Stop. Diap. (metal treble), 8 ft. ; Prin., 4 ft. ; 12th and 15th (2½ and 2 ft.) ; Mixture, IV ranks ; Dble. Trumpet, 16 ft. ; Oboe, 8 ft. ; Trumpet, 8 ft. ; Clarion, 4 ft.

Choir (9 stops).—Keraulophon, 8 ft. ; Dulciana (grooved to Keraulophon in bass octave), 8 ft. ; Stop. Diap. (metal treble), 8 ft. ; Prin., 4 ft. ; Stop. Flute (treble metal open), 4 ft. ; 15th, 2 ft. ; Clarinet, 8 ft. ; French Horn, 8 ft. ; Vox Humana, 8 ft.

Pedal (3 stops).—Op. Diap., 16 ft. ; Bourdon, 16 ft. ; Trombone, 16 ft.

Couplers (5).—Sw. to Gt. ; Sw. to Ch. ; Sw. to Ped. ; Gt. to Ped. ; Ch. to Ped. Accessories.—3 comp. peds. to Gt. ; 2 ditto to Sw.

Compass.—Manuals, CC to g in altissimo ; Pedal, CC to f.

Since the organ has been erected in St. Bartholomew's the Swell and Choir specifications have been altered as follows :

Swell (12 stops).—Bourdon, 16 ft. ; Op. Diap., 8 ft. ; German Flute, 8 ft. ; Vox Angelica, 8 ft. ; Prin., 4 ft. ; 12th, 2½ ft. ; 15th, 2 ft. ; Mixture, IV ranks ; the four reeds as before.

Choir (9 stops).—Keraulophon, 8 ft. ; Dulciana, 8 ft. ; Hohl Flute, 8 ft. ; Gamba, 4 ft. ; Suabe Flute, 8 ft. ; 15th, 2 ft. ; French Horn, 8 ft. ; Clarinet, 8 ft. ; Vox Humana, 8 ft.

INVENTORIES OF CHURCH GOODS.

The first inventory dates from 1574 and has already been given in full.¹

The second INVENTORY OF 1668 is as follows :

An Inventory of sevrall the Goods & Chatels of the parish of S. Bartholomew the Great London belonging to the church now in the Custody & charge of the Churchwardens.

¹ Above, p. 308.

- Item* 1 Green velvit Pulpit Cloth & Quishin.
 „ 1 Crimsin Satin Pulpit Cloth & a purple damisk Quishin.
 „ 2 Lining table Cloathes.
 „ 1 Purple Table Cloath Velvit.
 „ 2 Surplices.
 „ 1 Green searge Table cloth.
 „ 1 Green brodclot table cloth in the Vestry.
 „ 2 Bearing Cloathes one of them new in the chest.
 „ 1 Silver flagon.
 „ 1 Silver Chalice.
 „ 1 Silver & gilt boule & cover.
 „ 1 Silver boule & cover.
 „ 1 Silver tankard.
 (Items of no interest.)
 Dr. Wesfeild's picktor.
 (Items of no interest.)
 „ 2 Brasse Candlesticks.
 „ 3 Brasse Sprigs for the pulpit.
 „ 1 folio Booke intitled the woorkes of Bishop Juell.
 „ 3 Regestar Bookes in parchment.
 „ 1 Bible & 2 sarvis bookes.
 „ 2 Owar Glassis.¹
 „ 6 Wooden boxes used for collections for the poore.
 A large new water engine with all utensills thereto belonging and also two
 Large Leathers one forty foute & the other thirty fout in lenth.
- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|----------------|
| GEORGE SMITH
and
JOHN BIRKHEAD | } | Churchwardens. |
|--------------------------------------|---|----------------|
- 16 March 1668.

The third is as follows :

INVENTORY 1690²

Hereunto is annexed a particular of all the Church ornaments as they now remain.

Imprimis. Two large Silver Cupps Covers Guilt with Gold.

Item. A large plate & Challice Guilt with Gold.

- „ A purple Velvett Pullpit Cloth and Cusheon with Rich gold fringe and Gold letters.
 „ A purple velvett Communion Table Cloth with Gold and silk fringe.
 „ A Blake velvet Pall.
 „ A Blake Cloth Pall.
 „ A Damask Communion Table Cloth and napkin.
 „ Four large Pewter Flaggons and a pewter Bason.
 „ A velvet cusseon for the Communion Table.
 „ Two Brass Branches.
 „ Brass scales and weights.
 „ A large Turkey worke Carpitt and a leather carpet.
 „ A green Cloth for the Communion Table.
 „ Two surplices and an Hood.
 „ A large folio Bible Two Common Prayer Books and a book of homiles.

WILLIAM CRESFIELD RICHARD BURGIS	}	Churchwardens. ³
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¹ Hour-glasses. ² Above, p. 325. ³ Were elected wardens, Easter 1690.

The fourth is as follows :

INVENTORY 1906

Appertaining to the Sanctuary :

- 1 Altar in the quire, oak.
 - 1 " " Lady chapel, cedar.
 - 1 " " N. transept, oak, Jacobean.
 - 1 " " Crypt, stone mensa, oak legs.
 - 3 Credence tables.
 - 3 Brass altar crosses.
 - 1 Stone " " for the crypt.
 - 1 Processional cross.
 - 7 Brass Altar Candlesticks.
 - 8 Iron floor
 - 6 Oak floor candlesticks for crypt.
 - 14 Brass flower vases.
 - 2 white altar frontals & super frontals.
 - 1 red & 1 green ditto for high altar.
 - 1 each green, red & purple covers for the same.
 - 1 each white, red & purple frontals, super-frontals for the N. transept altar.
 - 1 each green & purple covers & 1 red back hanging for same.
 - 1 each blue frontal & super frontal for Lady altar.
 - 1 blue dorsal & hangings for wall at the back of same.
 - 1 hanging lamp for Lady Chapel.
 - 1 sanctuary carpet etc. do.
 - 3 oak faldstools.
 - 3 oak sanctuary chairs.
 - 2 ornamental " with upholstered seats.
 - 1 " " for civic pew.
 - 3 banners (one old) & poles.
 - 2 sanctuary rails for high altar.
 - 2 Lady Chapel do. & 1 ditto. for N. transept.
 - 1 brass altar book rest & 1 oak.
 - 1 burse & veil green, 1 purple & red, 1 red, 1 white.
 - 4 fair linen cloths large, 1 small, 1 with lace ends.
 - 6 credence table cloths, 1 with lace ends.
 - 5 corporals.
 - 3 chalice veils.
 - 9 purificators.
 - 1 pair cruets with silver stoppers.
 - 21 alms-bags, various colours.
 - 1 oak frontal case.
- Also four linen cloths for altar vessels, Red cords for protection of the sanctuary,
a combined taper-holder & extinguisher for altar lights, etc.

Appertaining to the quire :

- Clergy & quire stalls for 14 men & 24 boys.
- Oak quire screen.
- 1 organ, 3 manuals.
- 1 carved oak case for same.
- 1 brass eagle lectern,¹ rail & wooden steps.

¹ Now sent to New Zealand.

8 oak book rests for congregation.

1 pulpit, Hopton stone.

26 bookmarkers, 8 red, 6 white, 7 purple, 5 green.

5 pulpit faults, 1 „ 2 „ 1 „ 1 „

1 oak seat with sword rack for corporation.

1 Large Bible for lectern.

1 Oak parish chest with three locks.

14 Bibles, 12 prayer books, 100 hymn books for congregation, 1 piano, 2 harmoniums, and other things of minor importance.

Appertaining to the baptistry :

1 Stone font (fifteenth century).

1 Oak cover for font.

1 Large metal crook to support cover.

1 Baptismal water bucket.

1 Baptismal mother of pearl shell.

Appertaining to the belfry :

5 Bells with mark of Thomas Bullesden with dedications Saints Bartholomew, Katherine, Anna, John Baptist, & Peter.

1 Clock bell & clock.

1 Warner's chiming apparatus.

Various minor things appertaining to the sacristy and vestry with an iron parish safe containing registers, vestry minute book, Deeds, &c., 22 framed pictures, &c., on the walls. A parish map.

THE BENEFACTION BOARDS¹

No. 1 on the west wall of the church over doorway to organ loft.

BENEFACTIONS TO THE CHURCH AND POOR.

		£	s.	d.
1737	The Rev. Mr. Thomas Spateman gave towards repairing the roof of the church	20	0	0
1739	Mrs. Elizth. Savage gave	20	0	0
1744	Mr. Thomas Hunt gave	10	0	0
1746	The Rev. Mr. Astley Cressener, formerly lecturer of this parish, gave by his will	20	0	0
1751	Mr. Christopher Woodward gave the interest of fifty pounds to be distributed in bread on New Year's day for ever	50	0	0
	The said Mr. Woodward left $\frac{1}{4}$ of the residue of his estate which in 1765 was paid by Mr. Roe and distributed in coals	—		
1770	Mrs. Martha Downing	5	0	0
1771	Mr. Michael Darker	20	0	0
1772	Mr. Nathaniel Barber	10	0	0
1773	Mrs. Ann Weldale	10	0	0
	Mr. John Marsh	5	0	0

Henry Seagood and Matt. Poole.

¹ Above, p. 333.

No. 2. Left half of double board fixed to west wall of church.

BENEFACTORS TO THE CHURCH AND POOR.

		£	s.	d.
1787	Mr. Jeremiah Ridout	10	0	0
1788	Mr. John Thorn	10	0	0
1803	Mr. Philip Green	10	0	0
1812	Mr. Edward Owen	10	0	0
1813	Mrs. Ann Laurie	100	0	0
1821	Mr. William Elston Gave the Interest of Two Hundred Pounds (Navy 5 per cents.) to be distributed in bread for ever in the month of January	200	0	0
1822	Mrs. Jane Bridges £50 Legacy Duty 5	45	0	0
1830	John Eliot, to the poor	30	0	0

No. 3. On a board stored in crypt.

BENEFACTORS TO THE CHARITY SCHOOLS.

1733-1740	The Worshipful Company of Ironmongers gave	20	15	0
1749	The same Company gave	26	5	6
1751	Mr. Christopher Woodward gave the interest of Fifty pounds for ever	50	0	0
1753	Mrs. Martha Johnson gave	20	0	0
1756	Mr. Alban Leafe gave	20	0	0
1757	Mr. Samuel Atkins gave	10	0	0
	Mr. Johnathan Thornell gave	20	0	0
1758	Mr. Thomas Clement gave	100	0	0
1749-1758	The Worshipful Company of Ironmongers gave	38	1	0
1760	Mrs. Eliz. Weldale gave	50	0	0
1762	Mrs. Sarah Clement gave	10	0	0
or 1764	Mr. Marsh or Meads gave } (somewhat obliterated) {	10	0	0
	Mr.	10	0	0
The above Mr. Woodward left $\frac{1}{4}$ of the residue of his Estate which in 1765 was paid by Mr. Roe and laid out in Old S. S. An. ¹				
1758	Received from the Ironmongers' Company	58	17	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Church-wardens 1739	38	18	9

No. 4. Right half of double board on west wall of the church.

BENEFACTORS TO THE CHARITY SCHOOLS.

1769	Mrs. Mary Weldale	50	0	0
1771	Mrs. Martha Downing	50	0	0
1772	Mr. Cook	20	0	0
1773	Mrs. Ann Weldale gave O. S. S. Annuities	400	0	0
	Mr. John Marsh	25	0	0
1767-1780	Recd. of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers	76	14	2
1781	Mr. John Beck	5	0	0
1786	Mrs. Mary Bailey	5	0	0
1787	Mr. Jeremiah Ridout	10	0	0

¹ Old South Sea annuities.

		£	s.	d.
1781-1788	Recd. of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers	40	7	1
1788-1800	Recd. of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers	81	10	11
1789	Mrs. Woolfries	10	0	0
1794	Mr. Joseph Keays	35	0	0
1800	Mrs. Sarah Savilles. Donation paid by her sister Mrs. Rebecca Wright	100	0	0
1801	Mr. Thomas Campion	10	0	0
1805	Mrs. Ann James	10	0	0
	Mr. Thomas Inglesby	11	3	0
1807	Mr. Joseph Jennings	10	0	0
1800-1812	Recd. of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers	101	1	2
1809	Mrs. Rebecca Wright £500			
	Legacy Duty 50			
		450	0	0
1813	Mrs. Ann Laurie £100			
	Legacy Duty 10			
		90	0	0
	The Rev. O. P. Edwardes	10	0	0
1814	Mr. John Taylor in the 3 per cent. Consols	100	0	0
1815	Mrs. Mary Attenborough to the boys' school	10	0	0
	to the girls' do.	10	0	0
1815	The Worshipful Company of Ironmongers	4	15	0
1816	do. do. do.	8	5	0
1817	The Society of Patrons	4	0	0

NOTE.—The bottom part of this board has been cut away.

No. 5. On a board stored in the crypt.

BENEFACTIONS TO THE INFANT AND SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

Mr. Thomas Kitt	5	0	0
Mr. John Mann	5	0	0
Mr. Richard Palmer, sen.	5	0	0
Mr. Michael Prendergast	5	0	0
Mr. Thomas Ritchie	5	0	0
Mr. Samuel Vanderplank	5	0	0
Mr. George Virtue	5	0	0
Several smaller Donations amounting to	18	9	0
Miss Hardwick for the Infant School	32	0	0
do. do. Sunday do.	10	0	0

Church-wardens 1857

No. 6. On a board stored in the crypt.

BENEFACTIONS TO THE CHARITY SCHOOLS.

1837-1850	The Worshipful Company of Ironmongers	48	5	0
1850-1857	The Worshipful Company of Ironmongers	34	8	6
1857	Mr. James Terry, Ironmonger. Ch. warden 1856-1857	5	5	0
1858	Mr. Benjamin Lacy	10	0	0

James Terry.

Thomas Stinchcombe.

No. 7. On a board stored in the crypt.

BENEFACTIONS TO THE CHARITY SCHOOLS.

		£	s.	d.
1837-June 1841	The Society of Patrons	23	0	0
1851	— — — — —	10	0	0
1853	Miss Hardwick, To the Girls' School Building Fund	200	0	0
	Church-wardens			
	1857			

No. 8. On a board stored in the crypt.

BENEFACTIONS TO THE INFANT AND SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

1846	The Rev. John Abbiss, M.A., Rector	50	0	0
	The Rev. F. P. Phillips for the ground	55	0	0
	Mr. Joseph Smith, churchwarden, 1846	20	0	0
	Mr. Samuel Driscoll, churchwarden, 1848-1849	5	0	0
	Messrs. Crofton & Rippon	40	0	0
	Messrs. Swaine & Boord	30	0	0
	Mr. James Houghton	20	0	0
	Mr. John Blyth	15	0	0
	Mr. John Hilditch Evans	15	0	0
	Messrs. P. & S. Arnold	10	0	0
	Mr. James Compton	10	0	0
	Messrs. Pocklington & Lacy	10	0	0
	Mr. James Butcher	5	0	0
	Mr. Cuthbert Colling	5	0	0
	Mr. Roger Dawson	5	0	0
	Mr. Francis Emmerton	5	0	0
	Messrs. Pocock & Poole	5	0	0
	James Terry.			
	Thos. Stinchcombe.			

CHAPTER XXVI

PAROCHIAL RECORDS

REGISTERS ¹

<i>Reg.</i>	<i>Years.</i>	<i>Reg.</i>	<i>Years.</i>
No. 1. Baptisms	1616-1647	No. 9. Marriages & Banns	1754-1772
Marriages ²	1616-1647	" 10. Baptisms	1773-1812
Burials	1616-1647	" 11. Marriages & Banns	1773-1787
" 2. Baptisms	1647-1654	" 12. Burials	1782-1812
" " ³	1673-1681	" 13. Banns	1786-1805
Marriages	1647-1654	" Marriages	1786-1812
" ⁴	1660-1703	" 14. Banns	1805-1829
"	1703-1716	" 15. Baptisms	1813-1843
Burials	1647-1654	" 16. Marriages	1813-1827
" ⁵	1665-1677	" 17. Burials	1813-1843
" 3. Baptisms	1653-1672	" 18. Marriages	1827-1837
Marriages ⁶	1653-1660	" 19. Banns	1829-1907
Burials ⁷	1655-1665	" 20. Marriages	1837-1863
" 4. Burials	1678-1716	" 21. Baptisms	1843-1893
Births, Nonconformists ⁸	1695-1710	" 22. Burials	1843-1853
" 5. Births & Baptisms	1681-1716	" 23. Marriages	1864-1913
" 6. Christenings (<i>sic</i>)	1716-1772	" 24. Baptisms	1893-
" 7. Marriages	1716-1753	" 25. Marriages	1914-
" 8. Burials	1716-1781		

VESTRY MINUTE BOOKS.

<i>V. M.</i>	<i>Years.</i>	<i>V. M.</i>	<i>Years.</i>
No. 1.	1662-1710	No. 7.	1828-1865
" 2.	1710-1732	" 8. Concerns of the poor	1835-1838
" 3.	1732-1789	" 9. Rough and Restoration Minutes	1856-1867
" 4.	1790-1828	" 10.	1865-
" 5. Rough Minutes	1811-1822	" 11. Rough Minutes, Vestry & Trustee	1844-1856
" 6. " "	1822-1835		

TRUSTEE MINUTE BOOKS.

<i>T. M. No.</i>	<i>Years.</i>	<i>V. M. No.</i>	<i>Years.</i>
1.	1755-1815	10. 1st part	1849-1852
2.	1816-1849	3. Committee of Pavements	1825-1845

¹ Below, p. 511.

² In the Fleet on fly-sheet at end, 1737.

³ For 1654-1672, see Reg. 3.

⁵ For 1655-1665 see Reg. 3.

⁷ Continued in Reg. 2, above.

⁴ For 1654-1663 see Reg. 3.

⁶ Long Parliament, pp. 57-74, Plague 168-72.

⁸ Commence at end of Book.

RESTORATION MINUTE BOOKS.

	<i>Years.</i>
<i>Restoration No. 1. In rough V. M. Bk. 9</i>	{ 1863-1869
" " 2.	{ 1884-1890
" " 3.	1890-1905
	1906-

PREACHERS' BOOKS.

	<i>Years.</i>		<i>Years.</i>
<i>P. B. 1. Preacher</i>	1628-1647	<i>P. B. 9. Service Register</i>	1884-1887
(collections at end)	1641-1694	" 10. "	missing
" 2. (Lent Preachers)	1775-1786	" 11. "	1892-1897
" 3. Preachers	1777-1783	" 12. "	1897-1900
" 4. "	1789-1802	" 13. "	1900-1904
" 5. "	1803-1818	" 14. "	1904-1908
" 6. "	1819-1850	" 15. "	1908-1912
" 7. "	1850-1881	" 16. "	1912-
" 8. "	1882-1884		

SCHOOL MINUTE BOOKS.

	<i>Years.</i>
<i>School 1</i>	1795-1847
" 2	1848-1888
" 3	1888-

OTHER BOOKS.

	<i>Years.</i>
<i>O. B. 1. Brief Book</i>	1765-1828
" 2. State of Glebe and Pews belonging to the Rectory	1768-1776
" 3. Account of Glebe and Pews belonging to the Rectory	1820-
" 4. Fines and Minute Book	1821-1828
" 5. Parish Bounds, direction for beating	1828
" 6. Diary of F. J. Withers concerning the Restoration	1864-1866
" 7. Inscriptions on tombstones in Graveyard	1911
Inscriptions on Benefactions Board by W. H. Irons	1916

REGISTERS OF DOCUMENTS.

	<i>Years.</i>
<i>R. D. 1</i>	1812
" 2	1821
" 3	1873

THE REGISTERS are in good condition and indexed to date. They are kept in the iron parish safe.

The earliest (No. 1) commences in the year 1616. There is no record as to whether one was begun under Thos. Cromwell's injunctions of 1538¹ or after those injunctions were re-issued in 1547. A paper register was probably started, as directed by Queen Elizabeth in 1559, which would have been transcribed into a parchment book as directed by convocation in 1597. And Pink in his

¹ W. E. Buckland, *Arch. Cant., Kent Records*, p. 1.

History of Clerkenwell refers to a marriage of Minors in this church in April 1615, but no such register now exists. The early registers here were occasionally used for other purposes than the registration of baptisms, marriages, and burials; thus the first entry in the baptismal register of 1616 is 'received of Thomas Back the third of December 1623 the some of Twenty and one poundes, fower shillings to the use of Elnor Wilkinson wch. was given to the said Elnor by her father Mathew Wilkinson, I say £21 4s.' In the same register, p. 199, is the licence granted in 1639 by Rector Westfield to Mary Anthony to eat some meat in Lent, already referred to;¹ and the Latin verses² probably written by the same Rector, are on the last page; whilst on the fly-sheet at the end is recorded a marriage in the 'fleet' on the 23rd April 1737.

The names of titled parishioners recorded in this and the two following Registers have already been given in the chapter on the Inhabitants.³

On the first page of Register No. 2 is a list of those who subscribed to the building of the present tower of the church, called the steeple in 1628.

On the title-page of Register No. 3 is the record of the election and admission to office of Robert Downinge as Registrar on the 29th September 1653, and of Henry Downinge on the 4th July 1654. In this register occur the Long Parliament marriages which took place in the years 1653-1658, some of which are signed by the Aldermen. Also the burials during the Great Plague of 1665, to which reference has already been made.⁴

When indexing register No. 3 Mr. John Hope, the parish clerk, made the following notes which bring out many of the points of interest in this and the other early registers.

REGISTER NO. 3 contains 3,535 names, of which

1,053	are baptisms between the years 1653-1672
1,103	,, marriages ,, ,, 1653-1660
1,257	,, burials ,, ,, 1653-1665
122	,, persons whose banns were published.

One entry of marriage omits the lady's name.

Average baptisms about 58 a year
,, marriages ,, 80 ,,
,, burials ,, 100 ,,

Present average (10 years)⁵: baptisms about 40 a year

,, ,, ,, marriages ,, 11 ,,

BAPTISMS for the years 1653 and 1654, he points out, are duplicates of the entries for those years in the previous register.

The following names, apparently given to 'foundlings', of which there seems to have been a good number, occur frequently among the baptisms.⁶

1669 Bartholomew Close	1670 Thomas fortune
1669 William Ducklaine	1670 Mary Luck
1669 George Longlaine	

¹ Above, p. 315.

⁴ Above, p. 326.

² Ib., p. 317.

⁵ Say 1900-1910.

³ Above, p. 277.

⁶ Above, p. 331.

The names most common in this register are, on the whole, much the same as those most in use now. There is an occasional 'Alice'; and 'Edeth' appears for the second time in a century. 'Margery' and 'Constance' each appear in this register for the first time.

Some curious Christian names are :

Gathias Powell	Beattle Presson
Arelons Newman	Sinolphus Bell
Gamaliell Willson	Argabus Powell
Moluirey Baubie	Chrispiano Brett
Phresweld Bullock	Ollinas Charnock

The names of Phenton (sometimes ffenton) and Hull occur frequently as in the previous registers. The descendants of the former no doubt stayed long enough to give their name to Fenton's Buildings. Hull is still with us.

MARRIAGES. The number of marriages per annum (80) is of course out of all proportion to the population of the parish and seems to indicate that St. Bartholomew's was a favourite church for marriages, and as there was at that time no obligation to be married in the parish where one of the parties resided, they came from far and near. In the year 1657, in which there were as many as 92 weddings, only 13 of the 184 persons married are described as 'of this parish'.

The Long Parliament marriages are curious reading. The following is a sample entry :

'Collonel Edward Salmon a widower, aged 38 years and Mrs. Mary Deane, widow, aged 32 years, both of this parish, were married the second of January 1654 by Alderman Tichbourne, publication of their intention being made in Smithfield Markette being a common market place, thre several Markeett days without any exception made against them, as by the Registrar's certificate to the sayed Alderman did appeare.'

In some cases the signature of the Alderman is affixed, in others only stated as above.

The banns were sometimes published in Smithfield Market, sometimes in Newgate Market, in Cheapside Market, or in the Church.

There are several entries of Publication of Banns apart from marriages. These are interspersed with the Long Parliament marriages. Previous to this there is no mention of Banns.

THE BURIALS averaged about 8 a month until the year 1665 when they were largely increased by the Great Plague¹, the largest number recorded being 18 in one day (August 28). Those who died from the plague are marked 'plague' at the end of the line, but it is interesting to note that when the plague was at its worst every one is stated to have died from it.

Some of the plague burials are recorded in the previous register, as this one became filled up by September 1665 ; so they brought out the previous register and filled up the gaps.

Many persons, particularly those brought from elsewhere, are described as

¹ See also above, p. 326.

being 'buried out of the house of Mr. Downinge'. This gentleman was the parish registrar.

The large number of people who died from infectious disease apart from the 'plague' is clearly shown by the frequent occurrence of burials of several members of the same family within a few days or weeks of each other.

It also seems that when parents lost a child and another of the same sex was born to them, the dead child's name was given to it. Perhaps this circumstance may explain the following :

Ann daughter of Richard Pybourne was buried 6 July 1654.

Ann daughter of Richard Pybourne was buried 19 Oct. 1654.

Joseph son of Michael Temple was buried 17 Dec. 1653.

Joseph son of Michael Temple was buried 23 Mar. 1654.

The following are more or less curious or interesting :

- Page 53. Edward the son of Humphry the Daug Ridg was bpd. 17 Sept. 1760.
 „ 62. Mary Anthony married aged 20 yeares or thereabouts.
 „ 115. Mary Rise of 'Barcumstead (Berkhampstead) in the countie of Bux' (Bucks).
 „ 115. Margaret Harris of the Parish of Pankridg (St. Pancras) (mid).
 „ 120. Mary Hatfield was buried in the newe churchyard 17th May 1654.
 „ 130. Seneor Amorego Mounseir Silvetto, Agent to the Duke of Tuskin was bd. July 3rd 1657.¹
 „ 156. Barbre Violitt was bd. 18th Feb. 1662. 'Violitt gon to sea & not to be herd of.'
 „ 67. 'Alderman Tichbourne was elected Lord Mayor of London 1st Oct. 1656.'
 „ 56. 'Note here that the rest of the christenings are in the former Register with the red cover next after the marriages in the year 1654.'
 „ 118. 'If you have occasion to Look for more mariages you must louke backward in to the bouke that begins in 1647 and nex after the christnngs and in the 23 page you shall fin yr expecktation and to follow exactly with this by the dayes of the monthes and the yeare 1660.'
 „ 172. 'If you louke for more burials you must Louke back in the booke that begins in 1647 and Joynng to those burials in the 183 page you shall ffind your expectation.'

PERSONS OF RANK AND TITLE.

- Page 85. Sir John Windham & Mrs. Mary Ogle were md. 1st June 1657.
 „ 121. Margaret Hastings daughter of Sir George Hastings, knight, was bd. 17th August 1654 in the Chancell.²
 „ 127. The Lady Margaret Garway³ was carried away to be buried in Broadstreete church the 25 June 1656.
 „ 136. Dorrithe daughter of Sr John Hayles, knight, was bd. 20th July 1658.
 „ 143. Sir Robert ffeenn was bd. in the chancell the 23rd July 1660.

¹ See above, p. 282.

² See above, p. 277.

³ Sir Henry Garraway, Lord Mayor 1639, expelled from Court of Aldermen 1643 for royalism, died 1646.

- Page 149. The Ladie Wilde, wife of Sr William Wilde, knight & baronet was bd. 5th September 1661.¹
 „ 156. The lady Altom alias Gee was buried 20th Feby. 1662.
 „ 157. Martha dau. of Sr Wm. Wilde, Knight & Baronet was bd. 23rd June 1663.
 „ 159. Henry, son of Sir Thomas Mackworth was buried Mar. 26th 1663.

This register contains no signature of any Rector or Minister of the church,² but the signatures of some of the Aldermen are affixed to the marriages which they performed under the Act of the Long Parliament, as 'John Wallaston, Robt. Andrewes & Sam Hyland'. The signatures of Aldermen Tichbourne and Ireton appear on the first page under certifications of their confirmation of the election by the parishioners of two 'Registrars', one on the death of the other.

The handwriting varies a good deal and would seem to indicate that more than the two 'Registrars' mentioned above made entries. The first one, Robt. Downinge, writes in a style closely resembling that found in the register beginning 1616; except that he uses the modern 'h' and more modern capitals. As the register progresses several changes in the formation of letters are made, among which I principally noticed that the old gives way to the more modern c, the old o to e, the old w to r, and the y to g. In one instance the capital 'f' is used in spelling Fox instead of ff.

On page 143 is a note to the effect that 'This is the first of Will Thornton's registerin', and most of these changes occur after this.

There are 334 burials entered from Jan. to Sept. 1665 as stated by Malcolm.³ In many cases the names are omitted: there are blank spaces evidently intended to be filled in afterwards, which was never done; but I do not recognize the handwriting of seven individuals as he states. My experience has been that whenever there is a change of handwriting there is also a change of spelling the same family names. I should say that there are at least four changes in the year. There is the usual variety of ways of spelling the same family name, 'Roycroft' appearing in one instance as 'Wricrafte'.

Register No. 4 contains the burials in due order from the years 1678-1716, and Register No. 5 the baptisms from 1681-1716; but commencing at the end of Register No. 4 are recorded, not the baptisms, but the births of quakers and other nonconformists who were not baptized in infancy, ranging from 1695-1710. It was among these that by mistake the baptism of William Hogarth in 1697 and of Mary Hogarth in 1699, were entered instead of in Register No. 5. The burials of several nonconformists are recorded in Register No. 4, thus in 1704 'a Quaker was buried at ye Quakers ground Cloth Fair', and similar entries occur in 1705 and 1706. In 1698 occurs 'Att ye meeting house ground in Glasshouse yard 20 May 1698'. In 1692 occurs 'A Chrisome⁴ of Mr Thomas Dixons was buried in ye new Ground by ye Artillery ye Feb. 10th 1692'. Entries of burials in woollen begin in 1678 and continue to 1711. The first Act, passed in

¹ See above, p. 278.

² Registers were first signed by the Rector about the year 1800.

³ Malcolm, *Lond. Red.* i, 296.

⁴ A child that died before its mother was churched.

1666, was probably ignored, for no note is made of its observance until the Act of 1678 ordered an affidavit signed by a magistrate to be brought. In the same Register (No. 4) is recorded (as already mentioned¹) the observance of the Act of 1694 'for carrying on war against France with vigour',² which imposed a tax on burials of 4/-, on births of 2/-, on marriages of 2/-, and on bachelors and widows of 1/- annually; for in 1695 is entered 'gave account to ye collector thus far' and 'Elizabeth born . . . and paid Mr Marsh 2/- for ye birth for ye Kings taxes'. In 1702 is entered against a birth 'Ye parents poor and not able to pay ye dues', and further on we are told that the tax expired 1st August 1706.

Register No. 6 is carelessly written and on paper: entries made in 1762 and 1770 had to be corrected by affidavit in 1816 and 1824 respectively. In register No. 7 are recorded the four marriages taken by John Wesley (already referred to³). Only a third of this book was used, which is explained by the entry 'Refer from this to the new book of Marriages according to Act of Parliament'; this was Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1753, 'for the better Preventing of Clandestine Marriages'.

In Register No. 8, in September 1765, the ages of those buried are entered for the first time.

Registers No. 10, 12, and 13 (baptisms, burials, and marriages) all had to be discarded in 1812, when only partly filled, for new registers with printed forms to comply with Rose's Act of that year: copies of the entries had to be sent to the Diocesan Registrar. And in 1836 Register No. 18 had to be discarded when only a third full for the new marriage register, still in use, issued under the general Registration Act, copies of the entries in which have to be sent each quarter to the District Registrar and through him to the Registrar-General.

In Register No. 13 we are reminded by the record 'Inspected and Duty paid' of the Stamp Act of 1783 (which imposed a duty of 3d. on each entry). This Act was repealed in 1794. The Burial Register No. 22 ends in 1853, when only 38 out of 200 pages had been used, the burial grounds being closed after the 15th May 1853.

VESTRY MINUTE BOOKS.

The earliest volume in the church commences in 1662, but reference is made to an earlier 'vellum covered book' commencing in 1619, of which, however, there is no trace.⁴ What earlier ones there were we do not know, but we have already shown that vestry minutes were kept from the time that vestries were created by Statute in 1555, because Rector Westfield in 1635 referred to 'the ancient Vestry Books of the previous 80 years'.⁵ The minutes from 1662 to the present time occupy seven volumes, from which many quotations have already been made in the chronological chapters.

¹ Above, p. 380.

² W. E. Buckland, Arch. Cant., *Kent Records*, p. 14.

³ Above, p. 343.

⁴ Above, p. 325.

⁵ Above, p. 390.

THE TRUSTEE MINUTE BOOKS.

These consist of four volumes and record the doings of the Parish Trustees in carrying out the private Acts of Parliament of 1755 and 1768.¹

THE REGISTERS OF THE DOCUMENTS OF THE PARISH.

These consist of three volumes and were commenced in the year 1812. In them is copied every deed of importance in connexion with the parish.

PREACHERS' BOOKS.

These were commenced by Rector Westfield in 1628, and continued to 1647; but they were then discontinued until 1777, when Rector Edwardes again started the practice; since when they have been used continuously up to the present time, though vol. x, 1888-1892, is unfortunately missing. Since 1884 they have been called Service Registers. Such information as they yield will be found dealt with in the chronological chapters of the Rectors.

A COLLECTION BOOK.

At the end of the first Preachers' Book commences the 'Collection Book 1641 for Great St. Bartholomew's'.² It shows how wide were the sympathies of Dr. Westfield and his parishioners at that time. Thus, when the Irish war between Romanists and Protestants broke out in December 1641, the following entry occurs:

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
' Collected in the forenowne the 23rd of February 1641/2						
for Ireland the sum of				17	1	0
and in the afternoon the same day				4	1	0
and in all				<u>21</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u> '
' Collected for Coleraine.						
Collected the 28 of Sept. 1642, in the fore and after-						
newene ye same day	5	13	6			
Collected the 26 of October 1642 in the fore and						
afternowne	5	9	0			
Collected the last of November 1642 forenowne &						
afternowne	4	3	0			
and in all				15	5	6'
' Collected for the decayed Minnessters of Ireland the						
last of August 1642 in the fore & afternowne	5	1	9			
Collected the 27 July 1642 in the fore & afternowne						
fast days	4	8	6			
Collected for plundered minnesetors the 27 of						
December 1642	1	9	0			
For distressed City of Londonderry 25 Jany. 1643/4	3	16	1			
For the children of New England uppon 2 Sabath						
daies following in Feby. 1643/4	2	8	9'			

¹ See above, pp. 345, 389, 394.

² Parish Safe, C. P. B. 1 (at end).

When civil war broke out in England in 1642 the collections were for the maimed soldiers as well as 'for the Clerges of Ireland'. But the sympathies were wide, for there was

£ s. d.

'Collected for David Hestwell, Knight, late of the City
of Roane Normandy 14 Jany. 1642/3 . . . I 0 II'

The sympathies were avowedly for the Parliament, but evidently not very warmly felt, for a collection made on the 23rd April 1644 for 'the poor prisoners at Oxford', taken apparently by the Royalists, only 14s. 5d. was received. On the 19th May a collection was made 'for Robert Edwardes prisoner in aryear of the parish of St. Clemants Deanes Temple bar 13s. 8d.'

'For the town of Lime in the West Country,' 23 June 1644 . . . £3 2s. 6d.

The good work went on after Westfield's death and the remainder of the book is occupied by records of collections made during the rectorate of his successor, Mr. Burgess. On the 8th September 1644 there was a collection 'for Zacharias Raphefett of Macedonia a poor orthodoxe minnester of the Greeke church in Constantinople, 18s. 5d.'; on 22nd October 'On this day of humiliation £1 11s. 7½d.' 'For sick and maimed soldiers' the collections were frequent, and averaged over £2. Outside subjects did not appeal in the same way; for the collection for 'John Brem by a letter for the Prince Electer Pallentine (who married Elizabeth daughter of James I) only amounted to 13s. 11½d. But when on the 28th August 1645 the collection was 'for the poor distressed of Taunton', who had been holding out under Robert Blake, the amount was £12 1s. 6d. On the 23rd November there was collected 'for ye Cornish people in the towne of Plimmoth £3 3s. 4d.' When Cromwell attacked Manchester because, although on the Parliamentary side, the inhabitants allowed the King to escape, there was collected on the 14th December 1645 'for the poor distressed Towne of Manchester £1 15s. 4d.' On the 5th of February following they collected £1 12s. 4d. 'for Sir Thomas Farfax'; and the same month 'for raising of a trope (troop) of horse for Corrinet Line for Ierland £1 13s. 0d.' and 'for the sicke and weake souldiers of Chester £1 10s. 0d.' Charles I stormed Leicester in May 1645, Fairfax retook it on the 18th June. On the next day there was collected 'for the poor of Lester £4 14s. 8d.' About this time there was great cruelty on the part of the Turkish Pirates, and on the 12th March 1647/8 there was collected 'for a poore woeman that Hure Husband is a slave among the Turks £1 6s. 0d.' On the 1st April 1649 the collection was 'for the poor of the parish at the Sacrament £3 6s. 2d.' and a fortnight later there was 'collected for a poore distressed Minister of Ierland £4 13s. 11½d.' For the next two years the monthly collections were almost invariably for the poor; they averaged over £3 each, after deducting the cost of the bread and wine, which averaged the large sum of over £1 15s. 0d. a month. After 1651 the monthly collections fell off, possibly because collections were made once more by briefs, and these were mostly for places which had suffered by fires. Thus on the 18th November 1653 there was 'collected on a briefe for a ffier near Holborne Tundick £1 10s. 0d.', and on the 27th 'on a brief for a ffire in Long

Sutton in Holland in Linckhornehire 19s. 0d.' There was 'Collected the 20 of June 1665 according to a espres for his Maiestre & Counsell for Releife of people that are or may be shut up of the sicknes £2 9s. 6d.', apparently at the commencement of the Great Plague. At Christmas the stricken parish, after paying for the bread and wine, could only contribute 3s. 6d.; and on Easter Day 11s. 6d.; 'at the morning Lecture' only 14s.; on the 22nd September 1672 'for the fire in hamlet of ham 9s. 1d.' On the 5th November 1682 occurs 'for the poore at a sacrament ye 5 Novemb gunpowder treason . . . bread & wine paid for 9s. 6d.' The book ends with 'upon a breiff for York Citty 2s. 3d.' on the 26th October 1694. (A further list of briefs collected during the years 1708, 1709, 1710 is entered in the Vestry Minute Book,¹ but it contains nothing of special interest.)

BRIEF BOOK.

In the year 1765 a separate book was started for 'an account of Briefs' read in the church,² which continued till the last was read 23rd March 1828. They were all for country churches, for damage done by fire or by hail storms. The amounts of the collections, which were made in church or from house to house, ranged from 1s. to 39s. Before the Reformation briefs were issued by the pope; they were shorter than Bulls, were written on paper instead of parchment, and ordered collections to be made for specified objects; afterwards they were issued by the king. In the eighteenth century they were issued in groups of 5 to 9 and read, one every two to four weeks. There were usually at St. Bartholomew's about ten read every year, but in one year there were fifteen. The expense of issuing a brief amounted to over £300, and the collection would be hardly double that amount,³ so it was a wasteful and undesirable method of collection; it was abolished by Act of Parliament in 1825; though the rubric in the Prayer Book after the Nicene Creed still states that 'Briefs, Citations, and Excommunications may be read'.⁴

A BOOK OF DIRECTIONS FOR BEATING THE PARISH BOUNDS.⁵

This is dated 1828, but it does not seem to have been finally passed by the vestry; it was fully dealt with when considering the Parish Bounds.⁶

DIARY OF F. J. WITHERS during the restoration of 1864-1866.

This has already been used and described in preceding chapters. It records 178 visits made during that period.

THE RESTORATION MINUTE BOOKS.

The minutes 1863-1869 are entered in a 'rough' Vestry Minute Book No. 9, and alternate with vestry minutes. From 1890 they are in two separate volumes (Rest. Nos. 2, 3). They have been dealt with in the chronological chapters.

THE SCHOOL MINUTE BOOKS.

There are three volumes commencing in 1795.

¹ *V. M. Bk.* ii, 439.

² Parish Safe, O. B. 1.

³ Burn, *Eccl. Law.*

⁴ W. E. Buckland, *Arch. Cant., Kent Records*, p. 20.

⁵ Parish Safe, O. B. 5 a.

⁶ Above, p. 204.

DEEDS AND LETTERS PRESERVED IN THE PARISH SAFE.

Those of general interest are :

A letter from Sir Roger Manwood to Sir Walter Mildmay complaining that Mr. Neale had withheld a subscription to a rated order, dated 14 Nov. 1586. This has already been given in full.¹

'A reassignment of 3 messuages in Cloth Fair lately known as our Ladys Green: 6 Dec. 1602.'²

'A grant of unexpired portion of 31 years' lease of 11 booths in Ladys Green for the use of the poor in consideration of £10 paid, dated 26 June 1629.'³

'A lease by the churchwardens for 21 years of the 3 Tuns in Cloth Fair at a rent of £14, and £30 paid. 4 Jan. 1686/7.'⁴

The first and last of these are copied in the *Register of Parish Documents*, pp. 363, 378.

There are Bonds to secure the maintenance of children chargeable to the parish: the undertaking is with the churchwardens; one is for £20, eight are for £40, dating from 1614-1639. A specimen is here given.

There are Indentures of Apprenticeship of orphans at the charge of the parish, dating from 1616-1758, a specimen of which is given below.

Here is the *Tyburn Ticket*⁵ already referred to; also 'a letter from Thos. Gundry to the vestry concerning' a little house in the Close . . . the gift of the Countess of Bollingbroke⁶ (both documents are printed below), and lastly the shorthand notes corrected, signed by Charles Dickens.

BOND TO SECURE MAINTENANCE OF AN ORPHAN.⁷

Noverint universi per praesentes Nos Milonem Sargeant de parochia Sancti Bartholomaei Magni London: Carpenter Georgium White de London: Brazier et Willelmum Lee civem et Carpenter London: teneri et firmiter obligari Johanni Malthus et Johanni Rogers Guardianis Ecclesie parochialis Sancti Bartholomaei predicti in quadraginta libris legalis monete Anglie Solvendis eisdem Guardianis ecclesie predictae successoribus vel assignatis suis ad quorum quidem solucionem bene et fideliter faciendam obligamus nos et quemlibet nostrum per se pro toto et in solido heredes executores et administratores nostros firmiter per praesentes.

Sigillis nostris sigillatas datas decimo tertio die Marcii 1639 annoque regni domini nostri Caroli dei gratia Anglie Scotie ffrancie et Hibernie Regis fidei defensoris etcetera decimo quinto.

Sigillatas et deliberatas in praesencia

(Three seals attached.)

Arthur Birkbeck

Signum dicti Milonis M Sargeant

Robert Bigge: RB

Signum dicti Georgii W White

John Travers: scr.

William Lee

¹ Above, p. 310.

² Above, p. 240.

³ Above, p. 240, these three deeds.

⁴ A tradesman's token was dug up east of the Lady Chapel in 1921; on the obv. are 'Henry Ingersoul' and 3 tuns; on the rv. is 'In Cloath Faire [16]58. H. D. I.' (the initials of the issuer and his wife).

⁵ Above, p. 339.

⁶ Above, p. 219.

⁷ See above, p. 319.

(On the dorse.)

The condition of this obligation is such that whereas the within bound Miles Sargeant for certain valuable considerations hath agreed & undertaken with the within named John Malthus & John Rogers Churchwardens of the parishe of St. Barthews within menconed to mainteine & bring up Thomas Woolfe the sonne of John Woolfe Victualer deceased an infant born in the said pishe, & left to the charge thereof. Therefore the said Myles Sargeant his Executors administrators or assignes doe & shall from hence forth at his & their own costs & charges mainteine & bringe up the said Thomas Woolfe & guide provide & allow unto him sufficient meat drink apparrell clothinge lodginge washinge & all other necessaryes fittinge & needfull for him, and doe teach or cause to be taught the said Thomas Woolfe some good & lawfull art or trade, & not bind or make him apprentice or servant for longer terme till that he hath attained his age of xxiiiith yeares and doe at all tyme and tymes save and keepe harmles the sd parishe of St. Barthews & pishioners thereof for the tyme beinge for & concernynge the maintenance & educacon of the sd Thomas Woolfe and all charges hapenninge thereby. That then this obligation to be voyd & of non effect, or else to stand in force and virtue.

Miles Sargeant,
his bond.

DEED OF APPRENTICESHIP. A. D. 1666.¹

' THIS Indenture witnesseth that Samuell ffox Sonne of Richard ffox doth by the direction & att the charge of the inhabitants of Greate St. Bartholomewe's London putt himselfe Apprentice unto George Lacy of the parish of St. Sepulchre's London, Glover, to learn the Art & with him & his Assingnes after the manner of an Apprentice to dwell & serve from ye day of the date of these present indentures unto the full end & terme of Tenn yeares from thence next ensueing & fully to be complete & ended during which said terme ye said Apprentice his said Mr. well & faithfully shall serve, his secretts keepe, his lawfull comands evry where gladly doe, damage to his said master he shall none doe nor of any othere procure or suffer to bee done but the same to the utmost of his power shall lett or forthwith give notice thereof to his said Mr. The goods of his said Mr. wastfully he shall not spend nor them to any person unlawfully lend purloyne away or deliver, fornication or matrimony during ye saide terme hee shall not comitt nor contract. Att ye Tables, Dice, Cards or any other unlawfull Games hee shall not play. The Tavernes or Alehouses of custome hee shall not haunt or frequent, unless it be about his Mr.'s business, from his service afore said hee shall not absent himself by day or night unlawfully but in all things as becomes a good & faithfull Apprentice towards his said Mr. and all his gently hee shall use beare & behave himselfe during the said terme, And ye said Mr. his said Apprentice in ye Art which he now useth by the best means that hee can shall teach & instruct or cause to bee taught & instructed (with due correccion) finding & provideing for him competent meate drinke Apparell Lodging washing & all other necessities fitt & decent for him during the said Terme. In witness

¹ Above, p. 319.

whereof the said parties have to these indentures Interchangeably sett their hands & seales dated the ffirst day of January Anno Dni 1665 And in ye Seaventeenth yeare of ye Raigne of Our Sovraigne Lord King Charles the second. Sealed & delivered in ye presence of—

Paul Wickes, czn.

George Lacy.

Josias Wickes

A TYBURN TICKET.¹

Whereas by a late Act of Parliament made in the tenth & eleventh years of the reign of Wm. III (1698/9) entitled an Act for the better apprehending prosecuting & punishing of Felons that commit Burglary, house breaking or Robbery in shops warehouses Coach houses and Stables or that steal horses It is enacted that from the 20 May 1699 All & every person who shd apprehend and take any person guilty of any Felony before-mentioned & prosecute him her or them until they be convicted of such Felonys, such Apprehenders & takers, for their reward upon every such conviction without any fee or reward to be paid for the same shd have forthwith a *certificate* wch shd be under the hand of the judge before whom such conviction shd be had certifying such conviction also within what parish or place the Felony was comitted & also that such Felon was discovered or taken by the person so discovering or apprehending the sd Felon (in case of dispute the certificate to be divided among the people concerned as to the judge should seem just) wch certificate might be once assigned over & no more the original proprietor or the assignee of the certificate by virtue thereof & of the said Act should & might be discharged of & from all & every manner of parish & ward officer within the parish & ward where-in such Felony shd be committed.

Now these are to certify that at the session of gaol delivery of Newgate held for the said City at justice hall in the Old Bailey on the 15th inst. January, before me whose hand is hereunto sett & other her majesty's Justices assigned to deliver the said Gaol of Newgate of the prisoners therein being *Francis Collins* was convicted & attainted of Felony for that as on the 21 Decemb. last past a *Brown Gelding* of the price of £6 the goods & chatteles of *William Jarvis* at the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great did feloniously steal take & lead away & that it doth appear unto me that *Peter Phillepott* of the above said parish did apprehend & take the said Francis Collins & did prosecute him until he was convicted & I do hereby further certify that by virtue of the said Act of Pt. the sd Peter Phillepott or assigns is Intitled to the sd Benefit of the sd Act & are & ought to be hereby discharged from all parish & ward offices in the sd parish of St. B. the Gt . . . Dated 21 Jany, 1713/14.

P. King.

Below is the certificate in Latin signed by *J. Gibson*. On the dorse is a declaration by Peter Phillepott that for £11 pd by *Purbeck Savage* of the parish of St. Barth: the Great, upholder, he has assigned to him this certificate & that he has not assigned it to any other person. Dated 18 Dec. 1714, signed by Peter Phillepott over a small red seal & witnessed by Stephen Lee & Thom. Smith.

¹ Parish Deed, 13.

LETTER FROM THOS. GUNDREY TO THE VESTRY AND CHURCHWARDENS
REGARDING A HOUSE IN THE CLOSE, dated 19th Sept. 1666.

To his much respected the Gentlemen of the vestrye and the churchwardens of the pische of greate St. Bartholomew's, London.

Gentlemen and somtymes (manye of you) of my olde acquayntance and frndshipp whilst that Reverend man doctor Westfield was yor Rector and teacher I first prsent my respecte unto you, And wthall a civill request.

There is a little house in the close on the backside of Sr William Wild's house wch as I remember is a pische house, and the gifte of the Countesse of Bollingbroke, whoe was pleased to make me instrumentall for the benefit of the pische, this house I understand is now at your dispose ; my requeste is that one Mr. John Howe whoe is burnt out of a farr better house may be yor tenante to yt for his present necessitie his occasions beinge to attend in the Cittie or neere yt and gentlemen I can assure you that his way is such by his & in his profession as he may be verie serviceable to your pische or any of you in particular, And gentlemen, I findinge (when I lived amongst you) soe civill respect from you all (then beinge) as doe almost assure myselfe you will not denye this suite of him that beares still a greate respecte to you and wil be

Yr frend to serve you
THOMAS GUNDREY.

Chingford in Essex.
19 Sept. 1666.

THE SCHOOL DEEDS date back to 1620 in connexion with John Whiting's bequest of Dame's Farm.

PLANS IN THE SAFE.

There are numerous plans concerning the disputes over the parish bounds dating from 1747. There is (as already stated¹) a complete set of plans of the Restoration in 1864 by Hayter Lewis & William Slater, presented by Mr. Fredk. H. Reed of the firm of Perry & Reed, architects, through the instrumentality of the late Mr. Phené Spiers, F.S.A.

PHOTOGRAPHS IN THE SAFE.

These consist of over fifty photographs of buildings adjoining the church, taken before demolition, etc.

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS.²

The earliest account extant is that of Phillip Scudamore and William Neale, which commenced on the 9th May 1574 and continued to the 9th February 1577/8. It is on one sheet of paper,³ and on the same sheet is the inventory of church goods already given in full.⁴

After this account not one was preserved for nearly 50 years, viz. until that of Humphry Selwood 1625-1626 ; and during the remaining 75 years of the

¹ Above, p. 444.

² These are in the Belfry Cupboard except Scudamore's, which is in the safe.

³ See App. II, p. 524.

⁴ Above, p. 308.

century there are only eleven left, of which those of 1631, 1645, and 1659 are merely copies made by Mr. Illidge. During the eighteenth century the accounts were preserved with more care, but still there are only 61 accounts for the 100 years, and of these 4 (viz. for the years 1762-1765) are only extracts made by Mr. Illidge. In the nineteenth century there are two gaps, 1801 and 1827; from the year 1845 the accounts were entered in a parish ledger. Several items of interest in these accounts have already been referred to in the chronological chapters, but a few others may be here mentioned. In July 1625 churchwarden Selwood 'payed for pitch and beniamyn¹ burnt in the church in the sicknes tyme six pence'. In the same account, as the warden had not been able to collect all the rates due he appends a list for his successor, thus:

'arrerages upon dyvers inh'tants for church dueties wch are sperate, others by death or poverty or their leaving the parish, wch are desperate.

Sperate Arrerages.

The Lady Saye	II ^s VI ^d	The Lady St. Leger	III ^d
Sir Theobalde George	II ^s VI ^d	The Lady Savage	VII ^s VI ^d
Sir George Manners	VII ^s VI ^d	Mrs. Readishe	X ^s

Desperate Arrerages.

Sir Henry Walloppe's house	V ^s	Mr. Hill's house	XII ^d
Mr. Nevylles	XII ^d	Mr. Meredith's	XVI ^d
Sir Edward Barrett's	V ^s	Mr. Nicholl's	XVI ^d
Mrs. Coplediche's	XV ^d	Mr. Tye's	?
Mr. Harmer's	XVIII ^d	Mr. Kinge's	X ^d
Mr. Williams'	XVI ^d	Mr. Robin's	III ^d

In 1629 on 24th December there was 'paid to Mr. Pollard for Holly Ive & bayes and Rosemary IIIs.'; and in the same year there was 'paid to Mr. Paulins by Mr. Doctor Westfeld's appoyment to redeem a guift Angell of Mary Joanes wch she had of the king for the king's evill VIIIIs.'; and there was 'given to a poore souldyer that was taken by the Dunkerts vid.' In 1631 the churchwarden 'paied for a pint of sacke for a minister that preached 6d.', 'paied for mending the boxes that we gather in, 6d.' In 1660 'given to An Herne to redeem her Byble 1s. 6d.' In 1663 'to digging a hole under the stairs for a bone house 6s. 6d.' (this was probably at the west end under the gallery). In 1694 'payd christening the foundling 1s. 6d.' Another foundling in 1701 had a sad little life: 'Oct. 18 pd Sarah Taylor for Baptising Bartholomew Close, 2s. 6d. Oct. 24 pd Sarah Taylor 1 week & ½ for nursing Bartholomew Close 3s.'; and the same day 'pd Sarah Taylor for bureall of Bartholomew Close 6s.' Many entries refer to steps taken to prevent children being born in the parish and so becoming chargeable to it. Churchwarden Laming's account of 1697/8 gives an idea of the extent to which this was practised. His account is printed *in extenso* below; it is full of coarse humour and illustrates (as already said²) the condition to which the churchwarden's office had been reduced at that time.

Account of Churchwardens Phillip Scudamore and William Neale, 9 May 1574 to 9 Feby. 1577/8.³

¹ Gum benjamin or benzoin.

² Above, p. 400.

³ Above, p. 308.

Page 1]

Received

Received by goodman Harford of my Mr. the xth daye of November 1574 for all the bell ropes in waight XLVI ^{li} at III ^d the pounce	} XI ^s VI ^d
Itm bought at the same tyme a new bell whele for the forre bell	VI ^s
Itm paide to my Mr. for the Beriall of one Jane Kynder out of Mr. Gurdaine's howse the viiith daye of April 1575 in the church	} VI ^s VIII ^d
Itm paide for the beriall in the church of one Mr. John Durdayne the xv daye of March 1576	} VI ^s VIII ^d
Itm for all the bells	III ^s III ^d
Received hereof for pavinge of the grounde	XII ^d
Itm paide to Mr. Skydmore for the Beriall of Mr. Quinte Jones in the church the xxiith daye of March 1576	} VI ^s VIII ^d
Itm for all the Belles	III ^s III ^d
Itm Received hereof for the pavinge of the grounde in the church	} XII ^d

A Reconinge of all such receipts as also payments made by Phillipp Scudamore and Wm. Neale churchwardens of the pishe of great St. Barthilmewes nere Smythfeld London between the ixth of May 1574 and the ixth of febr 1577/8.

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Re due money Rec. of Morice Thoms and Tho Sheperd late churchwardens the ixth of May being the day we entered into the office of churchwarden I say	} XXXIX ^s III ^d
Rec. for breakinge the ground for the buriall of Jaine Kinder out of Mr. Jorden's house viii Aprilis 1575	} VI ^s VIII ^d
Rec. for the buriall of Mr. Durdame xvth March 1576	VI ^s VIII ^d
The belles	III ^s III ^d
The Buriall of Mr. Quintyn Jones xiiith Martii 1576	VI ^s VIII ^d
The buriall of Mr. Herde	VI ^s VIII ^d
The belles	III ^s III ^d
The buriall of Charles Willing for belles	
To ^l of the Receipts	LXXII ^s VIII ^d

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The xth of No. 1574 for ropes for all the belles new XLVI lb. at III ^d the pounce	} XI ^s VI ^d
A newe belle whele	VIII ^s
The mendinge of an olde whele	XII ^d
Nails for the same	II ^d
Mendinge of the Irons of both the wheles	VI ^d
Mendinge of all the baudricks of the belles	VI ^d
Also paied to Walter Jenyns and Ric. Jenyns his brother in full accomplishment of the bgeyn made with them for the newe makinge of the roofe of the church over and besids the leade tymbre stone yron and other stuf comynge of the rofe of the church and side ysle of the south pte of thi church	} VI ^l XII ^s III ^d
The charges of the raisinge of the flower of the said church and new sittings and mendinge of the pews	} XI ^l XIX ^s VIII ^d

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The Inventory already printed *in extenso*.¹

¹ Above, p. 308

MR. LAMING'S ACCOUNT, 1697¹

		£	s.	d.
Apl. 17.	Given Mrs. Wright a miserable object	00	1	0
May 7.	Mr. Darly & Mr. Burges went to Knightsbridge to search the Register wither Buxton Fruin was maryed to his new wife that was put upon us & found it was so & we are like to have her	00	2	0
7. pd.	Godson 2s. I cut her short	00	2	0
12.	„ for noesgayes & strewing	00	4	6
	„ for Tho. Deacon for wands	00	5	0
	„ Sarah Taylor for taking up and keeping a Laid Child. It was brought out of the hospitall but I quickly made the Beadle find out the mother	00	1	0
14.	„ At Mrs. Cooper's on Holy Thursday there being present the 2 ministers (6 named) & several more, it was a wet day, & occasioned spending 2 bottles of sack more than was usuall. is. of it was bread therefore dont blame me, you called for it I paid it	00	17	6
15.	„ For 7 gross of poynts for the boys	1	1	0
June 16.	A fresh trouble coms about Taylor my man formerly given Taylor 2s. I paid in expenses 1s. about getting him clear of our parrish but they brought him again & we have him to our cost		3	0
July 6.	Given a parcell of seamen that was wounded & taken prisoner to France, a pass		1	6
7. pd.	Mr. Baleman for setting Gamer Taylor's Hem by ye order in vestry. Bowell pd. it & I paid him	00	15	0
9.	„ Mary Morrel to defray her charges out of the country. She found no benefit & we must have her and shall enough of her	00	2	6
13.	Mrs. Sarah Channell being past upon us by My Lord Mayor, being worn out by a deep consumption nothing but skin & bone, it cost in charges coach money & money advanced by Webb	00	10	0
15.	Spent in removing the baudy house out of Half Moon Alley, and a cheap bargain whatever you think	00	1	6
20. pd.	about Lydea Hardy past upon us bigg with Ba. Child	00	1	0
23.	„ the watchman for playing the InGINE in drink	00	2	6
	Spent with several of you at the same time		1	0
	„ with the commission that inspected the Lights, meat & drink. (Fanson got drunk : I know not how.)	00	5	6
27. pd.	Thos. Deacon for making all the parish books	03	0	0
	„ 2 women for bringing home Mary Murrell being fallen			

¹ Above, p. 400.

£ s. d.

	down in a fitt sore wounded. I gave them but it seems they pickt her pocket of 2s. (It appeared afterwards so.)	00	1	0
July 27.	Spent at Mr. Burges w ⁿ the Trophie book was finished. You all know it was too much for one day	00	2	6
Aug. 2. pd.	Sarah Taylor for taking up & keeping a Laid Child & pd. for drink for the alms women when it was christened named Thos. Lammas	00	3	6
14. „	in expenses & for searching the register at Duke's pace to find out the mariage of Ellin Roberts, & after a long long time searching we found no such name, it was all false. (Good work a day too and gain)	00	2	6
14. Given 17	souldjers of Bellasis regiment come from France, hardly a ragg upon them, (taken prisoner)	00	2	6
16. I was called out of bed 12	oclock at night to take care of a bigg bellied woman that Lay in ye close. I sent her away in a chair and it cost in money & drink (I question whither I shall have thanks)	00	2	6
17. Given the alms women bread & drink at the burying of Thos. Lammas. They must have some suck		00	2	6
19. Mr. Webb & Mr. Burges & I went to My Lord Mayor's about Lidea Hardy bigg with a bastard child. It was pritty sport how we banded the Drs. Comm ^s fops too & again but it cost		00	2	6
21. We had a grate fateage about Lydea Hardy to get clear of her Burges, Gascoyne, Webb, & myself workt our witts about her, but I paid & spent (the beadle came in for a snack)		00	6	4
28. Once more about Lydea Hardy, by the help of strong stout and good bottle ale we basshed the poor churchwardens and overseers of Doctors Commons. but thank old Rozin for that. but I was pay master so farewell Lydia—it cost (the beadle came in for a snack)		00	2	6
31. I was very busy with the constables fair time. (But I spent my own money)		00	0	0
Sep. 4. pd. in fees & double charges to bayle Williams out of the spunging house where he had been 3 days & 2 nights. Oh then cap in hand. it cost (it was of a Saturday night late)		00	10	6
6. We compounded for Williams debt with Mr. Hatchitt & I paid twenty eight shillings. spent 1s.		01	9	0
14. Given the Ringers about a peace concluded a precept from my Lord Mayor		00	7	6
16. (After a funeral) pd. Mrs. Deeplow for all her trouble but not content		00	6	0

		£	s.	d.
Sep.	16. Mr. Terry made complaint that he had said Amen for so many and no griss. I paid him	00	1	0
	24. And now begins more trouble. Mrs. Cooper's maid was big with a bastard child. Mr. Webb & I had a long discourse with her & Mrs. Cooper. It cost	00	2	0
	25. pd. at Mrs. Cooper's about her maid in order to git ye parish clear of her. Gascoyne, Burgis, Webb	00	3	0
Oct.	8. Spent about Williams when his goods was seized on. I sent for severall of you, & you advised me to pay his half year's rent that his goods was seized for I spent (but you will repent that advice)	00	1	8
	9. pd. Robert Williams half year's rent due to John Russel £1 13s. spent at same time 6d. Mr. Burges & I & another by threats drove away Mrs. Cooper's big bellied Maid so that you shall hear of her no more. But it cost	00	1	3
	18. pd. the Ringers at the proclaiming the peace	00	7	6
	23. When Mr. Williams ran away I spent severall nights & took with me Mr. Lamb the constable & 4 or 5 at a tyme, it cost me	00	3	11
	25. pd. for removing Williams bed & goods	00	0	6
	„ for a lock for the cage	00	1	6
	28. „ for a lock & 2 keys for Mr. Rawlins pew	00	2	6
Nov.	1. „ at Mr. Burges' & Mr. Lamb's about Lucey Shipman big with a basterd child	00	1	2
	2. Mr. Burgis & myself was 2 days about this Lucy & at last found out the true father. It cost me 3s. 9d. and 1s. the warrant we turned her going & saved the parrish of a greater charge (there was a great many words to get it out of her)	00	4	9
	15. pd. the Ringers at the Kings landing	00	3	6
	16. „ „ „ Kings entrance	00	3	6
	„ „ „ Queen Elizabeths day	00	2	6
	27. I imployed severall to take up Williams that was lurking here & there. It cost me	00	2	6
Dec.	2. pd. the Ringers thanksgiving Day	00	7	6
	17. „ Mr. Rogers the painter for painting the pallisadoes at the church gate	00	6	0
St. Thos. day.	pd. after a vestry. Gascoyne, Williams, Burgis	00	3	6
	24. pd. Compton for a qrs. clothes for John Smithfield (this was the usual quarter's payment for a poor child's clothes)	00	2	6
Jan.	3. „ for making good the locks of the stocks	00	1	6
	21. Given Sarah Taylor full of tears	00	1	0
	26. The Reader Mr. Webb & I collected money about the poor. the king's letter. it took up two days almost. it cost me in all (but I pd. more by 2s.)	00	4	6

£ s. d.

Feb. 8.	Williams ran away this morning. you should have not been so willing to receive him again, & now we have all the three children ; spent 4d.	00	0	4
17. 8	gifts 1s. 6d. or 1s. each 'you all know what weather it was, & their wants & cryes were great'	00	2	8
Apl. 22. pd.	the almswomen Wm. Godfory child was buryd (drink)	00	2	8
27.	Spent when I went to receive Moris's year & half rent, and I saved the parish 30s. for I allowed no taxes. Burges with me	00	2	0
29.	Spent when I received Mr. Smith's rent. I allowed him £3 15s. 0d. as you ordered it, though it was contrary to a public contract in vestry. So that I received but 25s. when it should have been £5. Well I spent	00	0	4
		£	s.	d.
	Paid for the parish use	178	18	3½
	Recd. for the parish use	109	07	10

69 10 5½

Gentlemen I have served you to the utmost of my power. God bless the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great.

Apl. 29.	Recd. of Mr. Smith the schoolmaster	01	5	0
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In the Belfry cupboard are kept many other records, too numerous to refer to here, such as the various opinions of Counsel taken from the year 1705 to the present time, some of which have already been alluded to ; the Visitors' Book with the signatures of the late King Edward VII, Queen Alexandra, and our present King George given on the occasion of their visit to the church in 1893, a copy of Brady and Tate's Psalms, edition 1776, and another by N. Tate and N. Brady, 1836 (Tate was the poet laureate in 1692). In drawer 16 is a series of twenty-six leases of the Glebe houses granted by the Rectors from 1555 to 1738 ; twenty-five of these leases were acquired by purchase in 1915. The earliest lease, signed by John Deane and Lord Rich, the patron in 1553,¹ and Edmund Grindall, Bishop of London in 1560,² was the gift of Mr. John Jeffery.³ In it Queen Mary is described as ' defender of the faith and on earth of the church of England and also of Ireland the supreme head ', which is said to be unusual in deeds of Queen Mary's reign.

THE RATE BOOKS are in the lower shelves of the Belfry cupboard. The earliest are those of the collectors of the Poor's Rate, 1636, and of the Orphan Tax, 1698. These records are valuable topographically and genealogically. It was by their means that the birthplace of Hogarth was traced to 58 Bartholomew Close, and the workshop where Benjamin Franklin was engaged, to the upper floor of the building occupying the Lady Chapel. When in 1908 the Corporation took over the overseers' duties in all the City parishes the Rate Books for the years 1903-1907 were handed to the Town Clerk at the Guild Hall.

¹ 12 Aug., 1 Mary (1553).

² 8 Feb., 2 Eliz. (1560).

³ It has been framed and now hangs in the cloister.

AN EASTER FEAST.¹

The Churchwardens of Great St. Bartholomewe's Parish
 Aprill 15th 1669 Left to pay in the Bullhead

	£	s.	d.
Imp. Bread beere and ale	00	08	00
Wine	2	04	00
Oranges and Leamonds	00	06	06
Dressing 3 Leggs of veal & Bacon	00	06	00
Green Sarvce	00	02	00
Dressing for 3 quartes of Lambe	00	03	00
Sallards with oyle and vingr.	00	03	00
Radishes	00	01	00
Roasting for 6 Capons	00	06	00
Cheese	00	02	00
ffouleing Lynnen	00	05	00
ffyre	00	01	00

Sume 04 07 06

Aprill 27th 1669

Recd. In full of this bill the some of foure pounds seaven shillings
 & six pence upon the accompt of the Churchwardens I say
 reced. of Mr. Birkcott pr me Matt. fflower.

(Richard Bellamy, a dweller in the Close and a brother with the Canons in the chapter seal, willed that his executors should keep his month's mind, and then to make a *recreation* unto the worshipfull of the parish of 'Saint Bartilmews',² so that feasts were not unknown in 1539.)

ADVERTISEMENT FOR A MASTER OF THE DISSENTING SCHOOL.³

The following advertisement appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* on April 20, 1802 :

'Protestant Dissenting Charity School, Bartholomew Close. Wanted, a Master for the above school, who, besides being able to instruct the children in Reading, writing, and the common rules of Arithmetic, must produce unexceptional testimonials of his piety & moral conduct. He will be expected to attend with the children at the different places of worship directed by the committee.—None but real Dissenters need apply.—Whoever wishes to engage is desired to send his testimonials, qualifications, & address to Mr. Nathaniel Child, Treasurer, No. 62 Bishopsgate Within, on or before the 11th May.'

REMINISCENCES OF THE REV. J. ABBISS.⁴

By W. H. Jackson, vestry clerk ; in addition to those already incorporated in Chapter XX.

He was an autocratic gentleman of the old style, who never gave his parishioners more than two fingers to shake. He always wore an auburn wig very neatly arranged and, though strongly built, he was only 5 ft. 3 in. in height. After 5 o'clock he would walk to his favourite club along the Strand with no collar visible, but with a black silk handkerchief wound two or three

¹ See above, p. 350.

² Above, p. 36.

³ Wills, Vol. I, App. I, p. 540.

⁴ Above, p. 404.

times round his neck. He was somewhat pedantic ; he would always use Eau de Cologne in his bath and spell Crystal Palace 'Chrystal Palace', though he well knew it was spelt without an 'h'. He was a good classical scholar and an excellent ecclesiastical lawyer. He would use classical quotations in his sermons though generally over the heads of his congregation. He was a judge of good wine, especially of Madeira : on the occasion of the beating of the last bounds there was a parish dinner at Anderton's Hotel. The Rector presided, but called Mr. Jackson aside and asked him to order for him a decanter of toast and water in place of the sherry that was being served 'as he did not drink strange wines'.

His love for little children was noticeable. He never married, but was studiously polite to the other sex, in strong contrast with his dogmatic, if not antagonistic attitude to his own (at any rate to those in his parish). His tone of voice in conversing was but little above a whisper, but in declamation he almost roared, particularly when in opposition, but he was not in the least deaf. His granite-like methods in the chair were sometimes relaxed when the business was over, and then he would comment on the want of knowledge of the speakers, or instance an experience of his Winchester or Oxford days. He was a man of strong will and grit, which were instanced when, a few years before his death, he underwent an operation by Critchett for cataract in both eyes without an anaesthetic though one was offered to him.

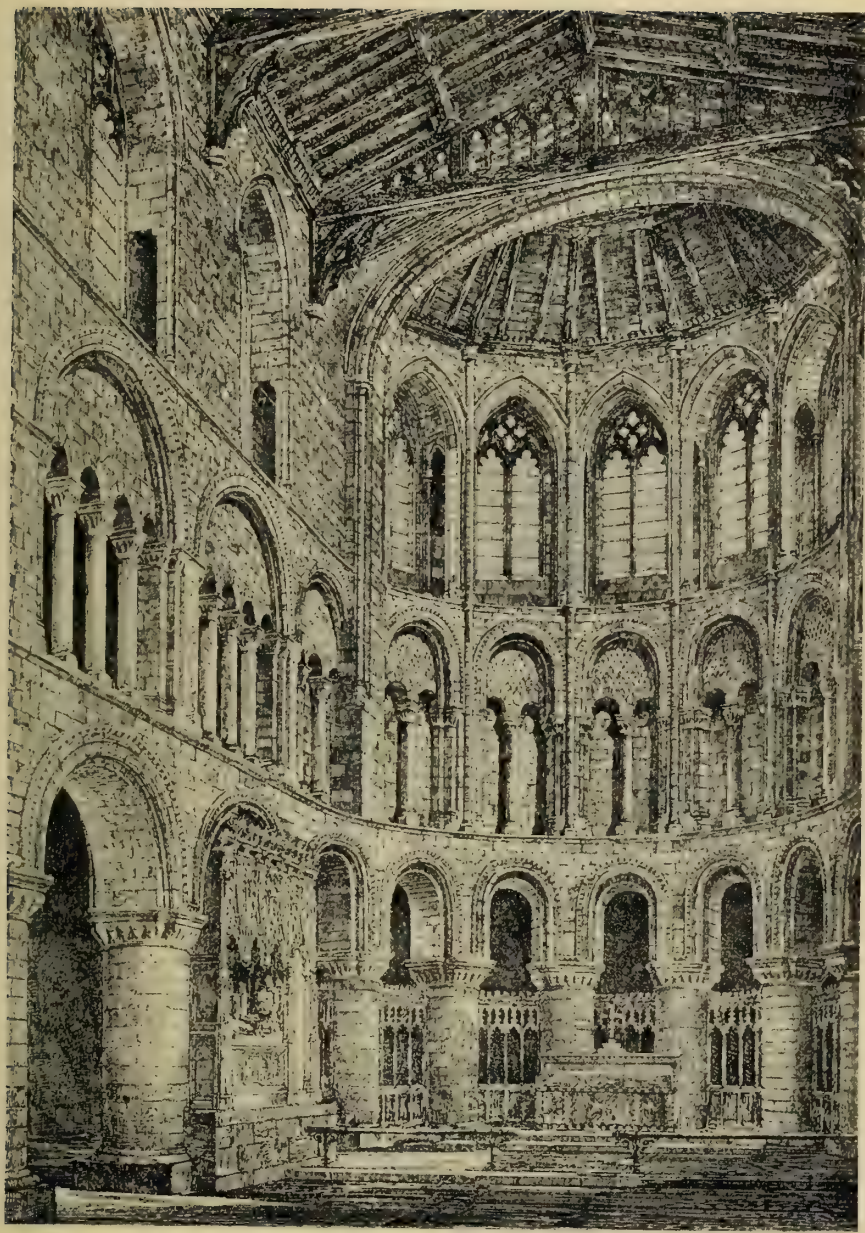
After leaving Charterhouse Square he resided from 1857 till 1863 at No. 48 Myddelton Square, when he moved to No. 41, and in 1877 to No. 39 in the same square. Mr. Magnus, the vicar of Clerkenwell, who also lived in the same square, was one of the few men who enjoyed his intimate friendship, though Mr. Bartleet, the schoolmaster and parish clerk, had some of his confidence.

He was always a sportsman. When at school he is said to have been a good boxer, and he enjoyed shooting. He would have occasional days' shooting at Dame's farm in Essex, which belonged to the schools and which was surrounded by Lord Waldegrave's property. He would frequently say to the narrator, 'When I die they will have nothing to do but to bury me'; it was therefore the more surprising that he should die intestate. His nephew, Mr. F. P. Phillips, inherited his estate, which included a fine collection of Moreland's pictures.

APPENDIX II

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VIEW OF APSE
AS DESIGNED BY SIR ASTON WEBB
(see p. 546)

SECTION 1

SUBSCRIBERS TO BUILDING THE TOWER, 1628

A LIST of those who subscribed to the rebuilding of the tower (or steeple) of the Church of St. Bartholomew the Great in 1628, recorded on the first page of the Register commencing 1647.¹

The names of such honorable persons and others The inhabitants of the parish of greate St. Bartholomews London, and others well disposed as have voluntarily contributed towards the reedifying of the steeple there, and the particular summes by them given. To the undertaking of which worke wee received our first incouragment from the right wo^{ll} S^r Henry Martyn Knight, Judge of His Maties High Court of Admiralty, and of the Prerogative Court etc. who was pleased to give unto us the summe of Fiftie Pounds.

The right Ho: Henry Earle of Holland Patron	20 ^l
The right Ho: Oliver Earle of Bolingbrooke	20 ^l
The right Ho: ffrauncis Earle of westm'land	10 ^l
The right Ho: the Lady Cycely de Laware	(blank)
The right Ho: the Lady Elizabeth Say and Seal	10 ^l
The right Ho: Edward Lord Newburgh	10 ^l
S ^r Heneneage ffynch Knight Recorder of London	10 ^l
S ^r Gyles Eastcourt Knight and baronet	"
Alice Lady Hatton widdow	3 ^l
S ^r Christopher Hatton Knight of the bath	10 ^l
S ^r Thomas Smith Knight of the bath	"
S ^r Henry Wallopp Knight	5 ^l
S ^r John Smith Knight	6 ^l
Aphra Lady S ^t leger	22 ^l
Robert Barkham Esquier	2 ^l
Anthony Low Esquier	3 ^l
Henry Osborne Esquier	2 ^l
Arthur Jarvis Esquier	20 ^l
Thomas Joslyn Esquier	10 ^l
John Anthony Doctor of Phisicke	20 ^l
Richard Glover gentleman	5 ^l
Humfrey Selwood gent	2 ^l
Thomas Gundrey gent	2 ^l
Henry Coldwell gent	"
Tutcher Castle gent	2 ^l
William Scarborough gent	"
Hercules Hollyland gent	2 ^l
Rich: Tirrell citizen & haberdasher of London	3 ^l
Maximilian Coult gent	"
Stephen Pott citizen & of London ²	4 ^l

¹ Above, p. 512. Par. Reg. 2, p. 1.

² He bequeathed in addition 20s. in his will. Vol. I, App. I, p. 554.

M ^r Christopher Marten	(blank)	
M ^r John Marten	"	
M ^r William Pollard	"	
M ^{rs} Margaret Young widow		10 ^s
M ^r Roger Tue		20 ^s
M ^r Ralph Keble		20 ^s

SECTION 2

THE RESTORATION COMMITTEE, 1863

(Those marked with an * formed the Executive Committee.)

William Cubitt, M.P., *Chairman*.

- *William Foster White, Treasurer of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, *Vice-Chairman*.
 *William Salt, *Treasurer*. C. F. Hayward.
 *Rev. John Abbiss, Rector. Philip Hardwick, R.A.
 *Joseph Boord, Churchwarden. Philip C. Hardwick, F.R.S.L.
 E. L. Beckwith. Edward I'Anson, F.G.S.
 A. J. B. Beresford Hope, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A. *W. H. Jackson, Churchwarden.
 Rev. T. H. Bullock, M.A. Thomas Lott, F.S.A. (Deputy).
 James Butcher, C.C. *George Ostell, Leicester.
 F. W. Blackett. Joseph R. Masters.
 J. W. Butterworth, F.S.A. Rev. Walter Mitchell, M.A.
 John Blyth. J. H. Parker, F.S.A.
 William Cornish. Sir Roundell Palmer, Knt., M.P.
 Benjamin Bond Cabbell, F.R.S., F.S.A. *Richard Palmer, jun.
 W. H. Collingridge. *R. N. Philipps, C.C., F.S.A.
 Robert Chambers, LL.D. Rev. F. P. Phillips, M.A.
 Sir James Duke, Bart., M.P., Alderman. Rev. John Louis Petit, M.A., F.S.A.
 *John Hilditch Evans, Overseer. *A. C. Rippon.
 William Evans. A. R. Roche.
 Hon. Dudley F. Fortescue, M.P. Thos. Salt.
 John F. France, F.R.C.S. W. Tite, M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
 William Gilpin, Treasurer of Christ's Hospital. William Wix.
 W. G. Habershon. *Hon. Sec.:* Thomas Kitt, Vestry Clerk.
 *Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A., F.S.A.

ARCHITECTS' REPORT ON THE STATE OF THE CHURCH¹

By J. HAYTER LEWIS AND WILLIAM SLATER.

APRIL 1863.

To the Rev. J. Abbiss, Rector, and Messrs. Joseph Boord and William Henry Jackson, Churchwardens, of the Church of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield.

April, 1863.

GENTLEMEN,

We have made a careful survey of your very interesting church, and beg to submit to you the following Report, and the drawing connected with it.

¹ Above, p. 380.

The history of the church is briefly this. It seems to have been built for the Black Canons regular of St. Augustin, by Prior Rahere, during the reign of Henry I, in the beginning of the 12th century, no building having existed there before his time. A Saxon church is, indeed, hinted at as having once occupied the same site, but there seems to be no great authority for the statement. The exact date is variously given; but there can be no doubt that the greater part of the existing remains are of Rahere's time, and finished *c.* 1123, being about coeval with the naves of Durham, Peterborough, and Norwich Cathedrals. The present church was the choir, only, of Rahere's, the nave having been built at the beginning of the 13th century, in a later style of architecture. This was pulled down, unhappily, in Henry VIII's time, and few remains of it exist; there is, however, the present very beautiful entrance from Smithfield, which (we believe) once formed the end to the south aisle of the nave. Large repairs seem to have been done by Prior Bolton, 1506-1532. It is stated that Queen Mary gave the building to a convent of Black Friars, who began to rebuild the nave, but were dispossessed by Queen Elizabeth—no trace of their work is, however, apparent. Great alterations and repairs seem to have been effected from 1622 to 1628, at which last date the '*steeple, part of stone and part of timber, was pulled down to foundation, and rebuilt of brick*'.¹ The original church seems to have been about 280 ft. long and 60 wide, with apse, transepts, choir, and nave, and having, also, cloisters, prior's house, refectory, chapter house, and other usual adjuncts to a conventual church—forming, when complete, a very splendid monument of the piety and architectural skill of our forefathers.

To compare it with existing buildings, the church must have been nearly the length of Rochester Cathedral (313 ft. 6); and about three-fourths the length of Exeter (370 ft. 8), Norwich (382 ft. 8), and Wells (380 ft.). In 1544 (the religious houses being broken up, and the nave, &c., pulled down) King Henry VIII granted what remained to be a parish church for ever. The Mansion House and parish chapel² (now destroyed) were granted to Sir R. Rich, the Lord Chancellor.

We now proceed to give a detailed description of the several portions requiring attention, and shall conclude by offering our suggestions as to the proper steps to be taken for their repair and restoration.

The point of greatest importance is, of course, the general stability of the fabric, and we are happy to be able to say, after a very careful examination, that the greater part of it is in a very good and substantial state of repair. There are, no doubt, several settlements apparent in the stonework, more particularly near the main piers of the transepts, and to the arches and wall of north aisle, which will require careful attention, and, probably, some works to the foundations there may be necessary; but we do not apprehend that much will be required, as the defects are, evidently, of old date, and do not seem to have increased much of late years. Here and there, also, a column,

¹ Stow really says 'the *Parish Church* is pulled down except the steeple of rotten timber ready to fall of itself'.

² Not so mentioned in the grant.

a portion of a pier, or a few mouldings will have to be supplied ; but, generally speaking, the state of the stonework is very satisfactory ; scarcely any of the carving has been injured, and the masonry will require merely to have the thick coats of whitewash cleaned (not *tooled*) off, great care being taken to preserve any traces of painting that may be found.

The next point to be noticed is that the general level of the floor has been raised 2 ft. 6 since the building of Rahere's church.

This is quite plain from the level of the base of the apse column, which you had excavated at our request, and from the level of the bases of some of the other columns which can be seen at various parts. This raising of the floor level (which has quite spoilt the original proportions of the church) must have taken place before or at the time of the alterations made *c.* 1500 by Prior Bolton,¹ as seems to be proved by the height of the principal doorway, near Rahere's tomb, and the base of the tomb itself, which is said to have been *repaired and beautified* by Bolton. Probably the old floor was found to have been below the level of drainage then practicable.

The next important part is the apse, which formed part of the original church, as is very clearly shown by the two Norman columns and arches now seen behind the eastern wall ; and it is further indicated by the beginning of the curve, which shows itself in the old work up to and including the Norman string over the aisle arches at the western side of the end wall, and also (in rather an unusual manner) in the curve of the base of the apse column before referred to.

This apse is said by some writers to have been pentagonal on plain [*sic*] ; but it is clear that it was circular, and had, no doubt, an aisle continued round it at the back, and the triforium completed round it above.

The apse was cut off, and a wall built where the present east wall now is, apparently in the 15th century ; it seems to have been intended to form a fine eastern end by the insertion of a reredos and windows of a Perpendicular or third Pointed character ; part of the joints and arch mouldings of the windows still remain on the north and south sides of the wall, westward ; whether this was carried out or not, and when this Perpendicular work was destroyed, if ever completed, does not very clearly appear.

It most probably *was* carried out, as work of the same date may be traced in almost every part of the church, showing that it had then sustained great alteration. We may instance the doorway near Rahere's tomb and the tomb canopy, which seem of about the same date as the beautiful oriel put up by Bolton in the south triforium²—the straight piece of wall over the curved Norman string of aisle arches at the east end of the external openings in the north aisle—the change from Norman to Perpendicular of the corbels under the arch mouldings of the great western round arch of the crux ; of a similar change in the capitals to the columns of the great arch of north transept, and of the rebuilding of the whole clerestory east of the crux.

Whatever, however, was done at the east end, it is quite clear that neither

¹ Probably the presbytery only raised then ; the nave after the suppression.

² No, 100 years earlier at least.

the present straight wall or any work on its site formed a part of the original church, and that no part remains of the Perpendicular work of such importance as that of the Norman church ; and as, moreover, the present wall, which seems to have been built in the 17th century (probably 1622-33, when ' more money ' is described to have been spent), is in a very defective condition (part of one of the arches having recently fallen), there can be no archaeological objection in the way of rebuilding the apse as originally formed. It unfortunately happens, however, that a room has been built close up to the present east wall and over the site of the apse, this room being, also, connected with other property which extends the whole length of the ancient prior's house,¹ &c. These buildings extended up to the end of the church, and as considerable remains of the old work still exist, it seems very desirable that the whole of these premises should, if possible, be reacquired by the parish. They are occupied by Messrs. Stanborough & Graves, as a fringe factory, the freehold, we understand, belonging to Mr. Winston of Shoe Lane ; and as the lease, we are told, has expired, and the room is of little use, we trust that Messrs. Stanborough & Graves will come forward, as parishioners, and meet the difficulty in the friendly way which we should expect. We regret to say that the complete restoration of the apse cannot be effected until you obtain possession of the room referred to.

We trust, however, that the whole premises may, ultimately, be acquired by the parish, and used for purposes connected with the church and schools ; and we are led to trust the more that this may be done, as we have found, very generally, that owners and occupiers of property are ready to meet the case, in a very praiseworthy and liberal manner, when such property is required for the public good.

The triforium openings towards the choir are of very good character, and more elaborate than is often found, each opening having three detached columns and four small arches under an enriched round arch. These openings are in very good general condition, but we regret to say that the triforia themselves are by no means so. The northern is, indeed, complete in its outline, but the original outer wall seems to have been destroyed, and rebuilt in quite modern times—probably the 17th century ; and it is used as a schoolroom, having a master's house attached at the east end. The southern triforium is altogether destroyed, and if this be not rebuilt within three or four years it may be very difficult to do so afterwards, as the houses (Pope's Cottages), close adjoining to it, have been built, as we are informed, about fifteen years, and will soon acquire a prescriptive right of light and air.

The clerestory windows west of transepts are of an earlier date, apparently, than those in the east of them, which were added or rebuilt in the Perpendicular style, though the existing remains are scarcely sufficient to show their precise date.

The tracery in the two windows westward remains, though blocked up, and all that the other windows require is the insertion of their tracery, as the jambs, labels, &c., are almost perfect.

We may remark that, as might have been expected, the masonry of the

¹ Lady Chapel intended.

clerestory and other portions of later work is very different from that of the Norman work adjacent.

Both of the transepts are destroyed—the south beyond the line of the aisle outer walls, and the north beyond the line of the aisle arches. The mouldings to the great arch of the southern one are perfect, and so is the triforium arch over the choir aisle; and a good drawing of the transept itself, almost perfect except the roof, is given in Wilkinson,¹ under date 1819. The ground on which the transept stood is unoccupied (except as a graveyard), but the transept could not now be rebuilt without interfering with the light and air of the houses erected some thirty years since on the site of the ancient chapel of St. Bartholomew.

This was, we believe, destroyed by fire in 1830, and the present houses built in its place. The lower part of the enclosing walls remained up to the time of the fire, when they were injured and pulled down level with the ground. Portions may, however, yet remain under that level. Over the remaining portion of this transept, even with the triforium, is the present vestry.

Of the north transept there are a few only of the mouldings of the great arch in sight, but the remainder may, probably, be concealed and preserved by the wall which now closes the arch. The capitals of the columns under these mouldings (Norman) have been replaced by Perpendicular ones, and so have the Norman corbels under the great western arch spanning the nave.

The reason of this alteration is not at all apparent at present, but may become so as the modern obstructions are removed.

The great arches spanning the choir between the transepts are round, whilst the transept arches are pointed. The reason popularly given for this difference is, the wish to get the top of all the arches to range in height, which they would not have done with the round arches, as the choir arches are much larger in span than those of the transepts. It is, however, remarkable that the pointed arches are much stilted (as the round ones might have been, and as they actually are in the apse), and that the tops of the arches do *not* range. There is nothing in the present building to show for certain that there ever was a tower over the crux, though mention is made of it in some writings.

The part of the former church west of the north transept is now occupied by houses built, apparently, some 200 years since, being Nos. 8 and 9 in Cloth Fair. They are let, we understand, to Mr. Worfell, a carpenter, on lease for eleven years unexpired by the owner, Mr. Mitchel.

The site of the transept itself is occupied by a smith's shop, belonging, we are informed, to Mr. Horley, a baker in the parish. The lease to him will terminate in about two years. The other house in the same passage is a parish house, left by Lady Saye and Sele for the support of the alms people. It is let on lease (shortly to expire) to Messrs. Palmer, at £14 per annum. The Charities Commissioners would probably arrange for this house to be given up.

We need scarcely point out to you how great is the danger of the church being destroyed in case of a fire breaking out in either of the houses which now cut into the church, at this part and at the east end, or in the schoolrooms and master's house which have been formed out of the north triforium, &c.

¹ *Londina Illustrata*.

Of the roofs, no indications seem to exist of the ancient structure. There are no remains apparent of vaulting shafts or of roof corbels, but it is possible that some of the latter may be concealed under the present large wooden corbels which have been added (probably 1628). We trust that you will be able to have the whole of the roofs thoroughly restored.

The west walls and the tower are modern erections of the 17th century. Of the nave very little remains ; but judging from the beautiful doorway, still existing, of the south aisle, it must have been a very splendid erection. It was joined on to the Norman work in a very singular manner, as is shown in the present south aisle, west of the transept.

The south wall existed for nearly its whole length up to A. D. 1856, and must have shown, no doubt, clear traces of the general arrangements of the piers, &c. The wall was, however, then pulled down, and no remains appear above the ground-level ; but as that is 6 ft. above the ancient level of the church paving, it is very probable that the bases of the several walls and piers may still remain *in situ*, and that many fragments of ornaments and mouldings may be buried amongst the raised ground.

The site of the Chapter-house is now built over by Pope's Cottages,¹ but of the other attached buildings there exist more remains than might be supposed by a casual observer.

The site of the east cloister is now occupied by various buildings, a long lease whereof is held by Mr. Walpole of Finchley, the owners being two ladies (Mad^{es}. Atkinson and Fitzgerald) in trust for a minor. Very fine remains of it existed up to 1833, when they were allowed to fall, owing to neglect and decay.

Of the refectory and crypt,² portions show very clearly in passing through Middlesex Passage, and the crypt exists in a tolerably perfect state throughout the whole extent, or nearly so, of the refectory. Of the prior's house there are still very considerable remains.³

We subjoin a plan, showing the general position of the church and conventual buildings ; and we must mention, as rather a singular fact, that the plans most generally known, viz. those which accompany the very carefully written accounts in Wilkinson and in Knight's *London* represent the north aisle as being much wider than the south, whereas the latter is the wider by some inches.

We now proceed to describe the various steps which we beg to recommend should be taken towards the restoration of the church.

We consider that the principal works required to be done are, its restoration to its ancient fine proportions by the lowering of the paving to the proper level—the repairing the stone work generally where injured—the completion of the apse and the clerestory windows to their original state, and the draining, warming and reseating of the church in a proper manner—by which reseating not only the convenience and comfort of the parishioners will be promoted, but many extra sittings obtained. It may be objected to the lowering that the church would appear by it still more buried than it is, owing to the extra number of steps that would be required.

¹ Cockerill's Building intended.

² Dormitory and undercroft intended.

³ Lady Chapel intended.

This objection, however, is at once met by the very simple plan of putting all the steps outside of the church instead of inside it as at present, forming, of course, a sunken area outside as an entrance. This will not only remove the present awkward and unpleasant effect of the steps now inside the church, but enable you thoroughly to drain and ventilate the floor, and thus remove, to a very great extent, the present cold and dampness. We propose, at the same time, to remove the earth now filled in against the wall of the north aisle (and which is now rotting the wall), and to make good any defects which may be found existing in the said wall and in the foundations of the great piers of the crux.

Probably, during the excavations, portions of the old tile or other paving may be found, which may serve as a guide for the new, and, if possible, form part of it; and we beg to suggest that every portion of ornamental work found should be carefully preserved (if not capable of being re-used) in the triforium or other convenient place.

With respect to the sepulchral monuments now fixed against the walls of the church, the principal of them (Rahere's) would not, of course, be touched beyond a careful repair; and as to this you may, no doubt, safely trust to the liberality and care of the Treasurer and Committee of St. Bartholomew's Hospital—founded like your church, by Rahere. The next tomb of importance is that of Sir Walter and Lady Mildmay, A.D. 1576 and 1589. This cuts very awkwardly into one of the main piers and arches on the south side of the old church; but if it were slightly moved westward and lowered (as it naturally would be when the floor is lowered), it would fill up the archway and interfere very slightly with the piers or mouldings. Sir Walter was Chancellor of the Exchequer to Queen Elizabeth, and founder of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and doubtless, that Society and Sir Henry Mildmay, the representative of that respectable and ancient family, of Dogmersfield, would heartily respond to your appeal for the comparatively small funds necessary for the above alterations.

The remaining monuments are the following, viz.—on the *North Side*, beginning from the east—

- No. 1. T. Roycroft (the printer of the Polyglot Bible, 1677), cut into Rahere's canopy.
2. Francis Anthony, 1623, cut into arch mouldings
4. J. Whiting, 1704, of white marble.
5. Sir R. Chamberlaine, 1615.

On the *South Side*, beginning from the east—

- No. 1. Ald. Smalpage, 1558, in arch.
2. W. P. Taylor, 1820.
3. Ellis Joringe, 1659, in arch.¹
4. Scudamore, cut into mouldings.
5. J. Rivers, 1641, cut into mouldings.
6. Whitley, 1685.
7. Rev. O. P. Edwardes (white marble).

¹ Yonge intended.

The greater portion of these are, we believe, of alabaster ; but they have, at some time or other, been painted black, and we propose that they should all be carefully cleaned. Those of them (as shown above) whose insertions have injured the old work, we propose to have removed very carefully to the walls of the aisles : the others to remain *in situ*.

The clerestory windows should have their tracery at once inserted, as the expense of this would not be great, whilst the insertion would be very effective.

The main difficulty is the western end of the church. The wall here has no pretensions either to beauty or antiquity ; for it cannot be supposed that any separation to such an extent, at least, could have been put up before the destruction of the nave. It is certain that the brick tower was not built until 1628, but the whole western wall seems of about the same date. We recommend, however, that these walls be left, for the present at least, in their original state ; but as they are objects by no means pleasing, we beg to suggest that the western gallery be remodelled, and, with the organ, retained in somewhat of its present position, so as to screen the west wall as it does now.

The vestry might be removed to the north aisle, a much more convenient position than the present one ; and when the earth is removed from against the aisle wall, the windows restored, the room warmed, and the floor properly drained and ventilated, this vestry would be a very commodious and comfortable one.

The removal would afford a very easy means of opening out the fine mouldings of the south transept arch and of showing the ends of the south triforia. The next thing, probably, to the above would be, in importance, the removal of the whole of the earth now filled in to the two churchyards, so as to lay bare the ground to the original level of the church. If, as we think very probable, the excavations should reveal the existence of much of the lower part of the otherwise destroyed nave, they would give the same interesting results lately obtained by similar means at Fountains Abbey, and the interest attaching to the discovery would give, no doubt, a great stimulus on behalf of the public to the efforts for restoring the church.

It may be found that the destruction has been complete, even to the foundations, but we apprehend not ; and, in any case, a few trials would soon establish the fact, one way or the other. The work would be done gradually, so that the remains of coffins, &c., could be most carefully re-interred at the lower level.

Next to this work would come the re-roofing of the present church, to be followed, as funds may allow, by the restoration of the triforia, the opening out of north transept, &c., remains of the old work whereof may very probably be discovered amongst the old buildings near, more especially as their present level is so much higher than that of the old church.

Of subsequent works, we think it unnecessary now to speak further than to say that it would be very desirable to obtain, if possible, from the owners and occupiers of the prior's old house the houses which now occupy the site of the northern transept, the east cloister, &c., undertakings to make over the property to you at certain fixed terms, if required by you within a certain date (say

four years) ; and we apprehend, from the spirit in which other cases of a similar kind to this have been met, that the difficulty of such an arrangement will not be so great as might be imagined.

With respect to the expenses, it will be necessary at present to allude merely to those attendant on the works proposed to be executed first, viz.—

- The lowering of the floor and repaving it complete ;
- The reconstruction of the present entrances, so as to put the steps *outside* the church ;
- The draining, warming and reseating the whole ;
- The removal of the vestry and opening out of the south transept ;
- The reconstruction of the west gallery ;
- The removal of the earth against the north aisle, and the paving of the area thus made ;
- The repairs to the foundations of the four great piers and the north wall of aisle ;
- The repairs to the stonework generally ;
- The repairs and refixing of the monuments ;
- The filling in of the clerestory windows with tracery ;
- And the complete restoration of the apse, with triforium, clerestory and roofs thereto.

We believe that the whole of these works could be done for a sum under £4,000.

We are, GENTLEMEN,

Your obedient Servants,

T. HAYTER LEWIS,

9 John Street, Adelphi.

WILLIAM SLATER,

4 Carlton Chambers, 4 Regent Street.

SECTION 3

THE RESTORATION COMMITTEE, 1885 ¹

(The names marked with an * form the Executive Committee.)

Under the immediate sanction of

The Most Rev. The Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Right Rev. the Bishop of London.

The Right Rev. the Bishop of Bedford.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Devon.

The Very Rev. the Dean of St. Paul's.

The Very Rev. the Dean of Exeter.

The Very Rev. the Dean of Windsor.

The Very Rev. the Dean of Manchester.

The Rev. Canon Gregory.

The Rev. Canon Liddon.

*The Rev. W. Panckridge, Rector.

*The Rev. F. P. Phillips, Patron.

The Rev. Arundell St. John Mildmay (Hazel Grove).

*The Rev. W. Benham.

The Rev. Precentor Venables.

¹ See above, p. 208.

- *The Rev. F. W. J. Daniels.
- *The Rev. N. C. S. Poyntz.
- *The Right Hon. the Lord Charles Bruce.
- The Right Hon. the Earl Waldegrave.
- The Hon. Dudley F. Fortescue.
- The Right Hon. Geo. Cubitt, M.P.
- The Right Hon. Viscount Halifax.
- Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P.
- Sir E. A. H. Lechmere, Bart., M.P.
- Sir J. Whittaker Ellis, Bart., M.P.
- Sir Reginald Hanson, Lord Mayor.
- Sir Sydney H. Waterlow, Bart.
- *The Right Hon. A. J. B. Beresford Hope,
M.P., D.C.L.
- *Dr. Norman Moore.
- John Bertram, Esq., C.C.
- *W. de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A.
- *William Brew, Esq.
- *T. W. Boord, Esq., M.P.
- W. H. Collingridge, Esq.
- *L. Collingridge, Esq.
- *W. H. Cross, Esq., M.A.
- Oliver H. Davis, Esq.
- A. E. Edmin, Esq.
- Worthington Evans, Esq.
- *John F. France, Esq., F.S.A.
- *James Hilton, Esq., F.S.A.
- *E. A. Webb, Esq., Churchwarden.
- *W. H. Jackson, Esq., Vestry Clerk.
- J. Hollinghurst, Esq.
- George Kenning, Esq.
- E. Knight, Esq.
- *T. Hayter Lewis, Esq., F.S.A.
- William Lincoln, Esq.
- Colonel Makins, M.P.
- Richard B. Martin, Esq.
- *H. Bingham Mildmay, Esq.
- *R. C. Nichols, Esq.
- *J. W. Overbury, Esq.
- *W. R. Palmer, Esq.
- *R. H. Peck, Esq., Churchwarden.
- T. Sangster, Esq., C.C.
- John Scott, Esq.
- George Shorey, Esq.
- J. G. Talbot, Esq., M.P.
- W. P. Treloar, Esq., C.C.
- *Stephen Tucker, Esq., Somerset
Herald.
- *B. Turner, Esq.
- Thos. Wildash, Esq., C.C.
- T. Wilkinson, Esq.
- J. Willmott, Esq.
- *W. T. Wingrove, Esq.
- *J. Young, Esq.
- *F. D. Dixon-Hartland, Esq., M.P.,
Hon. Treasurer.

} *Hon. Secs.*

Architect : Aston Webb, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., 19 Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.

Hon. Solicitors : Messrs. Hedges & Brandreth, Red Lion Square, W.C.

Bankers : Messrs. Lacy, Hartland, Woodbridge & Co., West Smithfield, E.C.

ARCHITECT'S REPORTS, 1885-6, 1891.

REPORT NO. I.

*Prior to the commencement of the Work of Restoration.*¹

19 Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.

December 15, 1885.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT, WEST SMITHFIELD

GENTLEMEN,

In accordance with your instructions of June 4th, I have made a careful survey of your Church, and herewith submit to you the following report and plans showing my proposals.

It will be unnecessary for me to go in detail into the history of the Church, as this is already well known, and was fully published at the time of the partial restoration carried out in 1863-65, and may be found in Messrs. T. Hayter Lewis

¹ Above, p. 408.

and W. Slater's report of 1863, and in Mr. J. H. Parker's Lecture, delivered in the Church in July of the same year, and printed by the Restoration Committee.

Since that time the most important event in the history of the Church has been the acquisition of the property known as the 'Fringe Factory' at the East end, and (by a few of the Parishioners in trust for the Parish) of the Blacksmith's Forge, on the site of the North Transept, both acquisitions of the greatest importance to the Church.

The acquisition of these properties enables the various works required for the safety of the Church to be proceeded with, as funds will allow, and it will be convenient if I here state them.

- 1st. The completion of the Apse.
- 2nd. The re-roofing of the Church.
- 3rd. The removal of Boys' School from North Triforium, and the re-erection of Schools on a portion of the Fringe Factory site.
- 4th. The removal of the Forge and the present Vestry, and the building of North and South Transepts.
- 5th. Repairs to the West End, and the uncovering of the remains of the Nave.
- 6th. Seating and necessary Furniture.
- 7th. The Restoration of the Lady Chapel.

The completion of the East End.

1st. The acquisition of the Fringe Factory—including the portions projecting into the Church—enables the building to be freed from encumbrances which have burdened it for over 250 years.

The termination of the East End of the Church has been subject to several important structural changes since its commencement in 1123, and are briefly these: The building, as originally designed, was to be terminated by a semi-circular Apse, and all but the two easternmost columns of the original ground arcade still remain, the other two having been rebuilt in 1864. The commencement of the curve of the triforium gallery is also visible, as are also the radiating arches of the groining to the Ambulatory at the East End. These, however, show a change of purpose during the progress of the work, caused apparently by the addition of a Lady Chapel. What the change was, it is not possible to say with certainty, though the removal of the wall built across the opening, which has only now become possible, may be expected to throw light on this, by disclosing the bases of the arched entrance into the Chapel.

A further alteration took place towards the end of the 15th century, when, as in most Norman churches in this country, the apse was converted into a square East End; the jambs of what was probably a large East window still remain, though there is no evidence beyond them, and the portions of string below, to indicate the design of the work.

The last change took place probably about the middle of the 17th century, when the East end appears to have fallen into a ruinous condition, the East window was taken out, and the present straight wall with its two large round-headed windows was built (principally of old materials, faced externally with brick).

My object in the plans I have submitted for the removal of the present factory at the East end, and of which an interior view is appended,¹ has been to preserve

¹ Pl. CII.

every trace now existing of these changes. The jambs, therefore, of the late East end referred to I preserve, taking out only the modern wall between and turning an arch over from these jambs, *thus preserving all the indications of the square end*, and forming a sanctuary arch with a straight wall over. Eastwards of this arch the apse will be completed, as it already is on the ground arcade, and in accordance with the drawing referred to. By this means the work can be carried out without interference in any way, not only with the original Norman work, but also with *the later 15th and 16th century additions*, thus preserving all the present traces of the architectural history of the building ; in fact, west of the present East end, the building will be untouched by this work.

2nd. Re-roofing is a very urgent matter, and it is much to be hoped that your Committee may be able to carry it out simultaneously with the alteration to the East end. Indeed, it will soon become absolutely necessary if the Church is to be preserved. The lead on the roof has long been in a very bad condition, letting in the water and decaying the timbers : it is now past even temporary repair. The present roof is without architectural character, and was probably put on in the middle of the 17th century.

The Re-roofing of the Church.

My proposal is to replace the present roof with one of oak of a similar pitch, and of the design shown on the drawings, and to recover with the existing lead.

3rd. The removal of the Boys' School from the North Triforium is as urgently required for the carrying on of Divine worship in the Church, as it is for the proper conduct of the School. A portion of the Fringe Factory site is available for the erection of Schools to accommodate about 300 children, with a Teacher's residence attached ; and the erection of these Schools would not only restore the triforium to the Church, but would also liberate the site of the present Girls' and Infants' Schools, and enable amongst other things an entrance to be made to the Church from this end, a want which is much felt.

The Schools and Triforia.

The building over the North Ambulatory, now forming the Boys' School, I propose to leave unaltered, merely putting it into repair, it being desirable to alter the appearance of the Church externally as little as possible, as this building has much that is picturesque and interesting about it.

4th. It is most desirable that the Forge should be silenced, being a constant source of danger from fire, and the building itself is in so bad a condition, that only a few weeks ago part of the Church was flooded with the drainage from these premises, and this not for the first time ; the Vestry too is a very great disfigurement to the Church ; both of these should be removed and the transepts rebuilt, though rights of light, and the value of the properties practically prevent the possibility of their reconstruction of the original dimensions, viz. : 36' 0" x 28' 0".

The Blacksmith's Forge and the Transepts.

The continuation of the Ambulatory on the north side, and the opening out of this fine North transept arch would be a great improvement to the Church, and my proposal is the erection of shallow transepts of a late character, as shown on the plans, which would leave a very valuable site for disposal in Cloth Fair, and the green Churchyard on the south would be available for the erection of Vestries and Parish Room, or other purposes as may hereafter be found necessary. (I may here mention that all the portions coloured pink on

the ground plan, amounting in all to some 2,500 feet sup. show land which will be available for disposal or for purposes in connection with the Church.)

The West
end and
site of
Nave.

5th. Repairs to the West End are required, including a new West window and entrance porch as shown on the drawings, and the laying bare of the remains of the Nave would add very greatly to the historical and architectural interest of the Church, and in addition it might be so laid out as to form a pleasanter approach to the Church, and become a quiet resting-place in the midst of this crowded neighbourhood.

The
seating
of the
Church.

6th. The seating and furniture (the details of which may be settled hereafter) are much wanted, and mention of them cannot be omitted in any report on the present condition of the Church.

The res-
toration
of the
Lady
Chapel.

7th. The acquisition of the Fringe Factory, and the examination it has enabled us to make, have brought to light for the first time very considerable and most interesting remains of this building, drawings of which I submit to-day. The present factory is in fact contained within the walls of the Lady Chapel, the internal dimensions of which are 60' 0" \times 22' 0", and show that the Chapel was reconstructed if not rebuilt about Prior Bolton's time,¹ the details of the window jambs agreeing with those of the remaining jambs of the East window, the walls and buttresses which still remain, though now cemented over, are faced with flint, with a three-light window in each bay; traces apparently of the sedilia in the easternmost bay also remain. The original roof has entirely gone, and the building has had a storey added to it for looms, probably in the last century, and the walls have been much cut about by floors and the insertion of modern windows, but enough remains to show the original design. Below the Chapel is a crypt, lighted with single light windows, and vaulted in a single span twenty-two feet wide: this crypt has been almost entirely filled with earth and fragments of the original building, but a portion has been excavated for your inspection to-day, and I earnestly hope you will empower us to proceed further with it. Many interesting remains have already been found, and there is little doubt that still more interesting results will be obtained as the East end of the Church is approached, including indications of the arrangement of the entrance to the Church already referred to.

Should the opportunity arise of restoring this building to its former condition, sufficient remains to enable this to be done to a great extent with certainty; but the acquisition of the almshouses on the north side would be very desirable in order to light the building from both sides, as was originally the case, and these probably could be acquired at a moderate cost.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, I can assure you I am fully sensible of the responsibility of advising on this most interesting Church; but by the carrying out of these works, subject to such alterations in detail as may from time to time become necessary as the old work is brought to light, I believe that the Church would lose absolutely nothing of its present historical and architectural interest, while it would become more fitting for the purposes for which it was built, and

¹ A closer examination than was at this time possible has proved the Lady Chapel to be earlier than Prior Bolton, or about the end of the fourteenth century.—A. W.

present, at any rate, a less striking contrast than it now does to its original magnificence.

The work proposed can without difficulty be carried out in sections, and I append below my approximate estimate of each section.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your obedient Servant,
ASTON WEBB.

19 Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.

December 15, 1885.

To the Executive Committee for the Restoration of the Church of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield, E.C.

APPROXIMATE ESTIMATE

December 15, 1885.

	£	s.	d.
1. Completion of the East End	1,800	0	0
2. Re-roofing the Church	800	0	0
3. Re-building North and South Transepts, including acquisition of Forge and Lady Saye and Seale's house	4,000	0	0
4. Repairs to West End, and uncovering remains of Nave	1,000	0	0
5. Seating and Furniture	800	0	0
6. Restoration of Triforium and erection of Vestries, etc.	1,000	0	0
7. Charges and Sundries, say	600	0	0
	<u>£10,000</u>	0	0
8. Erection of Schools on Portion of Fringe Factory site, say	2,500	0	0
9. Restoration of Lady Chapel, say	2,800	0	0

REPORT NO. 2.

*Made on the completion of the first section of the Work of Restoration.*¹

19 Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.

November 19th, 1886.

SAINT BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT

GENTLEMEN,

I have to report that in accordance with the instructions received from your Executive Committee, the work approved by you at the East End has been completed by Messrs. Dove Brothers within the contract time and to my entire satisfaction.

During the progress of the work much of interest has been brought to light.

On taking down the square wall carried by the girder and columns at the East End, the upper portion was found to be built of the tracery of what was no doubt the Great Window of the Fourteenth Century Square East End, and

¹ Above, p. 411.

enough of this has been found to show its design,¹ previously entirely unknown, and it is now laid out in a temporary museum formed in the Fringe Factory.

The lower portion of the wall already referred to was found to be built of the remains of the original Norman Apsidal termination of the East End, thus permanently setting at rest the question of the original completion of the Norman Apse. Many of these stones are in perfect condition and retain a great deal of their Norman colour decoration, and have also been arranged in the museum.

The wall dividing the Church from the Fringe Factory was built of Transitional and Early English fragments, probably from the Nave, which have also been preserved.

The opening out of the Entrance to the Lady Chapel is of considerable interest, and displays features hitherto entirely concealed.

The late jambs of the great East Window have been retained, as originally intended, and an Arch turned from them.

The work has been carried out *without the removal of a single worked stone* from its original position, and it is certainly to the credit of the Contractors, the Clerk of Works and the Workmen, that in spite of the erection of very heavy scaffolding throughout the Church for the re-roofing, the whole has been set up and removed without any injury to the fabric, so that it is now handed back to the authorities with the ancient work in every way in as good a condition as it was received by us.

The dropping of the Great Arches of the Crossing from want of proper abutment, will require careful watching, and it is much to be hoped that support for these, by the addition of shallow transepts, will not be long delayed.

The erection of a substantial brick wall between the Church and the Fringe Factory at the East End, has, as far as possible protected this end of the Church from fire, but the Forge in the North Transept is still a source of danger, as is likewise the School in the North Triforium.

The works therefore that are still urgently required, are :

The removal of the Forge and Parish House on the North Transept ;

The removal of the present Canvas-covered Vestry in the South Transept ;

The removal of the Boys' School from the Triforium ;

The building of Two Shallow Transepts to support the Arches of the Crossing ;

The Uncovering of the Nave, and

The Restoration of the Lady Chapel.

The probable cost of these works is fully set forth in my previous Report.

I am, Gentlemen,

Yours faithfully,

ASTON WEBB.

To the Restoration Committee, St. Bartholomew the Great, E.C.

¹ See pl. XXVa, p. 19.

ARCHITECT'S REPORT, 1891 ¹

19 Queen Anne's Gate,
Westminster, S.W.

9 February 1891.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT, SMITHFIELD, E.C.

GENTLEMEN,

Herewith in accordance with your instructions I submit Drawings, Specifications, and Estimates of the further work proposed to this Church.

These include the works contemplated in the Commissioners' grant; viz.—the repairs to the Tower and West Front, and the Vaulting to the North and South Aisles, Re-roofing the South Triforium and repairing the old Boys' School and House over the North Triforium, building a shallow North Transept and a Vestry over the West Porch. It will be seen that I estimate the cost of these, including the South Transept already built, at £5,900 as against £5,406 allowed in the Commissioner's grant; if, however, the West window is given up, and I think there is much to be said for this course, a saving will be effected of £300—bringing the amount to be expended to £5,600 or only £194 more than the Commissioners' grant.

In addition to the work contemplated in the Commissioners' grant I have ventured to make some further suggestions which appear to me very desirable.

The principal of these is the utilization of the remainder of the land of the Forge site for a Porch extending to the footway in Cloth Fair, and covering steps leading down to the Church. This would make a striking architectural feature in Cloth Fair, display the Church to that thoroughfare, and enable people to enter the church under cover, which is at present not possible.

It is also proposed to put a room over the Porch which it is thought would be very useful for the Verger. This Transept being more in evidence than the South Transept, it is proposed to treat it a little more ornately and introduce a little ornamental flint and stonework.

An important porch at the West End is also proposed with a small Vestry over. A niche is shown over this door in which it is thought a statue of Rahere the Founder of the church might be appropriately placed.

Both of these Porches, besides adding to the appearance of the exterior, are very essential for containing the two sets of double doors which are the only means of preventing the draughts in the Church.

With regard to the erection of the North Transept, and the surrounding dominating lights, though some difficulties may arise, I do not think they will be insuperable.

Another work proposed is the ceiling of the South bay of the Nave by the present entrance. I have reluctantly come to the conclusion that a stone vault is inadvisable and that a flat oak ceiling would be better.

It is also proposed to improve the approach to the South Transept by the

¹ Above, p. 418.

removal of the wall at present round the green churchyard, and to substitute a dwarf wall and railing.

The bells in the Tower should also be overhauled and I have an estimate from Messrs. Warner for these amounting, with clockmaker's work, to £65.

The total cost of these additional works I put at £1,465, and this, with Architect's Commission, &c., and the £494 excess of the Estimate over the grant, brings the total beyond the Commissioners' grant and exclusive of the Lady Chapel to £2,359 os. od., or say in round figures £2,500 os. od.

I remain, Gentlemen, Yours faithfully,

ASTON WEBB.

Messrs. the Hon. Secretaries of the Restoration Committee,
St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield, E.C.

PS.—With regard to the Lady Chapel, which I have not touched upon in this report, I think the Committee's attention should be seriously drawn to it. The present building is in a most wretched and pitiable condition and it would be money thrown away to attempt to repair it. Sooner or later, however, it will become dangerous, and if not removed would fall down, when the very interesting remains of the old building would be lost.

The cost of restoring this in a substantial but simple manner I estimate at about £2,800, and, although the building would no longer be required for its former use, it would be a very valuable adjunct for the work carried on in the church such as quire room and practice, morning services and other purposes, to say nothing of the great architectural improvement it would be to the whole building and as a safeguard from fire.

The following report on the estimate of the probable cost of the works proposed was also submitted by the architect; copies of which had also been circulated amongst the members.

Statement showing the amount of the Commissioners' grant of £8,000 to be expended in building and other ways:

<i>To be expended in building.</i>			<i>To be expended in other ways.</i>		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Repairs to Tower & West			Repayment of debt incurred by re-roofing the quire	1,055	0 0
Front and external parapets of Quire and Aisles, restoration of vaulting to N. & S. aisles and general repair of monuments . . .	1,613	0 0	For completing the purchase of the forge . . .	764	11 6
Re-roofing triforium . . .	298	0 0	For purchase of the Saye and Seale house . . .	775	0 0
10 per cent. for contingent expenses on the above . . .	190	0 0			
New North Transept . . .	1,500	0 0			
New South Transept . . .	1,200	0 0			
Formation of a new vestry . . .	300	0 0			
Balance of grant not specially allotted . . .	304	8 6	Total in other ways . . .	2,594	11 6
			Total in building . . .	5,405	8 6
Total on building . . .	5,405	8 6		8,000	0 0

Architect's estimate of the Building work proposed February 1891.

<i>Works contemplated in the grant.</i>				<i>Works not contemplated in the grant.</i>			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Repairs to Tower . . .	350	0	0	Porch to North transept and room over . . .	800	0	0
Repairs to West front and gable coping . . .	120	0	0	Porch to West entrance .	400	0	0
New West window . . .	400	0	0	Oak panelled ceiling to West entrance . . .	100	0	0
New roof to South aisle and vaults . . .	350	0	0	Approaches and boundary wall to South transept .	100	0	0
Vaults to North aisle . .	105	0	0	Repairs to bells . . .	65	0	0
Repairs to old boys' school and North front . . .	175	0	0		1,465	0	0
Vestry over West porch .	300	0	0	Excess over grant for con- templated works . . .	494	0	0
New South Transept, say	1,850	0	0		1,959	0	0
New North Transept, say	2,250	0	0	Add Architect's commis- sion, etc., say . . .	400	0	0
Total . . .	5,900	0	0	Excess over grant . . .	1,959	0	0
Grant as over . . .	5,406	0	0	Total amount to be col- lected exclusive of Lady Chapel . . .	2,359	0	0
Excess over grant . . .	494	0	0				

N.B.—If West window is omitted deduct £300.

SECTION 4

THE PARISH GATES

From Vestry Minute Book, vii, 441, 15 June 1854.¹

A Committee formed to consider the present neglected state of the parish gates by the City authorities.

The following undertaking of the Commissioners of Sewers was produced and read.

THE CITY OF LONDON SEWERS ACT, 1848.²

On the part of the Promoters of this Act I hereby undertake to retain the clauses 167 and 168, also if the same Act should pass into a law in this session of Parliament to provide for the due payment of an annuity of £40 a year for the life of Joseph Hayne now charged upon the rates authorized by two Acts of Parliament 28 Geo. II, cap. 37 and 9 Geo. III, cap. 23 to be raised in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great and also to provide for the maintenance of the gates now enclosing the said parish as the same are now and will continue the same until the trustees, acting under such Acts, shall approve of the discontinuance of the same or until a new street shall be made through the said parish, this undertaking being given in consideration of the said trustees and

¹ Above, p. 208.

² V. M. Bk. vii, 445.

parish not opposing directly or indirectly the progress or passing of the said Act.
Dated this 28 August 1848.

TIMOTHY TYRREL

Remembrancer's Office, Guildhall.

Witness : R. Cutler.

And I the undersigned for and on behalf of the said trustees and Parish do hereby in consideration of the above undertaking agree to withdraw and not to resume any opposition to the said Act.

Dated the 28 August 1848

THO. POCOCK.

MEETING OF PARISH TRUSTEES, DATED 18 DEC. 1908

Bartholomew-the-Great Vestry Minute Book, vol. x, p. 593.

On the motion of Mr. E. A. Webb, seconded by Mr. Benjamin Turner, it was resolved that—

Whereas the City of London desire to discontinue the services of the three watchmen appointed by the Vestry of this Parish and paid by the Corporation the total wage of £104 per annum.

And whereas one of the watchmen died on April 1 last and his place has not been filled.

And whereas the Corporation desire to remove the gates of the Parish and to be delivered of the maintenance of the same for which they are now liable by agreement dated Aug. 28, 1848 between the Commissioners of Sewers and the Trustees of this Parish.

And whereas the Trustees of this Parish desire to retain the present Smithfield gate and gateway, the maintenance of which they are willing to undertake in future for reason of its great antiquity, dating as it does from the early part of the thirteenth century, and for its historic interest.

And whereas the Trustees desire to purchase the house erected over the gateway and 6 feet more or less in width of the property on the south side thereof for the better preservation of the said gateway in which the gate is hung, it is hereby Resolved by this meeting of Parish Trustees appointed by Act of Parliament 28 Geo. II, cap. 37, confirmed by Act of Parliament 9 Geo. III, cap. 23, both since repealed by 14 & 15 Vict., cap. 91, sec. 45, that they, the Trustees, are willing to release the Corporation from all their obligations in connection with the gates and watchmen and to allow the removal of all the gates of the Parish excepting one aforesaid leading from Smithfield to the Parish Church in consideration of a money payment of £1,500 and of the reasonable compensation of the two existing watchmen.

Resolved that the Rev. W. F. G. Sandwith, Rector, of this Parish, be the Treasurer of the Trustees of this Parish.

THE HISTORY OF THE SMITHFIELD GATE ¹

From a pamphlet published on the occasion of the meeting in the Great Hall of St. Bartholomew's Hospital to preserve the Gateway, 27 Nov. 1908.

When, in 1544, Henry VIII sold the whole parish to Sir Richard Rich, there were two rooms one over the other, above the archway-rooms no doubt in the tower, and from that time the history of the archway can be fairly well traced.

THE OWNERSHIP OF THE PROPERTY OVER AND BESIDE
THE ARCH

In the early chancery proceedings in the time of Queen Elizabeth at the Record Office (an imperfectly explored mine of wealth of local history) the writer was fortunate enough to alight on the pleadings of two cases in Chancery in the years 1590 and 1596, whereby the litigious rector of that time, David Dee, sought to show that a certain house in the Close had been granted to the rectors by Sir Richard Rich as a parsonage house, and others as glebe houses, in addition to those which Rich had actually so granted under his settlement with the king. This caused one Philip Scudamore, an inhabitant of the parish commemorated by a tablet in the north aisle of the church, to give a detailed description of his title to the rooms over the arch. He showed that, in 1544, the two rooms over the Smithfield Gate, one over the other, were at that time the freehold property of Sir Richard Rich by grant from the king, one John Smith then being the tenant; that on the 28th May in the same year he enfeoffed this John Smith as freeholder. In his will, dated 12th June 1550, John Smith bequeathed the rooms to Margaret Miller, his sister, for her life, and after her death to her son John Miller. John Miller left the rooms at his death in 1571 to his second son, Richard Miller, who, on the 22nd July in the 36th year of Queen Elizabeth, enfeoffed Philip Scudamore, the defendant in the case, who then entered into possession, and was in possession of the property at the time of the suit. He, the vandal, as we should now call him, in the next year, 1595, proceeded to pull down 'the old decayed and ruyned edifices' as he styles them, one over the other, and to build new ones in their place. But we must be thankful to Scudamore for so carefully reciting his title as he has done, and for leaving us the following description of what he pulled down. It is upon this description and the thickness of the arch that the writer relies for the statement that there was a south-west tower with two rooms in it over the present gateway. Scudamore thus describes the rooms: 'Certaine chambers or rooms one over another, annyciently edified, builded, or standinge over and upon the same gate, on an arch of stone and two great mayne pillars of stone beringe upp the saide arche, chambers and rooms, and adjoyninge to the saide messuage (i. e. the house adjoining, which had been part and parcel of the same property) and thereunto annexed.' The arch of stone, with one of the pillars corbled from the wall, can still be seen; the other is hidden by the stationer's shop.

From the above evidence it is clear that the rooms over the arch were never the property of the parish, as some people suppose.

¹ Above, p. 210.

The parish was the owner of the arch and the east side of the passage, for on the 18th September 1690, we find William Crosfeild, churchwarden of the parish, granting by direction of the parishioners a lease for 13 years to George Webb, a citizen and merchant taylor, of 'all that shop or shed lying on the east side of the passage (south side must be intended, as the passage had no east side), together with the room or chamber lying over the gateway leading to the parish church of St. Bartholomew the Great, in or near West Smithfield', for the consideration of 20s. paid down and a yearly rent of 30s. for the use of the poor.

And on the 20th June 1704 the two churchwardens, with consent of the Vestry, granted a lease for six years to John Mitchell, citizen and pewterer, of 'all that outhouse or stable, together with the vault thereunto adjoining, situate and being on the south side of Webb's Coffee House, at the side of the passage or breeke leading from West Smithfield to Bartholomew Close, as also the room or closet over the said passage' at a yearly rent of £3.

On the 25th March 1713, the two churchwardens, by order of the vestry, granted a lease of 20 years to William Mawhood of 'all that piece of ground lying and being in a passage leading from the church into Smithfeild near Duck Lane end (now Little Britain), and adjoining to the house wherein the said William Mawhood now liveth containing in length from east to west 22 ft. 8 in., and in breadth 4 ft. 4 in., upon which there now standeth a deal shed and was late in the occupation of John Mitchell, deceased, and also all that room or chamber which is now built under the upper cavity of the arch of the old gate or arch of the entring into the said passage from Smithfield', at a yearly rent of 40s.

And further, the churchwardens leased to Mawhood 'all that piece of ground nine inches in breadth and fifteen feet in length the same being parish ground, whereon the wall on the north side of the house, wherein the said Wm. Mawhood now liveth, standeth, the same adjoining the shed hereinbefore described', for twenty years at a yearly rent of 20s.

The 'room and chamber over the gateway' in the lease of 1690, and the 'room or closet over the passage' in the lease of 1704, cannot be either of Scudamore's rooms over the arch, as they were never parish property. The description in the lease of 1713 is probably the correct one a 'room or chamber which is now built under the upper cavity of the arch of the old gate', which fairly describes the closet or cupboard which is still in the passage and entered by the first door shown on the engraving.

The lease of 1713 expired in 1733, but Mawhood continued in possession as an annual tenant until 1741, when the Vestry ordered that the shed be fitted up as a watch-house and cage.

On the 10th July 1822, it was resolved by the Vestry to sell the shed to Sir William Rawlins for £50, and with the proceeds defray the cost of a special plan of the parish then nearly completed.

The parish also owned the tenement which is now that portion of the stationer's shop which blocks the south side of the arch. We first hear of it in 1705, when by order of the Vestry, on June 12th, the churchwardens, in con-

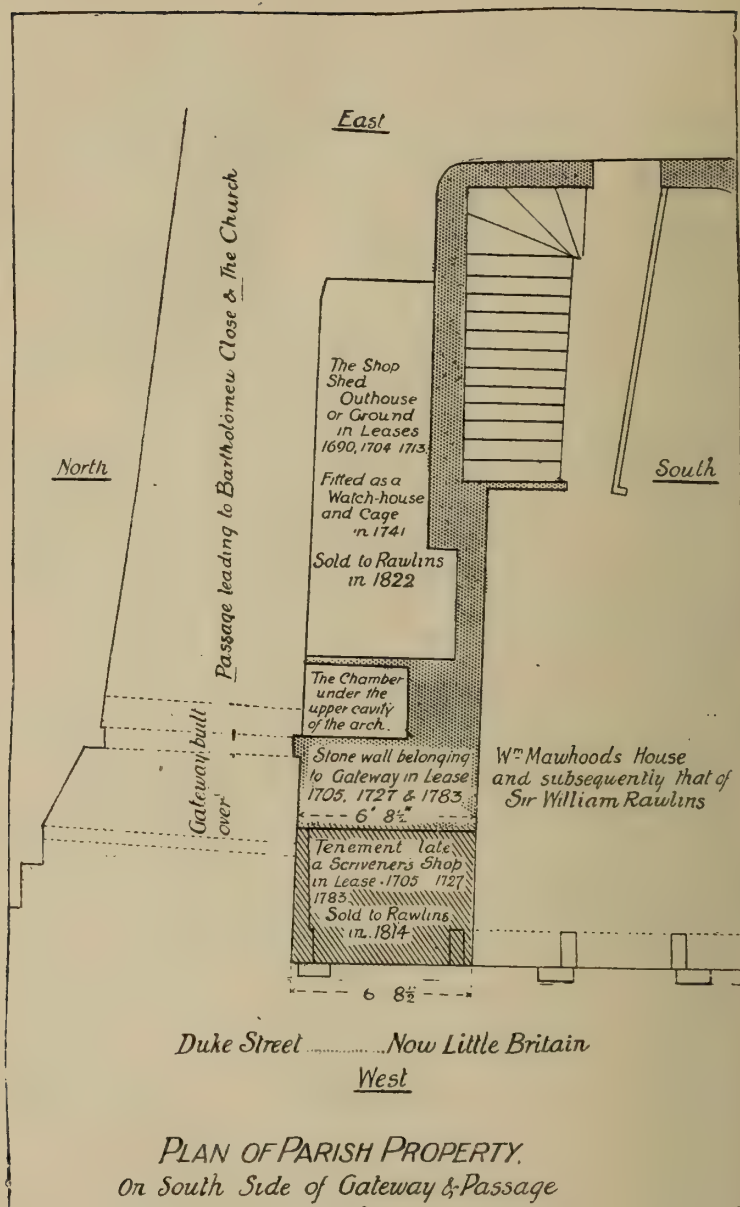
sideration of £10, demised to Ralph Living 'all that shed or tenement which was lately a scrivener's shop, situate at the end of Duck Lane, adjoining the "Cock" public-house, containing 6 ft. 9 in. north towards the gateway and 4 ft. 1½ in. east to a stone wall belonging to the said gateway, and south to a tenement in possession of the said Ralph Living, for 15 years at the yearly rent of £2 10s. 0d.,' Living covenanting to divide the premises from his own with a substantial partition and door. The lease expired in 1720, and in 1725 the Vestry ordered 'that Mr. Wm. Mawhood (who was then the proprietor of Living's house) be obliged to take a lease of that part fronting Smithfield which he holds of the parish, or quit the same at Midsummer next'. In 1727 Mawhood took a lease for 15 years on the same terms as Ralph Living in 1705.

On the expiration of this lease in 1742, Mawhood continued to hold as an annual tenant until 1783, when, on the 10th March, the Churchwardens, by order of the Vestry, granted him another lease for 30 years at a yearly rental of £3; otherwise the terms were the same as before.

On the expiration of this lease in 1812, Charles Mawhood, the then lessee, was offered a new 30 years' lease at a rental of £8. On his refusal he was called upon to separate the tenement from the dwelling-house; but this was not easy to do, for during the lease Mawhood's dwelling-house had been apparently brought forward and built above the tenement. A lease of it at £10 a year was next offered to Sir William Rawlins, who was then the owner of Mawhood's dwelling-house, and on his refusal, the Vestry decided to submit for counsel's opinion the question as to the best way to preserve the interests of the parish in the tenement. Counsel advised that the tenement be sold, and as Sir Wm. Rawlins, the owner of the rest of the house, had offered £180 for it, this was accepted, and the conveyance executed 11th October 1814. At that time the church clock had been made to strike the quarters, and a larger bell had been provided for the purpose, at a cost of £189. The Vestry, in February 1815, thereupon decided that as the clock and bell were not only for the present, but also for the future inhabitants of the parish, the money received for the tenement should be appropriated for the payment of the clock and bell.

It is to be regretted that the parish thus sold both the shed and corner shop or tenement on the south side of the arch, but they seem to have acted with deliberation, and to the best of their knowledge at the time in the interests of the parish.

The archway had more than one narrow escape of being itself removed. Thus on 5th August 1741, the question was put to the Vestry 'whether a convenient coachway be made at the church gate leading from Smithfield to the Close', but it is to the credit of the Vestry that they unanimously decided in the negative. Again, in 1814, counsel's opinion was taken as to whether, 'in the event of its being found necessary to remove the arch because of decay or for any other reason,' the liability to support the building above would fall upon the parishioners. Fortunately, Mr. J. A. Park's opinion was that the parishioners would be liable, to which opinion we may perhaps attribute the retention of the arch.



WILLIAM MAWHOOD, above mentioned, according to Gillow,¹ occupied the rooms over the Smithfield Gateway in the 18th century, and who, the parish books show, occupied that part of the house which belonged to the parish on the south side of the passage through the gateway. He was the son of William Mawhood to whom the parish granted a lease of their portion in 1713.² The son William was born in 1708.³ He was a leading Roman Catholic in his time whose advice was sought on matters of importance. He succeeded in 1757 to the business of his father, an extensive woollen merchant and army clothier in West Smithfield. He died in 1798,⁴ and was buried at St. Bartholomew's. His diary from 1764 to 1790 is contained in forty-nine MS. volumes 8vo, which in 1888 was in the possession of G. F. Conney of London.⁵ The premises were in the possession of Chas. Mawhood in 1812, so they were occupied by the family for 100 years.

SECTION 5

TABLE OF FEES, 1635

From the *Chartae Miscellaneae*, Lambeth Palace Library, vol. vii, p. 75 of Index.

A table conteynyn the duties which are to be payde to the Parson Churchwardens clarke sexton searchers and Bearers of the Parish church of St. Bartholomew the Greate for Buryalls weddings churchings searchings & bearing.

For a Buryall in the Quire.

Imprimis to the parson for breaking of the ground and for couvring of the same.	xxxviii.	viii.
To the parson for his fee for Buryall.	vs.	
To the Clarke for his fee.	ii.	vi.
To the Sexton for making the grave.	ii.	vi.
To the Sexton for knowling the great belle by the houre.		vi.
To the Sexton for knowling of any other of the bells by the houre.		iiii.
To the Churchwardens for the fornoone or afternoones Knell with the greate belle.	iii.	iv.
To the Churchwardens for the hearseclothe whether the same be used or not.	ii.	
To the Churchwardens for peales wth alle the bells.	vs.	
Sm. XLviii. xd.		

Itm. to the sayed officers for a stranger in the Quire
all the duties aforesayd dubled.

iiii.

For a Buryall in the body of the Church with a coffin.

xv.

To the Churchwardens for breaking of the ground in the
middle Isle of the church.

xx.

To the Churchwardens for breakinge of the ground in
the Back Ilese.

xiii.

¹ *Lit. and Biograph. Hist., and Bibliograph. Dict., of English Catholics from 1534 to 1895*, by J. Gillow.

² See App. II above, p. 556.

³ Par. Reg., 5.

⁴ Ib., 12, says aged 80, but apparently his age was 90.

⁵ Haydock Papers, *Glimpse into Catholic Life*, by J. Gillow, 1888.

To the Parson for his fee.			IIIS.	vid.
To the Clarke for his fee.				XVIIId.
To the Sexton for making the grave.			IIIS.	
To the Sexton for knowling the greate bell by the hower.				vid.
To the Sexton for knowling of any other of the bells by the hower.				IIId.
To the Churchwardens for the fornoones or afternoons knell with the greate bell.			IIIS.	IIId.
To the Churchwardens for black cloth used or not.			IIIS.	
To the Churchwardens for the peales with all the bells.			VS.	
Sm. totus if the ground be broken in the middle Isle.		XXXVIIIIS.		IIId.
Sm. totus if the ground be broken in the back Isles.		XXXS.		vid.
To the said officers for a stranger buryed in the middle Isle of the church the duties aforesaid dubbled.	IIId.	XIIIIIS.		IIId.
For a stranger buryed in the backe Iles the duties aforesaid dubbled.	IIId.			XIIId.
For the Buryall of a householder in the Churchyard without a coffin.				
To the Parson for his fee.			IIIS.	
To the Clarke for his fee.				XIIId.
To the Sexton for the grave and knell.				XIIId.
To the Sexton for knowling the greate bell by the hower.				vid.
To the Sexton for knowling of any of the other bells by the hower.				IIId.
To the Churchwardens for the ordinary hearsecloth whether it be used or not.				XIIId.
To the Churchwardens for the blackcloth if it be used.			IIIS.	
To the Churchwardens for the forenoon's or afternoon's knell with the greate bell.			IIIS.	IIId.
To the Churchwardens for the peales with all the bells if he have them.			VS.	
Sm. xvīs. IIId.				
Itm. to the sayd officers for the buryall of a stranger in the Churchyard without a coffin all the duties last before-seyd dubbled amount thereunto.			XXXIIIS.	IIId.
(For the buryall of a householder or child in a coffin within the Churchyarde besides the perticular somes before mentioned.)				
To the Parson	vid.	} Sm.	IIIS.	vid.
To the Clarke	IIId.			
To the Sexton	IIId.			
To the Churchwardens.	XVIIId.			
To the same officers for the buryall of a stranger in a coffin in the church or churchyarde besides the particular somes before mentioned al the sayd last rehearsed forms dubbled.			VS.	
For the buryall of a servante being of the parish without a coffin (parson 1s., Clark 6d., sexton for the grave and knell 1s., Sexton for knowling by the hour 4d., total 2s. 10d.)				
Buryall of a child being of the parish without a coffin (parson 1s., Clarke 6d., Sexton 8d., Sexton knowing 4d., Total 2s. 6d.)				

For weddings by banns :

For the Parson for his fee	2s.	} total 3s. 6d.
„ Clarke „	1s.	
„ Sexton „	6d.	

For a wedding by Lycence :

Parson 5s., Clark 2s. 6d., Sexton 1s.; total 8s. 6d.

For the Churching of a woman being a parishioner at ordinarie times of prayer :

Parson 1s., Clark 4d., Sexton 2d.

But if any come to be churched upon a day not appointed for prayer, viz., upon Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, or Saturdays being not holy days then to pay double duties.

For the churching of any at their houses :

Parson 2s. 6d., Clark 1s., Sexton 6d. All doubled for a stranger.

Itm. it is agreed that if the parson be requested to preach at the buryall and perform it he shall have	xs.	
Itm. it is agreed if strangers lycenced to preach doe preach at a buryall at the special request of the partie deceased or his executors then the parson for his consent thereto is contented to have only	vis.	viid.
Itm. it is agreed that oyther of the Searchers shall have for searching of any of the pish wch Dyeth		iiiiid.
And for a stranger		viid.
Itm. every of the fower bearers have for bearing of every parishioner dying		vid.
Itm. every of them are to have for bearing of the body of every stranger		viid.
Itm. it is agreed that the Sexton when he maketh any grave at the first in the church or churchyard that he maketh it ffull seaven foote deepe and he be vewed by one of the churchwardens.		

PARISH CLERK'S FEES, 1638

Among the Westminster Abbey Muniments (No. 13459) is a certificate, dated 27 February 1637/8, of Ralphe Keble, parish clerk, that he 'neither claimed nor took any other or greater fees than those above mentioned', which is a list of fees similar to those of 1635 excepting that the clerk's fee (and only the clerk's fees are given) had advanced 4d. for burial in the church.

TABLE OF FEES, 1698

In the Vestry Minute Book, i, 249 (28 Apr. 1698) occurs

'It was ordered that ye rate for funeralls in ye church and churchyard for the tyme to come be as followeth :

ffor Burying in the churchyard	6s. 8d.
ffor the Green churchyard	13s. 4d.
ffor the midell Ille in ye church	£1 10s. 0d.
ffor the Back Illes and side Illes	£1 0s. 0d.
ffor laying a stone on any grave in any part of the churche	£5 0s. 0d.

And that the new table of fees be observed for ye tyme to come.'

In the Vestry Minute Book, ii, 214 (20 Jan. 1720) occurs

'Ordered that the price of breaking of ye ground for Buriall in ye chancell and Issles be raised.

'Agreed that ye price of Burying for Chancell be	£3	os.	od.
in ye middle Isle	£2	os.	od.
in ye back Isle	£1	10s.	od.'

In Bishop of London's Register, Terrick and Lowth, f. 2, is entered in full 'a table containing the rates and duties to be paid to the rector, churchwardens, Clerk, Sexton, Searcher, and Bearers . . . for weddings, Burials, churchings, etc., as agreed to in the vestry Feby. 3rd 1762.'

FEES IN 1823

The following occurs in the Vestry Minute Book, iv, 510 (14 Apr. 1823) :

'CHARGES FOR GRAVE STONES altered to £12 in the body of the church, £9 in the aisles, £20 for a brick grave in the church exclusive of ground and stone, £5 for a head and foot stone, in the great churchyard, £8 for a flat stone, £6 for head and foot stone in the Green churchyard, and £10 for a flat stone.'

TABLE OF FEES, 1918

	s.	d.
Publishing Banns	2	0
Marriages	10	0
Marriage certificate	2	6
	<u>14</u>	<u>6</u>

SECTION 6

DUTIES OF PAROCHIAL OFFICIALS

DUTIES OF THE VESTRY CLERK.

1 April 1778. Vestry Minute Book, iii, 490.¹

To attend all vestry meetings summoned by the churchwardens and make proper entries.

To write all notices prepared by order of Vestry.

To make the several Tax Books of the Parish at 8 shillings each, and for confirmations, signing and attendance, 8 shillings and 4 pence more.

To make his charge half yearly to the churchwarden to be inspected by the vestry for all business done for the parish and to be allowed a salary of £4 per year.

As clerk to the Guardians of the Parish poor children :

To summon and attend them at their several meetings.

To write all notices ordered by them in execution of their trust or directed by Act of Parliament and to be allowed for the same 2 guineas yearly.

¹ Above, p. 365.

To attend the meeting of the Trustees when summoned and make proper entries.

To write all notices directed by them.

To write the charge to the several constables yearly and the abstract of their choice by the parish, to make these tax books at 8 shillings each.

To be allowed six pounds per annum exclusive of other business done for them.

DUTIES OF THE BEADLE.

Epitomized from Vestry Minute Book, iii, 454.¹ Approved in Vestry, 4 Sept. 1771.

To set the watch at 10 every night and wait till the constable for the night comes to the watch-house.

To give notice to each constable of respective Watch nights and if he does not come by eleven to give notice to treasurer and take an exact account of neglect of duty by watchmen.

To keep order in parish, prevent beggars and vagabonds lurking in parish, boys disturbing the inhabitants by gaming, &c., keep the horses out of the close on Fridays, attend church on Sunday morning and afternoon and prevent children playing and talking in service time.

Assist churchwardens in collecting their books, attend upper churchwarden every morning to receive orders, keep him informed, prepare and deliver out summons for vestry and trustee meetings, give notice to Contractor for the poor of the meetings of the Guardians.

To convey the poor to the contractor for their maintenance.

For any poor passed into the country to be allowed 3s. a day for himself and 2s. a day for each pauper besides the expense of carriage.

That he be paid £20 a year salary and five pounds more in lieu of all extra charges in the performance of his duty. That he have a cloak and hat once in two years and a great coat and hat in the intermediate years, and that five pounds be paid by the Treasurer.²

DUTIES OF THE SEXTON.

18 Oct. 1816. From Vestry Minute Book, iv, 372.³

To sweep and keep clean the church.

To ring the bells and open the pews on Service Days and other necessary occasions.

To sweep the leads and gutters and the belfry stairs.

To blow the organ bellows, and dig the graves or cause them to be dug.

To sweep and keep in order the churchyards.

To attend Vestry and Trustee Meetings, &c.

To light the church and vestry fires whenever they are wanted.

¹ Above, p. 365.

² The salary is increased by £20 paid by the Treasurer out of the Consolidated rate, and other alterations in 1805. See *V. M. Bk.* iv, 192.

³ Above, p. 122.

To attend the rector or minister on all church duties and whatever assistance he may need in the performance of his duty he must pay for it out of his salary which he will receive which is Thirty Pounds per annum.

DUTIES OF THE WATCHMEN.

From the Vestry Minutes, 4 Oct. 1744, vol. iii, 228.¹

The following regulations were agreed to, with the constables' consent, viz. :

That fastenings be made to the Gates of this Parish, and that they be shut from the time that the watch are set to the time they go off.

From the 29th of September to the 25th of March the watch to be set from nine o' the clock in the evening till six o'clock in the morning and from the 25th of March to the 29th of September from 10 o'clock in the evening to four o'clock in the morning.

That the Watchman be allowed ten pence per night each man from the 29th of September to the 25th March and eight pence per night from the 25th March to the 29th September. If any of the Watchmen neglect to attend and perform his duty, that night's pay to be deducted, in which he shall so neglect his duty, and the constable for the time being to hire another man in his stead on the parish account.

That the number of Watchmen in this parish be so timed.

Ordered—That every Inhabitant in this parish who shall refuse to pay the Watch Rate be obliged to watch in person.

SECTION 7

ENDOWED CHARITIES ²

At a Vestry held the 4th day of October 1786.³

Whereas an Act of Parliament passed in the last Session of Parliament having directed a Return to be made to the Honourable the House of Commons by the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor of the several Parishes throughout England upon Oath of various Receipts and Expenditures respecting the poor of the said several Parishes as in manner therein mentioned.—It is ordered by the Vestry that a copy of Requisitions and the Returns made thereto respecting the parish be deposited in the Chest in the Vestry Room.

And whereas by the same Act of Parliament it is further directed that the Minister and Churchwardens of the said Parishes should also make a return upon Oath of the Charitable Donations given by Deed or Will for the benefit of Poor Persons within their respective parishes. It is also ordered by this Vestry that a copy of the Returns made thereof by the Minister and Churchwardens of this Parish be deposited in the chest in the Vestry Room and that an account thereof be entered in the Vestry Book as follows, viz.

1666. Mr. Bilbie Sharpe by will gave and bequeathed unto the Poor of the Parish of St. Bartholomew the Great London whereof he was a Parishioner the sum of twenty pounds of lawful money of England to be paid to the church-

¹ Above, p. 438.

² Above, p. 365, and *V. M. Bk.* iii, 526.

³ *V. M. Bk.* iii, 525.

wardens and overseers of the said parish for the time being and to be by them paid and distributed unto the poor of the said parish by twenty shillings each New Year's Eve for ever.

1675. Anthony Wyatt gentleman by Will gave and bequeathed to and for the use of the Poor of the parish of Gt. St. Bartholomew for ever to buy them Bread an Annuity or yearly Rent charge of five pounds to be issuing and payable unto the churchwardens and Overseers of the said Poor for the time being out of certain Messuages and Lands in White Cross Street—Which sum of £5 is now vested in the churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor for the time being.

1709. The Revd. Mr. Anthony Burgess late Rector of this Parish left to the use of the Poor fifty pounds the interest to be distributed in the month of January Annually to the Poor in Bread—Which sum remains in the hands of the churchwardens.

1712. Captain Saml. Roycroft. Gave to the Vestry of the Parish of St. Bartholomew the Great Eleven Blank Lottery tickets at 14s. each amounting to £7 14s. per Annum for thirty one years.—In trust that on the 20th day of Jany. or ten days after yearly they give to six of the poorest and most Industrious Housekeepers having charge of children and not receiving Alms or in default of such to other Poor respect being had to those who most frequented the Service of the Church to each Poor 20s. Clerk 5s., Sexton 4s., Beadle 3s. 6d. Remainder £1 1s. 6d. to the Vestry.—Which in the year 1723 was converted into the sum of £50 Old S. S. Annuities and now stands in the name of the Rector and Churchwardens of Great St. Bartholomew.

1729. Mr. John Richardson by Will bequeathed to the Parish £100 in manner following: £50 to be put to Interest for Bread for the use of the Poor to be distributed Decr. 27th St. John's Day and likewise £50 to the Charity School for ever.—Which sum of £50 was laid out in the purchase of £50 Old South Sea Annuities stands in the name of the Rector and Churchwardens of Great St. Bartholomew.

1730. Mr. Willm. Johnson by Will bequeathed unto the Minister Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor for the use of the Poor £50 and the Interest thereof to be divided Annually on the 24th day of December yearly and forever amongst the Poor of the said Parish of St. Bartholomew the Great.—Which said sum of £50 was laid out in the purchase of £50 Old South Sea Annuities stands in the names of the Rector and Churchwardens of Gt. St. Bartholomew.

1751. Mr. Christopher Woodward gave the Interest of £50 to be distributed in Bread to the Poor on New Year's Day Annually which sum stands in the Old S. S. Annuities in the name of the Rector and Churchwardens of Gt. St. Bartholomew.

Resolved that it appears to this Vestry that the Legacy left by Mr. Bilbie Sharpe to the Poor of the Parish in the year 1666 is become lost by lapse of time and it is also Resolved and Ordered that the several other Legacies left by Mr. Anthony Wyatt, the Revd. Mr. Anthony Burgess, Captain Saml. Roycroft, Mr. John Richardson, Mr. Willm. Johnson, and Mr. Christopher Woodward be in future distributed in the manner and at the times expressed in the respective Donors Wills as above mentioned.

Ordered that in future the Vestry Clerk for the time being attend the distribution of the several Legacies above mentioned and also of any other Legacies or Donations that may hereafter be given to the Poor of this Parish and regularly make an Entry of the disposal thereof in the Vestry Book.

EXTRACTS FROM ENDOWED CHARITIES (COUNTY OF LONDON)

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 2nd August 1894 ;—*for*,

RETURN ' comprising THE REPORTS made to the Charity Commissioners, in the result of an Inquiry held in every Parish wholly or partly within the Administrative County of London into Endowments, subject to the provisions of the Charitable Trusts Acts, 1853 to 1891, and appropriated in whole or in part for the benefit of that County, or of any part thereof, together with the Reports on those Endowments of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities, 1818 to 1837 '.

PARISH OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT

I. The Inquiry into this Parish was held on the 5th February 1902.¹

II. The following is the Report on two Educational Charities of this Parish, dated the 2nd March 1819, of the Commissioners appointed in pursuance of the Act 58 Geo. III, c. 91, to inquire concerning Charities in England for the Education of the Poor (vol. i, p. 169).

This Report is hereinafter referred to as the Report of 1819.

SCHOOL OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT.

The estates of this charity consist of a cottage, farm, and land, in the parish of Navestock and Weald, in the county of Essex, devised by the will of John Whiting, dated the 12th of October 1702, for teaching twenty poor children of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, to read.² The estate contains about 35 acres, and is copyhold, with the exception of two or three acres ; it is let to Samuel Withan, as yearly tenant, at the rent of £63, the full annual value ; the rent was raised from £30 about three years ago.

The funds appropriated to the charity are £635 5s. 10d. 3 per cent. consols, £100 3 per cents., £950 old South Sea annuities, and £175 16s. 6d. like annuities, producing annual dividends amounting to £55 16s. 7d. The stocks arose from legacies, donations, and savings of income, and stand in the names of different trustees ; as stated in the Appendix.³

The annual produce of the estate and funds is £118 16s. 7d. in addition to which, about £30 a year is received from subscriptions, and from £4 to £6 a year from Betton's gift, distributed by the Ironmongers Company.

The income is applied in educating 30 boys and 20 girls, and in clothing 20 of the boys and 16 of the girls. The children are instructed in reading,

¹ See above, p. 434.

² Above, p. 38.

³ No Appendix to this Report was printed.

writing, and arithmetic, and the girls in needlework and knitting, in addition. Some children have been occasionally apprenticed.

The annual expenditure is £30 the master's salary, and £4 4s. for teaching psalmody ; £15 to the schoolmistress, and an allowance of coals and candles ; clothing, on an average, £65 ; £20 the average expense of books, coals, candles, and incidental expenses.

THE PROTESTANT DISSENTERS CHARITY SCHOOL IN BARTHOLOMEW CLOSE.¹

This school was founded by voluntary subscription, in October 1717, for the education of the children of Protestant Dissenters of all denominations, and is maintained by interest of stock, annual subscriptions and donations, and occasional collections at sermons.

The stock, which arose from legacies and benefactions given to the charity at various times, consists of £1,917 7s. 5d. in the navy 5 per cents., producing a dividend of £95 17s. 4d. or thereabouts.

This annual income is applied towards defraying the expense of educating 80 boys and 40 girls ; 60 of the boys and all the girls being annually fully clothed, so as to require nothing from their parents. The 20 boys who are not clothed at first, succeed in their turns to the benefit of clothing. The numbers in the school are generally full, that of the boys always. The boys are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the girls plain work in addition ; they are all taught the Assembly's catechism. The former are allowed an apprentice fee of 50s., and the latter have £2 on going to service, if their conduct has been good, and their situations are approved ; they are each admitted into the school at 9, and continue till 13 or 14 years of age. The average expense of the establishment is about £500 a year, and that of each child is about £5 per annum.

The school is managed by a committee consisting of thirty-six gentlemen, and fourteen ladies, selected annually from the general body of the subscribers, and there is an annual audit of the accounts. Each child is appointed by a subscriber, whose recommendation is attested by a Dissenting minister, having knowledge of the parents.

The following is the Report on other Charities of this Parish, dated the 28th June 1823, of the Commissioners appointed in pursuance of the Acts 58 Geo. III, c. 91, and 59 Geo. III, c. 81, to inquire concerning Charities in England and Wales (vol. x, p. 265).

This Report is hereinafter referred to as the Report of 1823.

PARISH OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT

DEANE'S CHARITY.²

JOHN DEANE, by will, dated 6th April 1563, devised to Bryan Storke and Alice his wife, ' All that his tenement, called the Half-moon, together with the parlour, chambers and shop thereunto adjoining, which late were in three little tenements, situate and being in the parish of St. Botolph, that is to say, on the north side of the Half-moon ' ; to hold the same to the said Bryan and Alice, and the heirs of their two bodies, upon condition (among other things) that of the rents and profits of the said tenements, they should yearly distribute 10s. in coal, wood, or money, amongst the poor householders of the parish of Great St. Bartholomew for ever, on Christmas-eve, with the advice and consent of the churchwardens of the said parish for the time being, with a proviso, that in

¹ Above, p. 36.

² *Ib.*, p. 306.

case the said Bryan and Alice, or their heirs, should make default in the said payment, that the estate of such person should cease, and the right heirs of the testator should possess the premises, upon the condition above specified.

There is a large old house, in Aldersgate-street, part occupied by a stationer and part used as a coffee shop, which was formerly the Half-moon tavern, and is understood to be the house mentioned in John Deane's will. Nothing, however, is now paid from this house on account of the rent-charge given by John Deane, nor can we find any trace of its having ever been paid.

LADY SAY AND SEALE'S CHARITY.¹

Elizabeth Lady Say and Seale, by will, proved the 10th May 1632, gave to the parish of Saint Bartholomew three houses and tenements, which she had built in the Cloth-fair, and placed three widow women in them. She likewise gave, for the maintenance of the three widows, who she desired should always dwell in them and remain unmarried, a house and tenement, being 'the corner house as you go by the church', then let for £7; and her meaning was, that if the benefit of these four houses should at any time thereafter not be applied to the uses aforesaid, then the same should return to the right heirs of Oliver Lord St. John, Earl of Bolingbroke.

The parish have been at considerable expense in respect of the buildings belonging to this charity, Lady Say and Seale having left no funds for the repair of them.

The three almshouses in Cloth-fair were twice rebuilt, at the expense of the parish, previously to the year 1763. In that year, one of the three fell down, and has never since been rebuilt, but the ground on which it stood was enclosed, as an additional burying ground for the parish paupers, and has since been used for that purpose. The remaining two houses have since fallen into so much decay, that it was found necessary, in the last year, 1823, to take them down, and they have been rebuilt, in a substantial manner, at an expense of considerably more than £100. These houses have always been inhabited by poor widows, or unmarried persons, of whom, prior to 1763, there were three, and, since that time, two, elected by vestry.

The fourth house, being that near the church given for the maintenance of the poor widows, was also taken down, and two houses were built on the site thereof, by the parish, at a very early period.

It does not appear that these premises were made a source of revenue for the maintenance of the almspeople. We find a minute of vestry, of the 25th June 1686, ordering, that one Chitwell should have a lease of the church almshouses (by which appellation these were distinguished from the other three), for twenty-one years, at £10 per annum; but if this lease were ever executed, it must afterwards have been given up, for it appears, that in 1703 the houses were used as a place of residence for several poor persons placed therein, as it is supposed, by the parish. It is probable that this continued to be the purpose to which they were applied, as no trace is found in the parish books of any rent being received for them prior to the year 1776. In that year these houses were in so deplorable a state, that it was again necessary to pull them down, and the ground was let on a building lease, to John Pullen of Fleet-market, for sixty-one years from Christmas 1775, at a ground rent of £2 10s. per annum. He has built a dwelling-house upon the ground, which is rated in the parish books at £14 per annum.

The almspeople have invariably received out of the parish stock £2 each per annum, by monthly payments of 3s. 4d. without any reference to the produce of the house given for their support by Lady Say and Seale.

¹ Above, p. 244.

THORPE'S CHARITY.

William Thorpe, by will, dated 19th August 1667, gave to the poor of this parish, £20 to be paid to the churchwardens, and by them distributed, by 20s. every New Year's Eve, for ever.

It appears, from the vestry books, that this legacy was received by Smith and Birkhead, churchwardens, in 1668; and by an order of vestry of the 21st October 1669, Birkhead was directed to pay this £20 to William Crossfield, for the lease of a house, which he was to assign to the use of the poor on receipt of the money.

Nothing further is known of this charity. It does not appear for what term the lease directed to be purchased had been granted, nor whether the assignment was made, neither is there any trace of the rent of the house being received, or of the payment of the 20s. a year to the poor.

WYATT'S CHARITY.

Anthony Wyatt, by will, dated 7th November 1675, gave and devised, to and for the use of the poor of the parish of Great St. Bartholomew, in London, for ever, to buy them bread, one annuity or yearly rent-charge of £5 to be issuing and payable to the churchwardens and overseers of the said poor, for the time being, out of all and singular his freehold messuages and lands, lying within the manor or lordship of Finsbury without Cripplegate, in the county of Middlesex, to be paid at the four usual quarter days, with a power of distress to the churchwardens and overseers for the time being, if the same should be unpaid for the space of twenty-one days.

This rent-charge is regularly paid by the proprietor of certain premises in Whitecross-street and Cooper's-alley, which were formerly the Mermaid brew-house, and now consist of three old wooden tenements, and a variety of old sheds, and part of a dwelling house, variously occupied by the undertenants of Mr. — Blythe, who himself holds the whole under a lease which will expire in 1836.

It appears, from an entry in the vestry book, of the 2nd October 1822, that a committee of vestry had viewed the estate charged with this payment, and reported, that they thought it possible, that at the expiration of the lease to Mr. Blythe the premises would be pulled down, and they recommended that the vestry should keep in mind the necessity of preserving the exact boundary lines of the estate, in case the present erections should be taken down.

Previously to the year 1737, this rent-charge had been unpaid for many years. In that year, the payment having been claimed by the parish, after much litigation, an agreement was entered into between the then churchwardens and overseers and Mr. Thomas Sayers, to whom Mr. Wyatt's property had passed, in which the premises charged are accurately described, and a plan of them is delineated in the margin; and Sayers covenanted, for himself and his heirs, to pay the said rent-charge out of the premises, as described.

The donor has not prescribed any particular mode of distributing the bread. It seems always to have been given away on Sundays; and for above 20 years past, the distribution has been of 12 twopenny loaves, immediately after the morning service, to 12 poor parishioners, at the church. The persons are selected by the churchwardens for the time being, and generally receive the bread for life.

DONCASTER'S CHARITY.

Various entries are found in the Vestry Minute Book respecting the gift of an estate to the poor of this parish by Mr. *John Doncaster*, who had formerly been a vestryman, as to which a suit in chancery was pending in the latter end of the seventeenth century, by the name of — Corbett and Thomas Midwinter, churchwardens of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, against Hugh Bantock, in which a decree was obtained in favour of the parish.

Upon searching the report office of the court of Chancery this decree is found entered as of Easter term 1685, and dated the 11th May, from which it appears that in 1664 Mr. Doncaster bought of a Mr. Bolton a messuage called the Falcon, and seven acres of land at Widlesford, in Cambridgeshire, and had it conveyed to Bantock, to such uses as he, Doncaster, should appoint; and that he, in his life-time, gave it to the poor of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great. The object of the suit was, to compel Bantock to execute a conveyance of the property, for the benefit of the poor of the said parish, according to the donor's intention; and upon the hearing, it was ordered, that Bantock should so convey it to Corbett and Midwinter, and others named in the decree, being vestrymen of the said parish.

It does not, however, appear that any such conveyance was made. The parish is not in possession of the estate; there is no mention whatever of it in the parish books subsequent to the decree, nor could we learn anything further respecting it.

FREE SCHOOL: WHITING'S CHARITY.

An account of the free school in this parish was given in our (the C. C.'s) First Report, p. 169; to which we would now add the following particulars:

By the will of *John Whiting*, dated the 12th October 1702, he gave an estate at Navestock and Weald, in Essex, to the minister, churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, to the intent they should pay out of the same, for the teaching 20 poor children, born in the said parish, to read, till they could read the English Bible, and be instructed in the Catechism; and the surplus, if any, he gave to the use of the poor of the said parish, for bread.

The land is copyhold, and the rector for the time being appears to have been always admitted tenant to the lord on behalf of the parish.

The rent of this estate is applied, as we have before seen, in aid of a parochial school, which is principally maintained from other sources. The management of Whiting's fund is not exclusively exercised by the minister, churchwardens and overseers; but the general business of the school, and the whole of its funds, are managed at monthly meetings of the trustees, to which the churchwardens and overseers are summoned.

About two years ago, Samuel Withan, the tenant of the land at Navestock, who at the time of our former examination held it at a rent of £63, became insolvent. There was then two years' rent in arrear, and no stock on the premises from which it could be obtained by distress. The rector, and the treasurer of the school, Mr. Burgh, went down to inspect the premises, and consulted a farmer and land-surveyor, resident in the neighbourhood, as to the value of them, which he estimated, in the then state of agricultural property, at £30 a year, being the same rent at which they had been let previously to Withan's occupancy. Prior to this, the land had been offered to the owner of the adjoining property, who had refused to take it even at the old rent of £30. Under these circumstances, it was agreed between the rector and the treasurer, that the latter

should place his son in the farm, as tenant from year to year, at the rent of £35 per annum. Mr. Burgh's son was accordingly let into possession ; and from the sums which he paid to the former tenant for the crops and fallows, the arrears of rent have been obtained.

The churchwardens and overseers were not previously consulted as to the expediency of this agreement. The rector stated to us, that the bargain concluded between him and Mr. Burgh was considered by them as complete, but that he was to mention it at the next school meeting, and that he did mention it, if not at the next, certainly within the three next meetings ; but that no notice was given in the summons to either of these meetings, that this agreement was to be taken into consideration.

Under the circumstances of the case, the agreement appears to us to have been beneficial to the charity ; and Mr. Burgh expresses his willingness that his son should quit the farm at any time, if better terms can be obtained. Although, therefore, there seems no cause of blame in this transaction, we think that it would be right that more consultation should be had with the persons entitled under Whiting's will to participate in the administration of his charity, both as to the management of the property and the conduct of the school ; and we have reason to hope that this will in future be more attended to.

Indeed, till within these few years, the terms of Whiting's endowment appear to have been very little known in the parish. After the present rector came to the living, he drew up a statement respecting the charity, of which 250 copies were printed and circulated, by which its constitution has been made more generally known.

There are not, at present, in the school 20 children who were born in the parish, as directed by the founder ; but all natives who apply are admitted, and are clothed in preference to others.

No bread appears to have been at any time distributed on account of Whiting's charity.

BURGESS'S CHARITY.¹

The Rev. *Anthony Burgess*, formerly the rector of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, who died in 1709, gave, by his will, £50 to the use of the poor of the said parish.

The legacy was received, and lent to Henry Woolmer, then churchwarden, at the interest of £3 per annum. In the years 1714 and 1715, Woolmer settled his account with William Raine, the churchwarden of that year, and in that account debited himself with this £50. On the balance of the account, he was debtor to the parish £14 5s. 10d. which he paid over to Raine. Nothing further appears of this sum of £50 which sunk in the parish stock.

The interest appears to have been pretty regularly distributed to the poor, first at the rate of £3 ; in 1729, it was reduced to £2 10s. ; and in 1737, to 40s. From 1745 to 1785, the distribution appears to have discontinued. In the latter year, there is an order of vestry, that interest for this legacy should be paid at the rate of 30s. by the churchwardens, for ever, which has been regularly done ever since.

It is given away in bread, in the month of January, in quartern and half-quartern loaves, amongst the poor of the parish, by the churchwardens and overseers in vestry. The names of the persons receiving it are taken down by the vestry clerk, in order to ascertain that they are properly entitled to it, and to show that the distribution has regularly taken place. We do not see any reason why the interest paid by the parish should be at so low a rate.

¹ Above, p 331.

ROYCROFT'S CHARITY.¹

From a minute of vestry of the 2nd December 1712, it appears that Captain *Samuel Roycroft* gave to the vestry of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, 11 blank lottery tickets, at 14s. each ticket, amounting to £7 14s. per annum, for 31 years, in trust, that they should hold a vestry upon the 20th day of January, or within ten days after, yearly, during the said 31 years, and that they should then make choice of six of the poorest and most industrious housekeepers of the said parish, having charge of children, and not receiving alms of the parish, if such there should be, or in default of such housekeepers, of such other poor inhabitants as to them should seem most in want, regard being chiefly had to those that most frequent the service of the church, and that they should then give to each of them the sum of 20s. ; and likewise should then give to the clerk of the said parish 5s., and to the sexton 4s., and to the beadle 3s. 6d., and the remaining £1 1s. 6d. to be spent by the vestry as they should think fit.

The tickets are then described as follows :

Ann.	.	.	{ 1712	.	.	No. 91,517 to 91,527 both inclusive,
			{ 1713	.	.	Do.,
			{ 1714	.	.	
						and so on to 1742, inclusive.

The £7 4s. was distributed according to the donor's directions till January 1724/5, when it appears that, in pursuance of a previous order of vestry, the remaining tickets were subscribed into the South Sea annuities, and produced £59 19s. 11d. to which was added by purchase one penny, to make the sum of stock £60.

From this time the payments were gradually reduced, and in January 1731/2 the poor people received 7s. each, and the parish officers 2s. each. From the entry on that day, it appears that £3 per cent. on the annuities having been paid off by order of government, the parish had sold £6 8s. more, in order to reduce the stock to the even sum of £50, and the produce of the transaction, being £11 2s. 5d. was distributed that day to 21 persons, of whom six received £1 each, and the rest various sums from 10s. to 4s.

Two years after this, we found the payments made were 2s. 6d. each to 14 persons, including the vestry clerk, sexton and beadle, and 5s. to the parish clerk, making altogether 40s. the interest at that time of £50 South Sea annuities. This annual distribution continued till 1747/8, from which time, till 1786, there is no entry in the books of any further payments ; and it appears that during that interval this and several other of the charities in this parish were totally suspended, except in the year 1781, when some of them are mentioned.

Upon the return, required by Parliament in 1786, of the charities of this parish, it was resolved by the vestry, that this and the other charities there mentioned, should be in future distributed in the manner and at the time expressed by the different donors ; and further, that the vestry clerk should in future attend the distribution of the several charities therein mentioned, and of any others that might hereafter be given to the parish, and should make an entry of the disposition thereof in the vestry book.

By minute of vestry of the 27th March 1788, confirming the above resolution, it was further resolved, that the dividend of 30s. being the now produce of Captain Roycroft's legacy, should be distributed as nearly as possible according to the donor's will, in the following proportions, viz., four-fifths, or 24s. to the six poor, equally ; and the remaining one-fifth, or 6s. as follows—3s. to the clerk, 2s. to the sexton, and 1s. to the beadle.

¹ Above, p. 288.

This mode of distribution has been correctly observed from that time.

Poor persons are selected to receive the bounty, answering the description in Captain Roycroft's will, and vary from year to year, according to the discretion of the churchwardens.

RICHARDSON'S CHARITY.

John Richardson, by will, in the year 1729, gave to the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great £50 to be put out at interest, and the interest to be distributed in bread to the poor of the said parish, upon St. John's Day, the 27th of December, yearly.

It appears from the vestry book, that on the receipt of this legacy, it was ordered, that it should be placed to the general account of the parish, as a perpetual security for the same, and that the churchwardens should advance the interest thereof yearly.

The interest paid by the parish was £2 till 1752, when it was reduced to 35s. and in 1761 it was further reduced to 30s. In the year 1763, the legacy was, by order of vestry, invested in the purchase of £50 old South Sea annuities.

The annual produce, 30s., is regularly distributed in bread on St. John's Day, in the same manner as Burgess's.

JOHNSON'S CHARITY.

In the vestry book, under date 3rd March 1730, is an entry, purporting to be a copy of part of Mr. *William Johnson's* will, whereby he gave to the minister, churchwardens and overseers of the poor of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, and their successors, for the use of the poor, the sum of £50 which he directed should be put out at interest in their names, and that the interest thereof should be annually distributed, on the 24th December, amongst the poor of the said parish.

This legacy of £50 with an addition of £1 1s. 6d. advanced from the parish stock, and which was afterwards repaid, was laid out in the purchase of £50 South Sea annuities, in the name of the rector and churchwardens of the said parish.

The interest of this stock, being now 30s. a year, has been, occasionally, given to the poor in bread; but, from the year 1786, it has been uniformly paid in money, on the 24th of December, to 12 poor housekeepers of the parish, whose names are entered in the vestry book.

WOODWARD'S CHARITY.

Christopher Woodward, by will, dated the 12th March 1750, gave to the churchwardens of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, the sum of £50 to be by them placed at interest, and the interest to be disposed of in bread, as the churchwardens should think fit, among the poor housekeepers of the said parish, on New Year's Day yearly.

This legacy is invested in £50 old South Sea annuities, the interest of which is applied in the distribution of quartern and half-quartern loaves to poor housekeepers of the parish.

ELSTON'S CHARITY.

William Elston, formerly a vestryman of this parish, by will, dated 25th February 1817, and proved 31st July 1821, gave to the rector and churchwardens of the parish of St. Bartholomew, £200 navy 5 per cents., to be transferred to

them; and directed, that the interest arising therefrom should be annually given, in the month of February, in bread, to such poor residing in the said parish as they should approve.

This stock was transferred, 16 November 1821, into the names of the Reverend John Abbiss, rector, and William Brough and Benjamin Clarke, churchwardens.

By order of vestry, of the 21st December 1821, the interest of this stock is distributed, in equal portions, on the 12th and 30th January, in quartern and half-quartern loaves, to poor persons residing within the parish, selected by the churchwardens.

MRS. BRIDGES'S CHARITY.

Jane Bridges, spinster, by will, dated 10th May 1821, gave the sum of £50 for the benefit of the poor of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, to be at the disposal of the rector, the Reverend Mr. Abbiss.

This legacy has been invested by Mr. Abbiss in the purchase of £56 17s. 4d. 3 per cent. consols, in the names of himself, the Rev. Daniel Williams, lecturer, James Burgh, junior, and Benjamin Clarke.

Only one dividend has been yet received, which has been added to other money, raised by subscription, and distributed, in coals, to the poor. It is intended to apply this, in future, to a distribution of coals.

An account of the origin of the Charities which were not described in the Reports of 1819 and 1823, but were mentioned in Statement VI (11) and were included in the Central Scheme, is as follows :

Parish Estates.

It appears from information furnished to the Charity Commissioners in 1885-7 that the parish was in 1820 in possession of a house in Bartholomew Close, which was described in a lease made in 1820 as a 'Parish House'.

The rent was for many years prior to 1851 applied towards payment of the expenses of a lecturer at the church.

In 1856 the rent appears to have been brought into the churchwardens' general account.

The property, which at the date of the passing of the City of London Parochial Charities Act was known as No. 86 Bartholomew Close, was scheduled in Statement VI (11) as applicable, one-third for the ecclesiastical uses, and two-thirds for the general uses of the parish.

John Elliot's Gift.

It appears from Mr. Hare's Report, that John Elliot, by his will dated in 1831, bequeathed £30 for the poor of the parish, which sum was invested in £36 9s. 4d. Consols. At the date of the Statement this sum of stock formed part of £501 9s. 2d. Consols, which included the endowments of the Charities of Captain Roycroft, Richardson, Johnson, Woodward, Elston, and Mrs. — Bridges (see pages 4, 5, and 6).

The following Charity was mentioned in the Report of 1819, and included in the Statement, but was not dealt with under any Scheme established under the City of London Parochial Charities Act, 1883 :

The Parochial Schools, otherwise the Parish Schools or 'Free Schools'.

With the exception of the undermentioned legacy, the stocks, so far as has been ascertained, represented the investment of legacies and donations given without any trust to maintain the capital intact.

Ann Weldale, by her will dated the 1st April 1770, and proved, with a codicil dated the 1st April 1773, on the 27th April 1773, gave to the treasurer and trustees for the time being of the Charity School of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, £300 South Sea annuities, and directed her executors to transfer the same into the names of the trustees of the said Charity for the time being, for the benefit of the Charity children, both male and female, which should be bred up in and receive the benefit of the Charity School, in manner following (that is to say), in trust to apply half part of the annual produce of the said £300 Stock for the benefit of the Charity boys which should be bred up at the said Charity School from time to time according to the institution of the said Charity, and as to the other moiety of the annual produce for the benefit of the Charity girls which should be bred up as aforesaid.

By the above-mentioned codicil the testatrix gave a further sum of £100 South Sea annuities for the benefit of the said Charity children upon trust to apply the produce as mentioned in her will concerning the said £300 like stock.

The new schools were erected on the site described in the deed next abstracted.

By a deed poll dated the 23rd July 1888, the Rev. Frederick Parr Phillips and Thomas William Boord, under the authority of the School Sites Acts and in consideration of £1,100, granted and conveyed to the rector and churchwardens of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great a piece of ground situate in the said parish containing 257 square yards and 2 square feet or thereabouts, bounded on the north by vacant land on the south side of the sometime Lady Chapel of the said church recently known as numbers 41 and 42 Bartholomew Close, and also by a cottage fronting on Red Lion Passage, on the east by Red Lion Passage, on the south by Bartholomew Close aforesaid, and on the west by a passage leading from Bartholomew Close aforesaid to the site of the said Lady Chapel, which said premises were delineated in the map drawn in the margin and thereon coloured pink, to hold the same unto and to the use of the said rector and churchwardens and their successors for the purposes of the said Acts, and upon trust, subject nevertheless to the proviso thereafter contained, to permit the said premises and all buildings thereon erected or to be erected to be for ever thereafter appropriated and used as and for a school for the education of children and adults or children only of the labouring, manufacturing and other poorer classes in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, and as a residence for the teacher or teachers of the said school and for no other purpose, and it was declared that such school should always be in union with and conducted according to the principles of the National Society, provided that the said rector and churchwardens might at any time thereafter, with the consent and at the request of the National Society, grant or convey, for educational purposes but not otherwise, to any body corporate or bodies corporate or person authorized by law to accept the same, the whole of the estate or interest

thereby vested in them or any smaller interest in the said school, in such manner and upon such terms as the said society should direct, and it was provided that the school should be under the management of a committee to be appointed as therein mentioned from persons being members of the Established Church, and that the religious instruction to be given in the said schools and the entire control and management of any Sunday school held in the school premises should be vested in the rector for the time being, or in his absence in the officiating minister.

Substantial buildings have been erected on the site, comprising a large basement, which is used for a boys' club, &c., and two floors above the basement which are used for school purposes.

The cost of the site and the erection of buildings thereon, and the expenses of providing fittings amounting in all to about £5,000, were supplied from voluntary contributions, which were mainly collected by the present rector, Sir Borradaile Savory, Baronet.

The new schools are used for boys, girls, and infants.

The rector was admitted tenant to the copyhold lands shortly after he was inducted to the living, but the documents relating to his admission are not forthcoming. The school managers have insured the rector's life for £100 to cover the expenses of the fines payable on the admission, on his death, of a new tenant.

Quit-rents of 4s. and 14s. per annum are payable to the lord of the manor of South Weald and the lord of the manor of Navestock respectively.

The £839 6s. 7d. India Stock was purchased in 1894 with the proceeds of sale of £830 19s. 9d. New Consols, the last-mentioned sum representing the balance of £1,100 like stock (see above) which remained after the sale of £269 os. 3d. in 1889 to pay off a debt due to the then treasurer (for fines on the death of the tenant).

The schools are conducted as Church of England Public Elementary Schools, and are supported by Government grants, by the rents from the farm, and from the buildings formerly used for school purposes, by the dividends on stock, by voluntary contributions, and by the proceeds of concerts, &c. The average attendance for the year ending the 30th November 1901 was—boys, 62; girls, 45; infants, 39.

There was on the 30th November 1901 a sum of £182 18s. 6d. due to the treasurer.

The Charities described under the two headings next mentioned have been founded since the passing of the City of London Parochial Charities Act, 1883.

The Butterworth Charity.¹

By a declaration of trust dated the 31st October 1887, and enrolled in the books of the Charity Commissioners (vol. iii, p. 194), Joshua Whitehead Butterworth, being desirous of transferring, under the authority of the Charity Commissioners, into the name of the 'Official Trustees of Charitable Funds', the sum of £22 10s. 0d. Consols, in order that the dividends thereof might be

¹ Above, p. 328.

applied to the charitable purposes, and through the local trustees thereafter declared and appointed, declared that the said sum of stock was proposed to be transferred, upon trust that the dividends to arise therefrom might for ever thereafter be paid or remitted by the said Official Trustees unto the rector and churchwardens for the time being of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield, in the city of London, and their successors, as the local trustees of the Charity intended to be thereby created, or unto any or either of the said trustees whose receipt should be a sufficient discharge for the same, but for their joint account and disposal, upon trust to be applied by the said trustees to the following purposes (that is to say) upon trust on Good Friday in each year to distribute in the churchyard of St. Bartholomew the Great the sum of 6*d.* to 21 poor widows, and to expend the remainder of such dividends in buns to be given to children attending such distribution, and he desired that the Charity intended to be thereby created should be called 'the Butterworth Charity'.

Mr. Butterworth, F.S.A., was a member of the firm of law publishers, and founded the Charity with the object of perpetuating a custom which had prevailed in the parish for very many years.

A sum of £22 10*s.* 0*d.* Consols was transferred to the Official Trustees on the 14th November 1887, and a like sum of New Consols now stands in their names to the credit of the Charity.

The dividends, 12*s.* 4*d.* per annum, are remitted annually to the Rev. Sir Borradale Savory, Bart.

The whole amount received is annually distributed with other sums arising from voluntary contributions.

Twenty-one poor widows attend every year on Good Friday at the churchyard of St. Bartholomew the Great. The amount available for distribution is divided into 21 equal shares and is placed on a flat tombstone in the churchyard, from which it is picked up by the widows. The sum received by each varies from year to year, and is usually from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.*

One of the churchwardens or a sidesman is always present at the distribution.

The widows, who are either resident in or former inhabitants of the parish, are chosen by the churchwardens on the nomination of the mission woman.

No distribution of buns to children is made at the present time, but each of the widows receives one or more buns.

Charlotte Hart's Gifts.¹

Charlotte Hart, who had for more than 30 years been sextoness of the parish, by her will dated the 25th July 1889 and proved in the Principal Registry on the 20th May 1891, gave to the rector and churchwardens for the time being of the Old Priory Church of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield, £100, to be expended by them in the purchase and distribution of coals for the poor people of the parish at such times and in such manner as they might think fit, and she gave to the said rector and churchwardens a further sum of £100, the interest or dividends thereof to be expended by them towards keeping in proper order the tablets of her grandfather and grandmother in the south aisle of the

¹ Above, p. 419.

church, and also the gravestones of her mother, sister, and brother, and also of Benwell and Johnson and Mary Horne Holland, or such of them as the rector and churchwardens for the time being might think fit.

COAL GIFT.—The legacy of £100 was invested, and the endowment now consists of £90 New Consols standing in the names of the Rev. Sir Borradaile Savory, Bart., Benjamin Turner, and Edward Alfred Webb (B. Account). The annual dividends, £2 9s. 4d., are remitted to the rector, who hands them to the churchwardens. The dividends are applied in purchasing coal, which is distributed to the holders of tickets, each ticket entitling the recipient to one cwt. The beneficiaries are selected by the churchwardens, district visitors, and mission woman. Accounts of the receipts and expenditure are published in the rector's annual address and statement of accounts, and are also recorded in a parish ledger.

MONUMENT REPAIR FUND.—The £100 bequeathed by Miss Hart was invested in £90 New Consols, which sum now stands in the same names as the coal gift, to the credit of A. Account. Some repairs were done to the tablet a few years ago, but a small portion only of the income has been expended up to the present time, and there was on the 31st December 1901 a balance of £18 1s. 6d. The tablet mentioned by the testatrix, which has been removed to the north transept of the church, is in a good state of preservation, but some expenditure on re-lettering may shortly be necessary.

The parish of St. Bartholomew the Great shares in the benefits of the following fund :

The City Church Fund.

An account of the City Church Fund, which is administered under the Central Scheme made under the City of London Parochial Charities Act, 1883, and approved by Her late Majesty in Council on the 23rd February 1891, will be (is) given in the Report on the City Parochial Foundation.

By clause 49 of the Central Scheme the following among other annual payments which were specified in Schedule VII to the Scheme were directed to be made, and it was provided that if within two years from the date thereof, it should be made to appear to the satisfaction of the Charity Commissioners, that the sums set forth in the said schedule with respect to any of the churches therein named were not sufficient for the maintenance of the fabric, monuments and ornaments thereof, or for the conduct of divine service therein, they might by Order increase the amount thereof, subject as in the said clause provided.

To the minister and churchwardens of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great :

- (1) A sum of £55 for the maintenance and occasional cleaning and repairs of the fabric of the church. One-third at least of such sum to be (so far as practicable) accumulated for the purpose of extraordinary repairs.
- (2) A sum of £11 for the ordinary cleaning and repairs of the church and the ornaments thereof, and for the maintenance of public worship.

By an Order of the Charity Commissioners dated the 29th September 1893, it was recited that within two years from the date of the Central Scheme it had

been made to appear to the Commissioners that the aforesaid annual sum of £55 was not sufficient for the purpose for which it was intended, and that the church of St. Bartholomew the Great was of historical or architectural interest, and was not possessed of sufficient funds for the maintenance of its fabric and ornaments. And it was ordered that the said annual sum of £55 should be increased to an annual sum of £120 as from the 23rd February 1894, one-third of the said annual sum of £120 to be paid to the Official Trustees of Charitable Funds to be by them invested at compound interest in New Consols, to the credit of an account to be entitled 'Investment Account (Extraordinary Repairs) '.

Annual sums of £40 were from time to time invested in New Consols in the name of the Official Trustees, and the amount to the credit of the Investment Account was on the 30th January 1901, £288 14s. 4d.

Under the authority of an Order of the Charity Commissioners dated the 29th January 1901 a sum of £46 13s. New Consols was on the 31st January 1901 sold to produce £45, which was remitted to the churchwardens for the purpose of extraordinary repairs, and was so applied.

The amount to the credit of the Investment Account is now £291 10s. 11d.

The above-mentioned sums of £120 and £11 are remitted annually to the churchwardens by Mr. H. H. Batten, clerk to the trustees of the City Parochial Foundation.

The accounts of the two funds are kept by the churchwardens.

The balance to the credit of the fabric fund was at Easter 1901, 9s. 8d. The whole of the £11 available for maintenance of the services is annually expended.

The Charity Commissioners, by letter dated the 30th November 1896, authorized 25 per cent. of the verger's salary being paid out of the fabric fund, and this fund is annually debited with £20 for that purpose.

The Parliamentary Returns for 1786 mention, under the head of St. Bartholomew the Great, a Charity founded in 1666 by Bilbie Sharpe, who, by will, bequeathed £20 in money for the poor.

It is stated in the Returns for 1786 that the annual income was £1, but nothing more is known of the Charity, and it must be regarded as having ceased to exist.

WALTER A. WIGRAM,
Assistant Commissioner.

12th February 1902.

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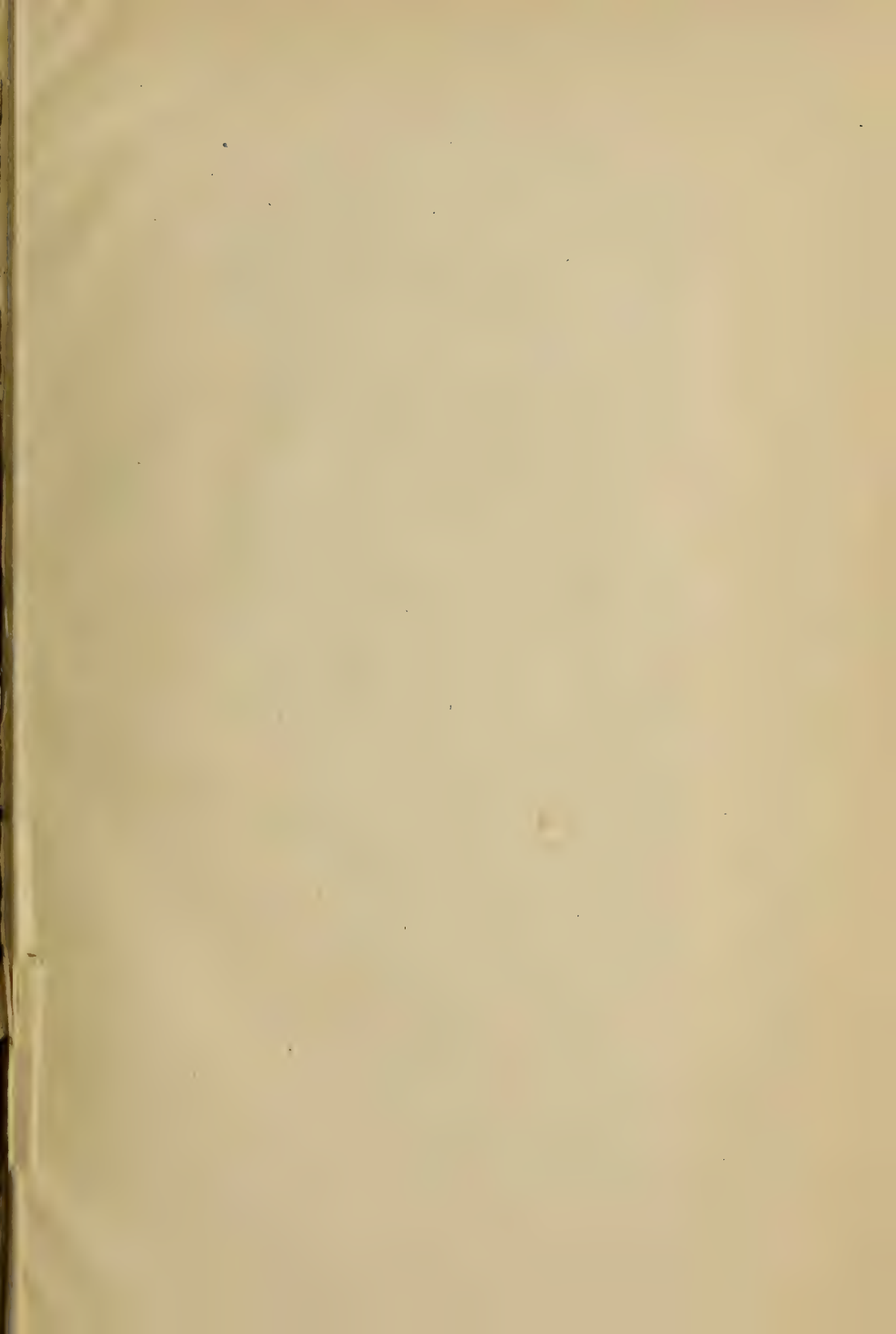
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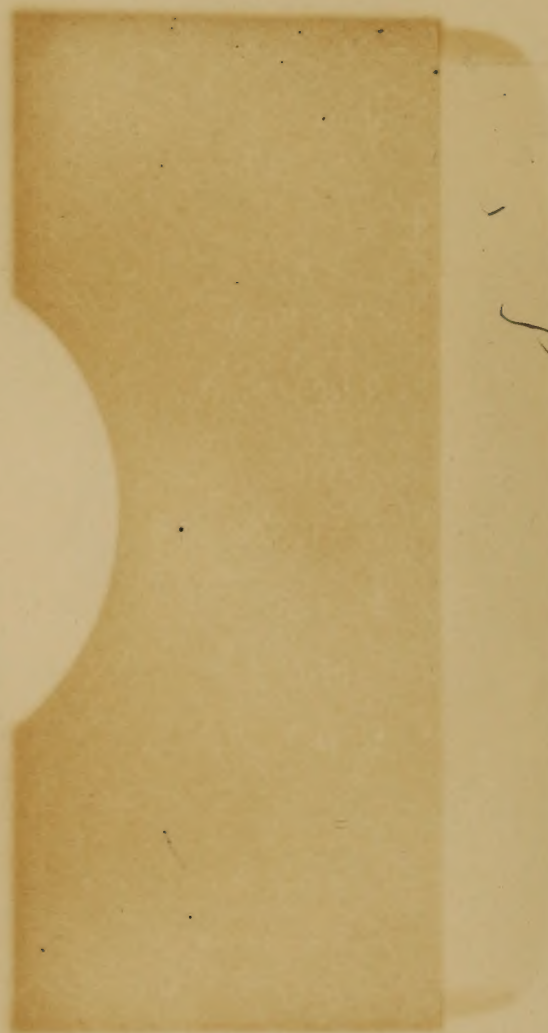
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